POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

The Final Word: Elect Roosevelt

By BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

NOV 3 1940

Wilberforce, Ohio

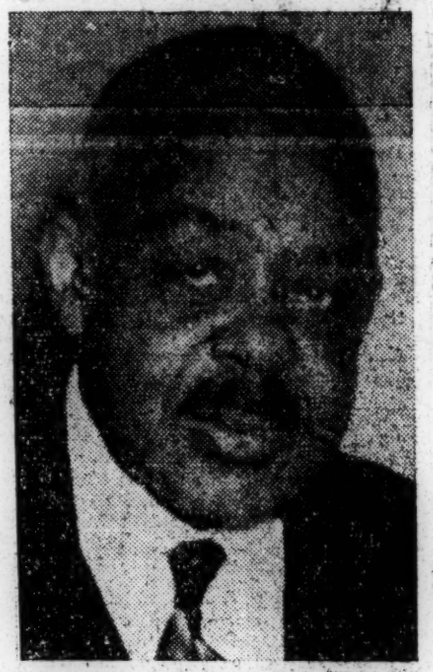
NOW I am writing this final letter to my people about the campaign. I believe nearly all of them have already made up their minds to vote for Mr. Roosevelt. As I have talked with men and women of all stations of life I feel sure that Mr. Roosevelt will get ninety percent of the Negro votes. They are all at heart for the President, and those who have been temporarily swayed by the glittering generalities and promises of the Republicans, are now coming to earth and asking themselves, "After all, how does it affect me and my people?"

Chicago Bee

Many who do not understand the high flown discussions about domestic economy and foreign policy have adopted the common sense idea of the man who was born blind, who, when healed by Jesus said, "Whereas I was blind I now see."

Chicago

So I can say that whereas under Hoover Republicans, our unfortunate people formed into bread lines, ate in soup kitchens and got an occasional dole, now the unemployed at least get relief. It is not all we want, but it is progress.



BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

* * * *

WE can say that while we lost all our savings under the Hoover Republicans, our little bit is now safe, thanks be to Roosevelt.

We can say that while our people worked from "sun to sun" for a pittance under Republicans, President Roosevelt has given us a minimum wage and a maximum hour law.

We can say that while we found it hard to send our children to college, Roosevelt through the N. Y. A. has kept thousands of our Negro boys and girls in college, preparing them for the future. There are nearly twice as many Negro students in college today as there were in the time of the Republicans.

We do know that for years the Negroes have been debarred from labor unions, but since Roosevelt came into office scores of thousands of Negroes have joined labor unions and have gotten the benefits of collective bargaining.

We do know that under the Republicans our poorer people had a hard time getting houses to live in, and when they did get them, they paid the most exorbitant rent for the poorest houses, and we do know that the Republicans did nothing about it.

We do know that under Roosevelt provisions have been made and are being made for thousands of Negro families in decent homes, with light, heat, recreation grounds, etc., at reasonable rates.

We do know that our people everywhere have been victims of loan sharks, and we found it difficult to borrow money from Republican banks even when some of our people were heavy depositors. Now under Roosevelt we can borrow from the Government at reasonable rates for long terms.

* * * *

WE do know that under the Republicans our tenant farmers and our share croppers were gradually being re-enslaved by conditions of peonage. But under President Roosevelt the conditions of the Negro farmers have shown more improvement than during any time in fifty years of Republican administration.

I could write more but I've written enough. Roosevelt has done enough for us so that all of us want him for a third term, and I am praying to God, and working as hard as I know how to have him elected. I think it is a part of my religion to urge every Negro I come in contact with to vote for Roosevelt.

Of course, President Roosevelt has enemies—bitter enemies. Any man who brings about such a social revolution as he will have enemies. Did not Lincoln have enemies? Didn't they try to keep him from being elected? Indeed, did they not kill him?

There has been no President in America since Lincoln who has stood for justice for all, freedom for all,—"The forgotten man," like President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He is the President for us We want no other, and on Tuesday, Nov. 5, we will go to the polls and vote for Roosevelt. Am I not right? God be with you.

Sparta, Tenn., Expositor
October 17, 1940

F. D. R. Stops Off At Ohio's Capital

Columbus, Ohio—President Franklin D. Roosevelt (left) with Governor John W. Bricker of Ohio, and Mayor Floyd F. Green of Columbus (right,) as he arrived Saturday en-route to Dayton on his tour of inspection. Both Bricker, seeking re-election, and Green are Republicans. The Chief Executive stayed here for 90 minutes, inspecting the Fifth Corps Areas at Fort Hayes, and a Negro housing project.

Pensacola, Fla. News
October 14, 1940

COLORED DEMOS REJECT SLURS

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.—(AP)—The head of the Negro division of the Democratic National committee started an inquiry today into a campaign document calling attention to Wendell Willkie's German ancestry.

Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the national committee's colored division, declared he hoped to "run down" the source of the five-page pamphlet, adding that he expected to make a statement on the matter soon. He had repudiated the document earlier.

From Chairman Edward J. Flynn of the national committee came a statement saying he was "chagrined to think that some reckless individual has done such a disservice to our great president and party as to issue "this stupid document."

Flynn repudiated the circular which bore the heading, "Speakers Bureau, Colored Division, Hotel Biltmore, New York City," and asserted it had not been submitted to the publicity division of the national committee.

"Neither our director of publicity or I had the slightest knowledge of its existence until it was called to our attention by newspaper men."

The Democratic chairman added that no one questioned Willkie's "100 per cent Americanism" and said he particularly regretted the use of Mrs. Willkie's name in the pamphlet.

"Reference to Mr. Willkie's famliy or to the president's family have no part in a political campaign," he said.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
October 28, 1940

Negro Party Endorsing Roosevelt Meets Tonight

The state executive committee of the negro independent progressive party and negro party leaders will meet at the Apollo auditorium, Central avenue and Harrison street, Friday night at 8 o'clock. The meeting is open to the public.

The party has endorsed a third term, and Roosevelt for president, and the executive committee, after a study of all political platforms, endorsed the Democratic party platform "as being the most progressive." The party says it backed the Democratic party in 1932 and 1936.

JESSE OWENS FOR ROOSEVELT

NOV 1 1940

Jesse Owens, the world's "fastest man," is among the young men who are campaigning for the reelection of President Roosevelt. Mr. Owens says that it is his opinion that the GOP is the same Republican party that has been guilty of broken promises to the Negro for the past 75 years, and adds: "President Roosevelt has done more for the advancement of the colored people than any president since emancipation."

LETTERS TO EDITOR

Rights Of Negro Better Than Jobs

OCT 31 1940

To the Editor:

I cannot understand the attitude of so many colored people in this campaign whom I see wearing Roosevelt buttons. How can they support him, when he turned his back on them two years ago, when he could have helped them so much on the Anti-lynching bill, which was killed by a Democratic Senate? At this session it was smothered again, and President Roosevelt made no effort to help. We know it would have passed the Senate if he had told the Senate it must be passed. How can they support a man who put a former member of the Ku Klux Klan on the Supreme Court bench? True he has given some jobs, but protection to the race is greater than jobs; at least, so its seems to me.

J. R. MARTIN

THE ROOSEVELT RECORD

NOV 2 1940

WHEN VOTERS GO to the polls on Election Day, they should realize that no one need know how they cast their ballot. Even though they have been on WPA or relief and have the conviction that it would be best for the country as a whole for a new administration to take over the reigns of government, they can exercise their right of suffrage without fear of reprisal, providing they do not talk too much.

New York Age

Besides the benefits so readily pointed out by New Dealers, the record of President Roosevelt in so far as the Negro is concerned also includes: The failure to put an end to racial segregation in the government departments in Washington, and the practical endorsement of the attitude of the South by the appointment of former Representative Lindsey Warren of North Carolina (who set up the segregation policy in the House Restaurant) to the position of Comptroller General; and in the President's recent pronouncement on the policy of segregaion in the armed forces of the nation.

New York N.Y.

As far back as the last war, President Roosevelt showed his contempt for the darker races by the writing of constitution for the people of Haiti which took from the Haitians their independence and put complete power over their taxes and finances into the hands of U. S. banking interests, and the policing of the island republic in the hands of the U. S. Marines. While Governor of the Empire State, Mr. Roosevelt never made a Negro appointment to any state position.

NOV 2 1940

Under Republican rule in Washington, the Negroes of New York received appointive posts as Collector of Internal Revenue for the Third District; as assistant U. S. Attorneys for the Southern District of New York and as deputy U. S. Marshals, all of which have been lost under the New Deal. They were also being appointed, after qualifying through Civil Service examinations, in increasing numbers to positions in the Postal, Customs and Internal Revenue servivce and to clerical jobs in the Department of Labor at Ellis Island and the Naturalization Bureaus throughout the city. These sources of employment have practically dried up under New Deal rule.

New York Age

Mr. Roosevelt, who not only wrote "must" on legislation in which he was interested but also advised Congress not to let doubt as to the constitutionality of such legislation cause them to hesitate about voting for it, has never advocated the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill even though such a bill has been before Congress almost continuously for the past seven years.

New York, N.Y.

Under the New Deal the chief consideration that has been given the Negro has been through the WPA and as recipients of relief. The jobs that have come through these sources are subsistence jobs and cannot help the race to a higher economic level. The minimum wage law has been of negative benefit to the Negro because in many parts of the country where an employer has to raise wages to comply with this law, he replaces his Negro help with whites; and under the Social Security Law the masses of Negroes, who are in domestic service and casual unskilled labor and farm groups, are deprived of its benefits.

We feel that eight years is long enough for any President to put over a program, and that another four years of Roosevelt would see no benefits for the race.

On the other hand, the election of Wendell L. Willkie will serve to stimulate business recovery generally and the re-employment of the Negro in private industry. Mr. Willkie has pledged to put an end to the evils of racial discrimination in all departments of the federal government and do to lend a fresh and more vigorius leadership in a return to all our democratic principles. We believe that his election will vastly benefit the country as a whole and the minority groups in particular in that it will put an end to the rising tide of racial and class prejudice.

Give Willkie your vote November 5.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

ANOTHER "SMEAR" EXPOSED

S S { State of Indiana
{ Madison County

Phila

NOV 2 1940

Grant V.Newcomer M.D. Secretary of The Elwood,Ind: board of health,being duly sworn,deposes and says-

New York Age

I have been a resident of the City of Elwood since 1891 and in the active practice of medicine for all of that period. I served eight years as Police Commissioner of the City of Elwood.

New York N.Y.

Never to my knowledge has a colored person ever been molested in any manner and they have always been free to stay in our City as long as they cared to.

Abbott Simms and his wife were colored residents of Elwood,were employed by Mr,Hugus and remained in Elwood untill their employer moved to Gary,Indiana and then they accompained him there.

I personally employ colored help and at present have a colored cook and house boy and they insist on permanent employment because of the fine treatment accorded them in Elwood and the statement relative to signs warning"colored people to get out before sun down" is a malicious lie,because no such thing ever existed.

This propaganda is an insult to the citizens of Elwood.

Signed Grant V. Newcomer M.D.
G.V.Newcomer M.D.

Subscribed and sworn to before me a Notary Public this 21st day of August 1940

Signed Dorika Bonham
N.P.

My Comm Ex. 1/16/43

The above fac-simile of an affidavit by Dr. Grant V. Newcomer, secretary of the Elwood (Ind.) Board of Health and one of the outstanding citizens of that Indiana town, emphatically and factually gives the lie to New Deal propaganda that Colored Americans are discriminated against or mistreated in Elwood, where Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential candidate, was born.

PRESIDENT'S TASK IMPRESSES WIFE

New York Times
New York, N.Y.

She Says Re-election Means Renewal of 'Determination to Give Best in Crisis'

NOV 7 1940

FIRST LADY IN BACKGROUND

Yields for Bow to Neighbors and Then Provides Early Morning Snack for Guests

By KATHLEEN M'LAUGHLIN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HYDE PARK, Wednesday, Nov. 6—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was sitting and knitting as the election returns last night made her the first woman in history to be mistress of the White House for three consecutive administrations.

Convinced at last that it was safe to assume that her husband had been returned to office, she groped for words to express her feelings and found the right ones in a single sentence.

"Naturally it is too serious a time for the President to feel anything but a great sense of responsibility," she said. "But if when the final returns are in it proves to be a vote of confidence on the part of the people, any one would be deeply gratified and renew a determination to give the best that one has to give in so grave a crisis."

Facing the flags and the flares at midnight on the steps of Hyde Park House, in the little group of Roosevelts greeting the throng of neighbors, Eleanor Roosevelt was alternately grave and smiling.

Resists Pleas to Reappear

With the President's mother on her arm, she tried perceptibly to recognize individuals in the surging, shouting crowd, turning now and then to observe the President's reaction, at the other end of the row of three generations of Roosevelts.

Insistent shouts of "We want Eleanor! We want Eleanor!" failed to bring her back as she turned to follow the others back into the mansion. Some one caught her arm, some one else appealed.

But she gestured them away, demanding, "What have I to do with it? It's the President they want to hear—not me."

Franklin Roosevelt Jr., in shirt-sleeves and high spirits, tried a little later to coax her from the library to the front porch, assuring her that about 700 persons were calling for her.

Again she demurred, pointing out to him that this group comprised later arrivals who could not be silenced by any one except the President. She went readily, however, when he came to say that his father was making a second appearance, and she made her bow from the top of the steps beside the President's chair.

With Friends Beside Radio

Grouped in the library, where a radio on a big refectory table provided the latest returns, the party of old and intimate friends who had supped with her earlier at Val-Kill cottage listened to the bulletins to the ultimate announcement of concessions by the opposition press.

The place of the President's wife directly in front of the loud speaker put her at the elbow of the man keeping tab on an intricate chart, for ready reference.

Mrs. James Roosevelt, the President's mother, in a black formal gown with a tiny train, sat farther down the room, giving close attention to the news flashes.

Among those around her were Mrs. Henry Morgenthau Jr., Mrs. Helen Huntington Astor, Mrs. George Backer, Robert Sherwood, Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Adams, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach and Mrs. James Helm, White House social secretary, and Miss Malvina Thompson, Mrs. Roosevelt's secretary, both of the latter also busy at their knitting.

Just as the Roosevelt party came back to their chairs in the library, following the President's address to his fellow citizens of Hyde Park, Mrs. Roosevelt was summoned to answer a telephone call from California.

Miss Helen Gahagan was calling, from a room where were assembled many of the literary and theatrical celebrities who had supported Mr. Roosevelt in radio programs.

Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, and Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, among others, also telephoned.

President's Mother Speaks

Plans made early this morning by Mrs. Roosevelt went smoothly into execution as the clock chimed 12:30. Negro waiters appeared carrying large trays with plates of hot scrambled eggs and sausages just off the frying pan, with lady fingers, to supplement the dishes of sandwiches piled on another long table at one side of the room. Hot coffee followed.

Mrs. James Roosevelt told interviewers as the scrambled eggs began to disappear that she had not wanted her son to run again, but since he had she was glad and happy that it had turned out well.

"I am sure he is perfectly capable of getting through another four years," she added.

"I think Mr. Willkie made a fine, manly speech, but he should learn a little more before he undertakes the job of President, especially in these critical days.

"Friends and even relatives of ours have spent so much money, helping the other man. I don't see why business hates Franklin so. ey say he has been stirring up is hatred, but there is nothing in his heart to justify that. We ot brought up to consider whether people were rich or poor."

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Our Final Word

NOV · 2 1940

Next Tuesday, November 5, the American people will elect a President. In order that the public could become thoroughly aware of the issues of the campaign and what the respective candidates stand for, newspapers and radio networks have transmitted to the voters an almost continuous stream of information.

Amsterdam News

Newspapers, aside from conveying general information, for the most part have taken sides, each urging its readers to support a certain candidate. As for The Amsterdam News we have thrown our assistance to President Roosevelt.

In evaluating the two major candidates for the Presidency, we have considered their program for the nation as a whole: for its defense against foreign enemies, and its policy at home. We have also considered their expressed and implied attitude towards the Negro.

In his initial campaign in 1932 Mr. Roosevelt made no lavish promises in order to capture the Negro vote, but throughout his two administrations has been consistent in his efforts to aid the Negro's cause.

Under the New Deal, the Negro's progress has been phenomenal when compared with his advancement under previous administrations. Through personal appointments by Mr. Roosevelt, the Negro has been integrated more and more into the fabric of our national government.

New York N.Y.

Negroes never have been given much consideration by big business. Their own government, has, in the past, nearly always neglected them. But with the advent of the New Deal there dawned a new day for the Negro. We don't endorse President Roosevelt as the faultless man, but we do consider him astute, fearless, and able, and not bound by custom to keep the "Negro in his Place."

Other candidates we endorse and for whom we urge support are Senator James M. Mead for re-election to the United States Senate, for he has been consistent in his efforts to advance the Negro's cause. His support of the bill to prevent the use of photographs in civil service examination is noteworthy. He gave strong support also to the anti-lynching bill, which has been fought for so diligently by Representative Joseph Gavagan, whose re-election to Congress from the 21st Congressional district we also recommend.

For the General Assembly we endorse Assemblyman William T. Andrews, of the 21st A. D. and Assemblyman Burrows of the 19th on their splendid records. Both have been in the forefront in battling for legislation to protect the rights of their people. In the 17th A. D., where Mr. Hulan Jack is a candidate for the General Assembly, our support goes to him. We believe him to be earnest, sincere and able, and that his presence in Albany will strengthen the two assemblymen now representing the Harlem area.

Judge Charles E. Toney and James S. Watson are rounding out 10-year terms on the Municipal Court bench. Their records speak for themselves. They are experienced, capable and well-trained for their jobs. We heartily endorse them, and urge their re-election.

Neighborhood Talks Wind Up Roosevelt Bid

Chicago Tribune Chicago, Ill.

BY WALTER TROHAN.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Hyde Park, N. Y., Nov. 4.—Franklin Delano Roosevelt today closed his campaign for a third term as President of the United States with five speeches to old friends and neighbors in the Hudson river valley.

Four of the speeches were delivered during a three hour drive thru the country in which he has been a political prophet without votes. The fifth was delivered at a night Democratic rally in the neighboring city of Poughkeepsie. A sixth speech was to be broadcast to the nation from the library of his mother's home.

The political fireside chat—an appeal to his supporters to go to the polls tomorrow—was part of a two hour Democratic election eve roundup of pleas for the third term.

Tomorrow night Mr. Roosevelt will receive returns in the library with members of his family and official intimates. He will leave his mother's home only to cast his vote in the frame town hall of his native village.

Aids Fear the Worst.

The White House staff made arrangements to obtain the returns for their chief in a state of election jitters. Worry over defeat and its resulting loss of jobs replaced the looks of jubilant expectancy the same faces wore four years ago.

The day's speeches did little to enthuse the White House staff. Mr. Roosevelt divided his attention between seeking votes for himself and working for the defeat of his congressman, Hamilton Fish [R., N. Y.], and Representative Bruce Barton [R., N. Y.] who is running for the senate.

The President picked up the "Martin, Barton, and Fish" refrain, previously uttered in two of his avowed political speeches, in an effort to obtain votes against the two New Yorkers and to disparage the Republican cause by striking at the G. O. P. national chairman, Joseph W. Martin Jr. [R., Mass.], minority leader of the house who will become speaker if the Republicans capture control of the house of representatives.

Protége Rides Along.

At Mr. Roosevelt's side during the drive was former Judge Hardy Steeholm, who is Fish's opponent. Mr. Roosevelt spoke for Steeholm in each of the three counties of Fish's district—Dutchess, Putnam, and Orange. His Ulster county speeches were made at Rhinebeck, Kingston, Beacon, and Newburgh.

Mr. Roosevelt never has carried any of the four counties in his campaigns for governor of New York or President. In 1936 he carried his home village and the neighboring city of Poughkeepsie for the first time, but lost Dutchess county.

Political observers here predict he will lose the counties by a larger vote than he did in 1936.

Fish is having his toughest battle in 20 years, but is expected to win easily. He is being attacked as a Nazi sympathizer because of his friendliness to Nazi chiefs during a visit to Germany about the time of the outbreak of the war. He has characterized campaign charges against his Americanism as "malignant lies."

NOV 5 1940

His Eighth Tour of Valley.

The tour of the Hudson valley was old stuff to Mr. Roosevelt—he has closed all of his eight campaigns by such a tour, two for the state senate, one for Vice President, two for governor, and three for President.

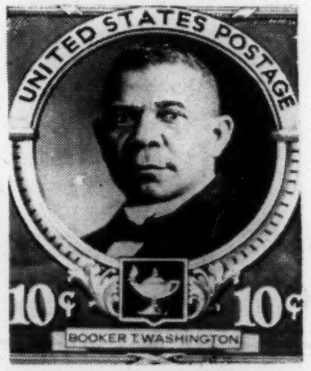
The speech at Poughkeepsie also conforms to a tradition he set for himself. He spoke in the city at night rallys in his 1932 and 1936 campaigns. He was introduced by Judge John E. Mack, who nominated him for the Presidency at the 1932 and 1936 conventions, and introduced him at the Poughkeepsie campaign windup.

McIntyre Back on Job.

White House Secretary Marvin H. McIntyre, who recently returned to the White House after an illness of two years, is heading the temporary offices here. His associate, Stephen T. Early, who became involved with a Negro policeman in an altercation the night of the President's speech in Madison Square Garden last week, did not ride the President's special from Washington.

Reports that papers in a civil suit are to be served on him on his first appearance in New York prompted Early to stay at home when the President made his fourth campaign speech in Brooklyn last Friday night. The policeman claims he was injured when Early "kneed" him in the abdomen.

Negro First. Overlooked by almost everybody except working politicians is the fact that U. S. Negroes may well decide who the next U. S. President shall be. If the election is close, their 2,500,000 votes may be decisive in such key States as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan. Already both parties are beginning strenuous efforts to woo the Negro vote, which was firmly Republican until Roosevelt & Farley swung it over in 1932. On April 7 no less a Democrat and post-office official than Mr. Farley himself turned up at Alabama's Tuskegee Institute to consummate a shrewd Democratic coup. Sold by Mr. Farley's own hands was a new Farley-sponsored 10¢ stamp bearing the portrait of Tuskegee's great founder, Booker T. Washington, first Negro ever to appear on a U. S. stamp.



NEW 10¢ STAMP

APR 22 1940

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Chattanooga
Sun. News Free Press
10-14-40

COLORED RALLY FOR ROOSEVELT SET TONIGHT

Several Willkie Meetings Also Schduled in Various Wards

Plans were completed this morning for the Colored Democratic Club rally at Memorial Auditorium tonight, at which Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of Chicago, first Negro Democrat ever to sit in Congress, will be the principal speaker.

The Republican campaign headquarters announced seven Willkie Club rallies will be held at the same time Mitchell is slated to speak at the auditorium.

The rallies will find practically every member of the colored race in Hamilton County and the adjoining territory at one of the meetings. The Mitchell rally is the first large-scale colored Democratic rally ever to be held here.

Mitchell was slated to arrive at Terminal Station at 4:30 p.m. He will be met by a reception committee headed by Sid Byers, president of the Colored Democratic Roosevelt Club. The reception committee will form a motorcade, and Mitchell will be driven to the home of C. H. Hardwick, Jr., where he will remain until the rally begins.

City Judge Martin A. Fleming has invited all Negroes supporting President Roosevelt to meet the Chicago congressman at the station.

Representative Estes Kefauver has accepted an invitation to introduce Mitchell, and Fletcher R. Morgan, chairman of the Roosevelt-Wallace campaign headquarters, said as far as he knew, Kefauver would be present.

Mr. Morgan will preside at the rally. He will introduce Judge Fleming, who wil. make a brief speech. He then will introduce Dr. W. A. Thompson, colored physician, who will present Congressman Kefauver. In case Congressman Kefauver finds it impossible to be here, Dr. Thompso:. will introduce Mitchell.

Mr. Morgan said this morning indications point to a large crowd at the Auditorium.

The rally will begin at 7:30, and the glee clubs from Howard High School and Booker T. Washington School will sing.

Judge Fleming said many Negro places of business will be closed for the Auditorium rally.

Walter C. Robinson, leader of the Fourth Ward, said large crowds are expected at the seven precinct meetings where Willkie booster talks will be heard.

The Republican meetings will be held in the following places:

Eighteenth Ward, Second Precinct: This meeting will be held in the Patten Memorial Church, and the speaker will be Lawrence C. Moore. There will be a special musical program. The meetings begins at 7:30 p.m.

Eighth Ward: This rally will be held at the Tabernacle Baptist Church on Williams Street at 7:30. Music will be by the Union Hill Church choir.

Nineteenth Ward: This meeting will be held at Thirty-Eighth Street and Alton Park Boulevard. A special musical program has been arranged.

Third and Fourth Wards: This meeting will be held at Friendship Baptist Church, Ross and Grove Place, at 7:30.

Twelfth Ward, Fourth Precinct This meeting will be held at Third and Holly Streets at 7:30.

Seventeenth Ward: This rally will be held at M. T. Long's on Hamilton Avenue.

Seventh Ward, First and Second Precincts: This rally will be held in the Masonic Temple at 417 East Ninth Street.

Robinson said large crowds are expected to attend each of the Willkie club meetings.

Liberian Minister Lauds Record Of The President

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Lester Walton Believes Roosevelt Genius Has Shown Itself in Domestic and Foreign Affairs.

NOV 2 1940

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.—"The record of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House during the past seven years makes him the ideal as well as the better candidate in the Presidential campaign," declared Lester A. Walton, U.S. Minister to Liberia, at a luncheon at the West 137th Street Y.W.C.A. last week.

"The President and his wife, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, will go down in history as the two greatest humanitarians the age has produced," continued the noted colored diplomat who returns to his post in West Africa soon.

Pointing out that in addition to his incomparable fitness for handling domestic affairs, President Roosevelt has the schooling in world politics which America badly needs in these times, Minister Walton openly predicted the reelection of F.D.R. on Nov. 5.

Mr. Walton, who also praised women for the important part they play in democracy and politics, was the principal speaker at the luncheon, third of a series sponsored by the National Advisory Committee of the Democratic Women. Nearly one hundred outstanding women, key figures in the feminine division of the Democratic party, attended the luncheon.

Joining the emphatic endorsement of President Roosevelt during the afternoon were Mrs. Sadie Harper Jefferson, Mrs. Frances Dougherty of Jamaica, L.I.; Mrs. Margaret Brown, Mrs. Mae Irwin, Miss Wilhelmina Adams, Mrs. Bessye J. Bearden, Mrs. T. Arnold Hill, Mrs. Caroline B. Overton, Mrs. Charles Lees, Sr., Mrs. Bertha Green, Mrs. Ruth Brown Price, Mrs. Redmond Fauset, Atty. Lucille Edwards Chance, Mrs. Florence Norman, Miss Adelaide De Frantz, Mrs. Stanley Miles Jr., and Miss Louise Haley.

FDR Carries All States As He Forecast

NOV 10 1940

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—The accuracy of the pre-election survey made by the National Colored Democratic Association, headed by Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia was demonstrated in the election results.

Daily World

The survey, revealed in the Oct. 11 issue of the New TIMES, caused a prediction by Dr. Thompkins that eighty-fve percent of the 5,100,000 Negroes North and South of the Mason and Dixon Line would support President Roosevelt for a third term. Dr. Thompkins' assertion was further based on the 2,000,000 membership in his organization, all of whom were pledged to vote for Roosevelt, and some 3,000,000 colored first voters among whom his organization workers were concentrating.

PREDICTION CORRECT

Dr. Thompkins' survey as revealed in the New York TIMES, asserted that Negroes held balance of power in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, West Virginia, Michigan, Okla., California, and predicted that Roosevelt would carry all these states. His prediction proved to be accurate.

Exhibiting a radiant smile and displaying complete satisfaction over the election results and the accuracy of his predictions, Dr. Thomas, when interviewed in Kansas City, Mo., where he ended his strenuous campaign among Negro voters, issued the following statement:

Atlanta Ga.

"President Roosevelt's re-election to a third term demonstrates unquestionably the desire of the American people to have perpetuated his great humanitarian and social justice program which characterized his first two terms. It demonstrates the people's faith in the President's efforts to discourage war abroad and in working for peace and tranquility at home.

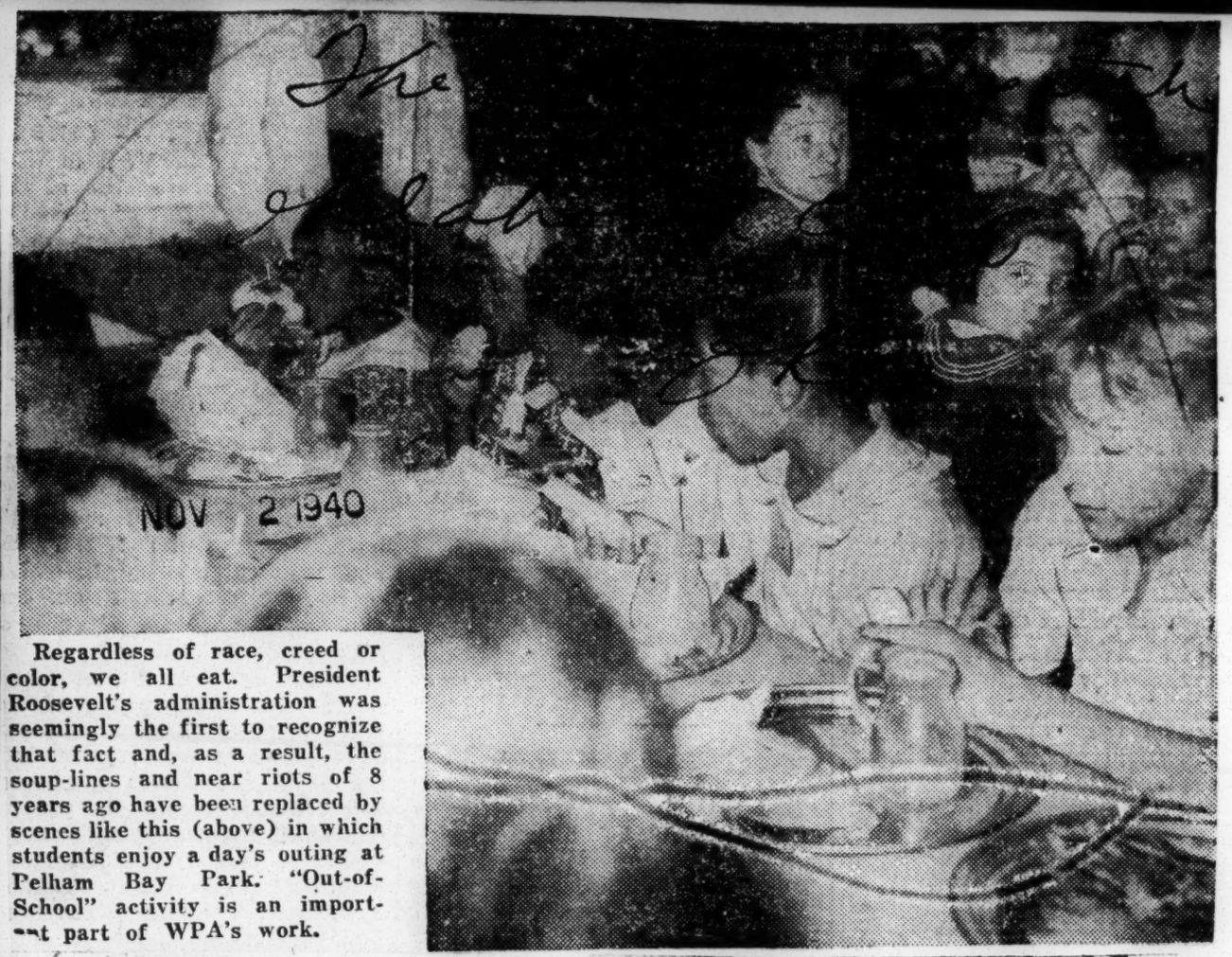
5,000,000 VOTES

"I predicted a month ago that the President would get some 5,000,000 Negro votes covering an area 300 miles North and South of the Mason and Dixon Line. I pledged him the 2,000,000 votes of members of the National Colored Democratic Association. The results in the wards and districts where our membership is strongest illustrates conclusively that my pledge was fulfilled, and that the Negro first voters cast their ballots for the President, likewise as I predicted.

"Now that the election is over, it is my hope that the few Negroes who followed blind tradition in voting the Republican ticket will discard political differences during the existing emergency and work to bring about complete harmony among the Negro population. The majority of the people have indicated their choice and I hope that hatchets in an effort to bring about hatchets i nan effort to bring about 100 per cent unity".

NOV 2 1940

Friends for many years, Democratic Vice-Presidential Nominee, Henry A. Wallace and Dr. George Washington Carver, were photographed together as shown here during one of Mr. Wallace's frequent visits to Tuskegee to confer with the noted scientist, whom he is said to admire greatly. Both have a common interest in farming besides their close personal friendship. The vice-presidential nominee, who was formerly Secretary of Agriculture, is a native of Iowa, and has known Prof. Carver the greater part of his life. Dr. Carver is an alumnus of the University of Iowa.



NOV 2 1940

Regardless of race, creed or color, we all eat. President Roosevelt's administration was seemingly the first to recognize that fact and, as a result, the soup-lines and near riots of 8 years ago have been replaced by scenes like this (above) in which students enjoy a day's outing at Pelham Bay Park. "Out-of-School" activity is an important part of WPA's work.

Still "Our" America

NOV 8 1940

The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt leaves the country still our America. The will of the majority expressed in his reelection is the essence of our democracy. So long as popular government and majority rule stand, we are a government of the people, regardless of breaking the third term precedent.

Because it means so much to each one of us, we cannot help wishing President Roosevelt success in his third term. The people's confidence expressed in this vote is their judgment that he is more right than wrong in his foreign policy, his social objectives and his use of the public monies. Reelection under the unusual conditions is properly to be construed as their mandate for him to keep on his way!

The American people have only one chance in each two years to approve or condemn the national government. In these days of overnight wars and falling nations, that is a long time. We here cannot do like the people of England who can change leadership at any time. For that reason President Roosevelt's reelection is a tremendous responsibility.

The problem within which has vexed us for a decade has added to it the embroilment we are certain to have with aggressor nations in commerce if not in arms. Mistakes will be costly. Success is possible only if the people unite behind the administration. It is to the credit of both candidates for the presidency that in the closing moments of the campaign, they each called upon the people to unite no matter which won.

Yesterday we had a candidate whom we favored. Today we have a President whom we support. Unity is the need of this hour!

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM AND THE NEGRO

NOV 2 1940

For fifty years the Republican party spoke eloquently in its platform of its promises to the Negro. But it performed so few of those promises that it got disgusted and stopped putting anything in their platform until this year.

On the other hand the Democratic party never promised the Negro anything in its platform. But in Chicago this year the Democratic party made history. It did not only make a promise, it recited some of the things it HAD DONE, which puts hope and confidence in the breast of every thinking Negro that the party will do more. The following is the platform:

Chicago Ill.

"NEGROES"

"Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this Administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitation of low-income farm families. We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color."

"KEEP THIS PLATFORM IN MIND"

Why The Negro Should Support The New Deal

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

NOV 2 1940

NEW YORK.—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, when he came into office in *933, did not believe that the Federal Government should stand idly by in the Depression Period and wait for it to pass in the natural course of events. Instead, he immediately went into action the minute he became the nation's chief executive and saw to it that those in trouble were aided by their government. He felt that, if the citizen was obligated to the state and was taxed (either directly or indirectly), and could be drafted in an emergency, that the state in turn, was equally obligated to come to the citizen's aid when the citizen was in distress.

He did not believe that the strength of the United States was solely in its navy, army and air forces but also in the spirit of a free, healthy and intelligent people. The life of the nation could not be fed with promises. Deeds, action was what was needed and so he acted. And even more to the point, the worker's security had to be guaranteed against old age as well as unemployment.

The President realized that the greatest safeguard against alien ideas was the happy American home—which existed only for the rich when he came into office. That the antidote for the deadly Fifth Columnists was fair dealing—a New Deal—for labor and the Negro. He realized that better housing and health is the foundation of internal strength and that a broader program of education could correct many of our national ills such as lynching, gangster murders and racketeering.

And so he launched his great humanitarian program. Of course almost everyone knows of WPA and PWA, the low cost housing program and farm relief. And now, the New Deal's Social Security program is rapidly becoming of greater importance to millions of workers.

Prior to Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal, the worker had no protection against old age and the inability to earn a living. Today that spectre of poverty has passed for nearly 50 million workers who have old age insurance accounts. Before the Social Security Act was passed in 1932, only one state had unemployment insurance. Today, every state in the Union issues this insurance and more than 28 million breadwinners are protected. And in addition, Federal-State aid provides for more than 700,000 children.

Disease and the death rate have appreciably declined under the New Deal program. Syphilis and gonorrhea are gradually being eradicated and soon will be almost completely eliminated. Infant and maternal mortality rates have dropped to a new low record, because the Roosevelt program has more than doubled the number of hospitals, health centers and units and have increased health facilities for those unable to pay doctors bills and those of limited means in the lower brackets of pay.

Don't Bite The Hand That Feeds You

Many Negroes over America will applaud President Roosevelt for having elevated Col. Benjamin O. Davis, a Negro, to a brigadier generalship in the United States Army. Citizens of bronzed hue look kindly upon President Roosevelt's selection of the first Negro federal judge in the person of Judge William H. Hastie, but history will perhaps forget to mention these stellar appointments of Negroes to outstanding positions in the judiciary and the army. Those who in the days to come evaluate the Roosevelt record will give much attention to the more important program of Roosevelt that lifted the standards of the common people, both black and white.

It is regarding the social and humanitarian outlook of Roosevelt which has benefitted millions of Negroes that we want to talk briefly on the eve of his re-election to the presidency. NOV 2 1940

Let us observe the Civilian Conservation Corps. All of us know in this branch of relief thousands of Negro boys were snatched from lives of crime, into which the economic debacle of 1929 had thrown them. Government reports show in dollars and cents the federal government has spent the following sums on 300,000 Negroes in CCC Camps. The Black Dispatch

$19,000,000 in clothing; $20,000,000 in food, and $21,000,000 in cash to send home to destitute parents. Remember Wendell Willkie says he will stop the spending of relief funds. Does Wendell Willkie intend to cut Civilian Conservation Camps out of the government's program of relief? Oklahoma City

Let us now observe the workings of the National Youth Administration. 82,000 Negroes were employed on NYA projects in January 1940. Never before in the history of America has the government attempted such a gigantic effort in higher education of black citizens. Authentic records in NYA files show that $2,271,366 has been granted in student work for black boys and girls enrolled in colleges. Wendell Willkie says that his first move will be to return the administration of relief to the states. Figure out how much Oklahoma has spent on the higher education of Negro youth. Then decide whether you want the Republican party to place NYA in the hands of state government. Okla.

Housing is one of the black man's greatest problems. The entire program of home is wrapped up in housing; health, morals, early training in ethical standards and good citizenship depend basicly upon proper housing.

The New Deal that Wendell Willkie and the Republican party seek to sabotage has spent $242,855,432.00 erecting beautiful, modern living units in almost every large city in the United States. In Oklahoma City alone the FHA has placed more than $200,000 in the hands of a Negro citizen with which to build beautiful homes on long time, 20-year payments for members of his race. Did Republican administrations ever promise to do anything similar?

In the Works Projects Administration Negroes have for the past five years been receiving monthly stipends

totaling $15,000,000. Think of it, $180,000,000 was paid to Negro workers in the year of 1939. More than one million Negroes have secured their livelihood directly from WPA.

In addition to this $11,000,000 in construction has been allocated to Negro colleges. The beautiful Sanford Hall and the finely appointed Agricultural building at Langston University were erected with WPA funds. A total of $27,000,000 has been spent out of WPA funds to erect Negro grade schools in the various cities. Wendell Willkie says he does not know where the millions appropriated for WPA have gone, and what has been done with this money. Is spending millions on the physical plants of Negro schools squandering money? The WPA spent three millions in the erection of the famous Homer G. Phillips Hospital, St. Louis. Oklahoma Negroes should attempt to get a WPA hospital for Oklahoma instead of listening to a man who threatens to stop this type of federal spending. In all six billions of dollars have spent by WPA in 3,071 counties of the United States and in the development of 34,500 projects.

In the Farm Security Administration department records show that up to July 1940 the following credits and loans had been made to Negro farmers:

> 50,000 short-term loans for rehabilitation, 2,014 tenant purchase loans for ownership, 1,321 families making homes and livelihoods on 34 community projects on an ownership basis. 906 families making homes and livelihoods in 20 rental cooperative communities on a rental basis.

The man who had the moral courage to inaugurate and bring into reality such a program of mass development in the United States is good enough to administer said program. Do not allow any one to fool you into voting against Roosevelt and the New Deal. Don't bite the hand that feeds you.

Third Term For FDR Threatens Liberties, Declares Colored Judge

OCT 31 1940

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Republican National Committee today called attention to a statement prepared by Judge James A. Cobb, a former U. S. District Attorney and Municipal Court Judge of the District of Columbia, in which he deplored the fact that so many of the Colored leaders of the country have failed to place emphasis on the Third Term Issue in addressing colored voters.

He mentioned a speech made in Washington a few evenings ago by a Democratic speaker who stated he "wanted Roosevelt for life."

"This, to my way of thinking," declares Judge Cobb, "is greatly to be deplored."

Continuing the statement he said, in part:

"Negroes have more to lose by a perpetuation in office of one man, which will finally eventuate into a totalitarian government, than any other class or race. The weak minority always suffers most from a depression, or a dictatorship, or a totalitarian form of government. A strong majority or a strong minority are the last to suffer, as they are in a better position to protect themselves. The real protection of any minority is the Constitution and the laws made thereunder, and when they are flouted the minority has no protection whatsoever . . .

"The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the Constitution may be printed on two pages of paper, and yet the whole protection, guaranteeing his freedom is wrapped up in those Amendments as interpreted by the courts. In other words, some of the most fundamental and profound principles of our Constitution are not in writing. . . .

"Mexico adopted a Constitution similar to ours and placed in it that the term of the President should be for four years, and no President should succeed himself. Porfirio Diaz, a man of great force and ambition, was elected President of Mexico in 1876. He served four years and when the four years were up he declared himself in strict observance of the Constitution and turned over his office to his successor whom he had chosen.

"In 1884 he was re-elected President, and thereafter every four years until 1910. He had illegally put through the Legislature a law suspending the Constitution, on account of emergency, and those who opposed he had purged. In 1910 there was a revolution and he was driven from office by Madero who, himself, was assasinated.

"Since that time there has been no stable government in Mexico, and this was brought about on account of the indispensable man, Diaz. It is true that our Constitution does not, in words, forbid a President to serve more than eight years, but for 150 years that has been the tradition and a part of the unwritten law of our great Constitution. Break it down and nothing in our Constitution is sacred.

"As before stated, our Constitution is simply an outline of government and some of the most fundamental principles are those translated into the Constitution by the Supreme Court of the United States. A decision of the Supreme Court may be overturned or overruled by another Supreme Court and, as disclosed during last year, however old a decision may be, it isn't sacred with the New Deal Supreme Court.

"So, it is at once manifest that if a tradition of 150 years may be set aside on the ambitious plea of the indispensable man that an emergency exists our Constitution is gone . . .

"The Constitution does not call for nominating conventions and, in fact, the principle was not established until 1831, but it has become a custom and tradition of the two great parties. What would the Third-Term-Candidate say, after his forced nomination in Chicago, if the Democrats of the country would say that they were not going to follow that tradition and elected someone else in lieu of him."

Joe Louis Speaks.

By the Associated Press.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 31.—Joe Louis heavyweight champion, addressing a Negro mass meeting last night criticized President Roosevelt for failing to keep his promise to eliminate persecution of the Negro in the South and urged members of his race to vote for Wendell Willkie.

Negro Colonel's Elevation Seen As Bid for Votes

OCT 26 1940

Army Officers Note Davis, First General of His Race, Must Retire in a Year

By C. B. Allen

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25.—Army officers made no secret today of their conviction that the War Department's promotion of Col. Benjamin O. Davis to be the United States Army's first Negro brigadier general in history was an out-and-out political move by the White House to influence the Negro electorate in the two critical and politically doubtful states of New York and Illinois, where the voting Negro population is large.

In support of this belief, they pointed to the unusual circumstance that the promotion, announced today among a number of others, comes at a time when he is sixty-three years old and, under the law must be retired at the end of another year's service. There have been exceptions, but the general rule in the Army is that such increases in grade are given four years before the officer concerned is due for retirement.

It was frankly admitted also that the promotion of Col. Davis, who at present commands the 369th Coast Artillery regiment of the New York National Guard, followed a wave of criticism of the Roosevelt administration and the War Department for alleged "Jim Crow-ism" in the Army. This resulted ten days ago in a special announcement of the War Department's policy toward Negroes, which was given out simultaneously at the White House.

The announcement in question, which some quarters have dubbed the Army's "appeasement release" because it was issued under pressure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and similar organizations that had protested the War Department's alleged "discrimination" against Negroes, declared that the services of Negroes would be "utilized on a fair and equitable basis" in the nation's defense program, including the new peace-time selective service system. It outlined a seven-point policy designed to achieve this objective, one provision being that Negro organizations were to be established "in each major branch of the service" and another that there would be no intermingling of "colored and white enlisted personnel."

Officers commenting today on the War Department's tentative selection of its new Negro general to command a brigade in the 2d Cavalry Division, at Fort Riley, Kan., said the Army's companion policy, one of segregating white and colored officers, would suffer a radical reversal if this assignment should be carried out. While the proposed command of Gen. Davis would be made up of Negro troops, these are led by white officers, in accordance with the Army's regular practice, and 154 such men, ranging from colonels down to second lieutenants, would find themselves with a Negro commander.

One speculation which seems to be receiving wide credence in the Army is that, instead of permitting such a situation to develop, the Administration will make a still stronger bid for the Negro vote within the next few days by announcing that colored reserve officers for Gen. Davis's entire brigade will be called to active duty, thereby relieving the present white officers of its component units for service elsewhere in the rapidly expanding Army. Part of the so-called "appeasement release" declared that "Negro reserve officers eligible for active duty will be assigned to Negro units officered by colored personnel."

War Department records show that there are approximately 350 Negro reserve officers in the United States, and part of the recent "Jim Crow" clamor raised against the Army stemmed from the fact that these men were not being called to active duty. There are only five Negro officers in the Regular Army, three of these being chaplains.

Gen. Davis and his son, Capt. Benjamin O. Davis jr., are the Army's only Negro line officers. Capt. Davis, a West Point graduate, had such high academic standing there that he ranked all the officers of his class assigned to the infantry, and he is now professor of military science at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

Following the White House-War Department announcement of policy toward Negroes in the Army on Oct. 15, the Administration has been criticized from several sources for apparently attempting to create the false impression that Negro flying cadets are already receiving training in the Air Corps. One provision of the announcement said that "Negroes are being given aviation training as pilots, mechanics and technical specialists. This training will be accelerated. Negro aviation units will be formed as soon as the necessary personnel has been trained."

As a matter of fact, "aviation training as pilots" is not being given to Negroes by the Army. The only government instruction of this nature is in the civilian flight training program of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, principally at Glenview, Ill., near Chicago. There is a loosely implied interest by both the Army and Navy in graduates of the C. A. A. training program.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

The Platform of the Other Siamese Twin

• At Chicago the Democratic Party has brought forth a platform which is essentially akin to that of the Republican Party.

Both political aggregations now stand out as Siamese twins, joined together in the flesh by the nexus of Wall Street control.

No issue is more vital to the American people at the moment than the question of imperialist war. Both parties treat the people with like contempt in this respect. They both let out leather-lunged shouts for "Peace," and at the same time leave the door open for any involvement in imperialist adventures that the monopolists and profiteers may see fit to promote.

The New York Sun, Republican veteran in the service of reaction, is quick to take note of this similarity in policy enunciated at Philadelphia and Chicago. "The point of principal interest in the Democratic platform is that it differs so little from the Republican platform in its statement of foreign policy," declares the Sun in its editorial yesterday. To which it adds: "On the issue of aid to foreign nations the two platforms are almost twins."

The British imperialist press reaches similar conclusions. The London Evening News stated editorially yesterday that the Republican and Democratic platforms "present no perceptible differences to eyes on this side of the Atlantic . . . in their references to help for Britain in her struggle." The London Evening Star viewed "the situation with great encouragement in that both candidates are men who will see that Britain gets such help as America can give her."

Thus, both platforms are correctly judged as equally committed to war collusion with British imperialist interests.

If there is any difference between the two, it is that the Democratic platform on this point is more heavily veneered with the Wilsonian varnish of demagogy. The Democrats have to go a bit farther in their incantations on "peace" because of the wild war incitements which have recently been uttered from the White House. They know, too, that the people are closely watching the President, suspicious that he may involve them in an imperialist attempt at war.

It is precisely because of this alertness on the part of the people that we behold the party, which has been sulphurously belching out war threats, now making "pledges" in contradiction of its actions. Who was the first to inaugurate the campaign to keep American boys from the imperialist slaughterhouse? It was the militant labor movement, with the ringing call of "The Yanks are not coming." Who was it that supported such a call, in every part of the country? It was the Communists and their friends.

The Democratic Party of the "dagger" speeches and of "all aid short of war" remains the Wall Street war party that it has been—equalled as such by the party which took an exactly similar position in its Philadelphia convention.

* * *

The domestic program laid down by the Democratic leadership is of a like character. More frankly even does it reveal the imperialist war aims of the Democratic Party's ruling circles, in the war which it maps out against the interests of the people.

Tuesday's warning by President John L. Lewis of the Congress of Industrial Organizations that "labor must not let down its guard" in the fight against anti-labor legislation is borne out vividly by this anti-people's platform handed out at Chicago.

While it hypocritically talks about "human resources," it gives its true slant in referring to the "deserving tenant farmer," thus laying the basis for the continuance of that farm policy which has not aided the "undeserving" but largely the rich and monopoly-controlled agriculturalists.

On the National Labor Relations Act, it dodges all responsibility and opens the way for the Smith amendments by referring to "the principles" of the act and not to the evil of these emasculating amendments.

On slum clearance, it openly pawns off under that title the building of barracks in which the housing funds are now being diverted.

On the anti-union "anti-trust" persecutions against labor, it gives no promise of a halt. It promises effusively, in contrast, that "aid to business" which we have noted in the greatest growth of monopoly under this administration in the history of the country and in the opening of the flood gates for unlimited war profiteering.

On civil liberties, it promises a continuance of its witch-hunts in its silence on these grave abuses and in its loose and intemperate talk against those who "incite class against class."

To the Negro people, it shows the utmost contempt. When they ask for bread, it gives them a stone. Not a word does it offer in support of the anti-lynching bill or in relief from the poll tax. The shadow of the Southern Bourbon forbade this party, which writes so loosely about "democracy," from carrying out democracy in the life of this Republic.

Hoping to hide its program of the iron fist against the people, the platform suddenly bursts forth into the most exuberant hypocrisy on the power question. There it declares that the "power of falling water is a gift from God, and consequently belongs not to the favored few but to all the people." The masses will recognize the tripe in this statement when they see all about them other "gifts of God"—oil, iron ore, lumber and the like—ratified in the grip of the monopolists by this Wall Street party. Not only does the Democratic Party feed and foster monopoly through the loot which it permits in the present profiteering, but it honors monopoly by placing its chief representatives on the "National Defense Council."

The Daily Worker shall analyze the Democratic and Republican Party platforms, plank by plank, in the near future. Both of them stand out as expressions of Wall Street—for war and hunger. Both of them are of the same character as their "standard bearers," Roosevelt and Willkie—the voices of the finance capitalists and war profiteers.

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican party serve the people. Both have confessed as much in the platforms they have adopted and the candidates they have chosen.

Negro Plank In Republican vs. Democratic Platform

SEP 1940

Chicago, July (ANP)—The National Democratic convention meeting here recently included the following plank in its platform:

"Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education and the rehabilitation of low income farm families. We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed, or color."

The Negro plank in the Republican platform, reported recently, reads as follows:

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the army, navy and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted.

Georgia Group Decides Against Vice Presidency Commitments

Convention Like Mystery Story; Roosevelt Nomination Seems Certain, But No One Knows If He Will Accept Third Term.

By RALPH McGILL.

CHICAGO, Ill., July 14.—Georgia's delegation to the 1940 national democratic convention met in its first caucus this afternoon and agreed to make no commitments on the vice presidential candidate.

The convention is something like a mystery story you have read before; but the details of which you can't quite remember. Franklin D. Roosevelt is to be nominated and yet not a person has a word from the President he will accept.

Yet, as the dusk of Sunday came on not one person in Chicago doubted he would refuse.

Farley Adamant.

The Georgia delegation carefully kept its fingers out of the Farley-Roosevelt statement. The two still are friends. The two still have a genuine devotion one for the other. Democratic leaders kept saying Farley was not quitting because of any disagreement. But those more realistic knew that many, many persons had gone to Farley asking him to continue and that he had said he would not support any third term plan by the President. He loves the President, but he is adamant.

This was his price. No one was willing to pay it.

The Democrats want Roosevelt. They believe the people of America want him. So Farley is to retire.

Garner Is Flop.

Most amazing and somewhat incongruous flop of the convention is that of John Nance Garner. The Texan simply "loves" being vice president. For a month now the word has been that Garner would be willing to take a third term as vice president.

Today it was definite. John Nance Garner, foe of the third term, wants to be a third-term vice president.

Jim Farley will take no part. But the Farley malcontents likely will support Garner in an effort to retain him as the vice presidential nominee. It will not succeed.

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The convention opens at noon tomorrow. The story persists that when the roll call is begun, Lister Hill, of Alabama, will nominate Roosevelt. That is as good a guess as any.

Broken Traditions

THE National Democratic convention which convened here last week broke many historical traditions and precedents. The unwritten law which prevented a president's nomination for a third term was overwhelmingly reversed. The age old rule that no Negro would address a Democratic convention was discarded. The refusal of previous conventions to include a plank in their platforms concerning the treatment to be accorded the nation's largest minority met with prompt abandon.

The convention was the most liberal one held in the history of the Democratic party. The selection of President Roosevelt as a third term candidate was the plain recognition of the fact that the precedent was secondary to the man, his record and his program. The delegates took the position that it was better to keep a man for twelve years whose policies they knew and whose ideas they admired than, for the sake of tradition, choose a candidate whose program and policies would be the subject for future appraisal.

When the Democratic convention met four years ago a tradition was broken when a Negro minister prayed at the opening on one of the sessions. Senator "Cotton" Ed Smith of South Carolina promptly walked out and made no bones about the reason for his action. Last Tuesday Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of Wilberforce university prayed in the convention. Following the prayer, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell delivered an address to the delegates. No one walked out. Senator "Cotton" Ed Smith did not attend the convention. His kind is becoming extinct.

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Although the platform failed to mention specifically the intention of restoring Negro suffrage in the southern states or of enacting an anti-lynch law, the "equal protection" clause is sufficiently broad to include both. Whether it was the intention of the drafters to so include those provisions is left to conjecture. However, it is important to know that the Democratic party, dominated as it is by the South, has seen fit to include a plank in its platform pledging a "new deal" to Negroes. The party that has seen fit to enact grandfather clauses; to pass laws designed to keep Negroes from holding public offices; and to legislate the ballot from the Negroes of the South now makes a bid for colored votes and promises to give to all citizens, regardless of race or color, the equal protection of the laws.

The cause for this liberal gesture of friendship is founded upon the exodus of the Negro voter to the Democratic party under the administration of President Roosevelt. Prior to that time only a handful of Negroes voted the democratic ticket and it was considered bad political etiquette to vote other than a straight Republican ticket. Therefore, the Democratic party made no bid for the Negro vote. It had no reason to do so. Its vote was lily-white; its platform was the same. Since platforms were made to attract voters it was useless, prior to the birth of the New Deal to attempt to entice Negro voters.

During the last seven years the Negroes have been given considerable recognition by the present administration. More than 300,000 have been employed by the W. P. A. Some 300,000 colored boys have enrolled in the C. C. C. camps. Many Negroes held important positions in various departments of the government. We have benefited in the housing program, the government aid to schools and the farm program. The party, therefore, has recognized us.

Today the Negro is assisting in formulating the principles of the Democratic party. He contributes to that party's support. When any minority group stands in such a strategic position he can aid in dictating the policies of the organization.

Neither of the two major parties can now claim a monopoly on the Negro votes. Both find it profitable to offer inducement to secure them. That is a healthy political trend and should be the method by which the balance lot will eventually be restored to the colored people in the South.

Georgia Group Decides Against Vice Presidency Commitments

Convention Like Mystery Story; Roosevelt Nomination Seems Certain, But No One Knows If He Will Accept Third Term.

By RALPH McGILL.

CHICAGO, Ill., July 14.—Georgia's delegation to the 1940 national democratic convention met in its first caucus this afternoon and agreed to make no commitments on the vice presidential candidate.

Courier-Journal 7-15-40

The convention is something like a mystery story you have read before; but the details of which you can't quite remember. Franklin D. Roosevelt is to be nominated and you not a person was a word from the President he will accept.

Yet, as the dusk of Sunday came on not one person in Chicago doubted he would refuse.

Farley Adamant.

The Georgia delegation carefully kept its fingers out of the Farley-Roosevelt statement. The two still are friends. The two still have a genuine devotion one for the other. Democratic leaders kept saying Farley was not quitting because of any disagreement. But those more realistic knew that many, many persons had gone to Farley asking him to continue and that he had said he would not support any third term plan by the President. He loves the President, but he is adamant.

This was his price. No one was willing to pay it.

The Democrats want Roosevelt. They believe the people of America want him. So Farley is to retire.

Garner Is Flop.

Most amazing and somewhat incongruous flop of the convention is that of John Nance Garner. The Texan simply "loves" being vice president. For a month now the word has been that Garner would be willing to take a third term as vice president.

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Bee 7-28-40

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POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Rome, Ga. News Tribune
February 21, 1940

Misconceptions of Democracy

THE interpretation of democracy given by Mrs. Roosevelt in her address at the Bethune Cookman College for Negroes, is so thoroughly in line with concepts now dominant in many quarters that it deserves the most thoughtful consideration.

At one point Mrs. Roosevelt said "democracy simply means that more and more people can share the good things of life," and at another she said, "Every step forward toward giving more people a better existance is a step toward a more perfect democracy."

This concept is interesting because it is at variance with the concepts which have prevailed throughout the ages and which led finally to the freedom of the Negro from serdom.

Heretofore democracy has been accepted as meaning government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme authority, or power, is lodged in the hands of the people collectively. Or, to put it another way, democracy has meant equality in regard to political and legal rights.

The War Between the States ostensibly was fought to give equal rights to the Negro and to confer upon him the blessings of democracy. He was to be made free. There was no pretense that he was to be endowed with anything of value except freedom. He was not to be enriched materially or have bestowed upon him the more abundant life. He was to be admitted to the family of democracy; was to be made a free man. That was all. Lincoln was hailed as the Great Emancipator; not the "Great Bestower of the Abundant Life."

Were is accurate to say that democracy "simply means that more and more people can share the good things of life," it would also be true to say that the Negro as a slave enjoyed a greater degree of democracy than he enjoys as a free man. This is true because as a slave the Negro enjoyed "more of the good things of life" than the majority has enjoyed since being admitted to the household of democracy. Thus if the test of democracy is "more of the good things of life", the Negro has been grossly short-changed, just as a vast number of white persons are being short-changed today under false interpretations of what democracy means.

In spite of all that has been said to the contrary, as the forces of propaganda held sway, the Negro was well cared for as a slave. Quite aside form the fact that most Southerners were humane in their treatment of the slaves, and had a genuine affection for them in thousands of instances, the slave possessed a cash value that made proper care inevitable. The average slave owner would no more have thought of neglecting a $1,200 Negro than the average horse trainer would have thought of neglecting a $1,200 trotter. The tangible value insured proper food, medical care and freedom from abuse.

Thus there never was a time, except during the latter days of the War Between the States, when the Negroes on Southern plantations were not better housed and better fed than the two-thirds of the present-day population about which so much is heard. The millions of slaves had comfortable cabins, with abundant fuel in winter; they had plenty of food and received constant supervision looking to the preservation of health. Thus, if democracy means simply the enjoyment of the good things of life, the slaves of long ago enjoyed more democracy than is enjoyed by the negro freeman of today.

The truth, however, is that democracy is an intellectual and spiritual quality rather than a guarantee of meat and bread and shelter. It implies that men shall be free without necessarily implying that they shall have an abundance of the good things of life. Indeed, the struggle for democracy has been attended in thousands of instances by a deliberate sacrifice of comfort and security and "the good things of life."

This leads finally to the fundamental defect in modern processes of reasoning that are leading more and more to the sacrifice of the freedom that is associated with democracy. Men whose freedom was bought with a tremendous price in blood and sacrifice, are robbed of their liberty of action upon the spacious pretense that they will be better off in "the good things of life" if they are deprived of their liberty. Today millions of men are denied the right to work for whom they please for what they please and must be governed by rules laid down in Washington rather than by their own consciences or desires.

Thus democracy, which stands for 'human freedom, is bent to serve the needs of a crass materialism that pretends to furnish more of the good things of life without doing it except in a minority of instances. Millions of underprivileged and unskilled persons are denied the right to take the small job that might provide them with a few of the comforts of life while giving them a feeling of independence, while millions of young persons are denied the opportunity to learn trades or professions that might lead to independence, because "government by the people," has give way to government by selfish minority groups that wish to prosper at the expense of the young, the unskilled and the unfortunate.

Democracy means more freedom, not more meat and bread, but it should mean equal opportunity in the acquirement of meat and bread, yet this form of equality has disappeared in the United states,, the chief sufferers being the Negroes and the most underprivileged among other elements.

Clover, S. C., Herald
April 4, 1940

LEWIS HINTS AT 3RD PARTY

Stormy Labor Leader's Blast Discounted By Congressmen

Washington, April 2. — John L. Lewis thrust under the nose of the Democratic party yesterday what some politicians called a third party threat.

He announced that unless the party selected a candidate for president or a platform satisfactory "to labor and the common people" he would call a convention "to formulate a program that each and every American can support."

The leader of the Congress of Industrial Organizations said he would invite to the convention "Liberal Agricultural Organizations," the American Youth Congress, the American Society for the Advancement of Colored people, the American Negro conference and other groups.

"We'll see whether mere machine politics in this country are going to be more powerful than the voice of the people," he told a meeting of miners at Monagah, W. V.

"I don't expect anything from the Republicans," he said.

His announcement came at a time when the struggle for presidential delegates is warming up. In the Wisconsin primary tomorrow, the Democratic contest for 24 convention delegates will find two slates of delegates favoring a third term for President Roosevelt pitted against a slate supporting Vice President Garner. Contesting for the 24 Republican delegates are Senator Vandenberg of Michigan and Thomas E. Dewey, New York district attorney.

The first general reaction among prominent Democrats to Lewis' pronouncement was to discount it.

Senator Johnson (Democrat) of Colorado said "that sounds like a third party balloon to me—and I don't think the people are ready for a third party in the 1940 election."

Senator Smith (Democrat) of South Carolina declared:

"I think it's time for the country to have a showdown with Mr. Lewis."

Smith said he hoped the Democrats would nominate a candidate "favorable to all," without any special favor to anyone.

"If we're going to begin this class legislation, our government's gone," he added.

Lewis avoided using the phrase "third party" in his address. The C. I. O. leader already has the nucleus of a national political organization in labor's non-partisan league, of which he is chairman.

Negro Democrat Leaves New Deal

4-12-40 Kansas City Kansas

Hobson R. Reynolds (right), Philadelphia Negro Democratic member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, is shown at Republican Headquarters in Washington telling John Hamilton, Chairman Republican National Committee, and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Republican advisor on Negro Affairs at Republican Headquarters, that the New Deal has failed the Negro. Mr Reynolds said that "like thousands of other colored persons, I was lured into support of the New Deal hoping the Negro people would fare better; but the New Deal has failed my people and now I have decided the best interests of the Negro can be served through the election of a Republican President." He said he was casting his lot with "the awakened, liberal and progressive leadership of the Republican organization." The Philadelphia legislator is head of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Colored Elks of America and was author of a law providing civil liberties for Negroes in Pennsylvania.

Mark the Day of Reckoning

The state Democratic executive committee, by adopting resolutions calling on Roosevelt to run for a third term and hand-picking a delegation committed to his nomination, has dealt a deadly blow to one of the most cherished institutions of the republican form of government and in the name of the Democratic party has enthroned a ruthless dictatorship which finds no parallel outside the iron rule of Germany and Russia.

It is the cynical betrayal of a public trust, a violation of political morality which will speed us along the way to that state socialism which has long been the goal of the New Deal.

The rank and file of true Democrats all over Georgia will resent it and voice their feelings with maledictions both loud and deep.

The committee, in effect, has said that the people of this state are incapable of thinking for themselves and that a little group of 120 persons, with no shadow of a mandate, may deposit the political rights and liberties of the people in the vest pocket of Governor Rivers.

In a brief drawn up by the law committee of the Presidential Preferential Primary Committee, it was pointed out that this executive committee was named on the basis of a general election in which state issues were the controlling factor.

So far as national issues were involved the vote was more than three to one against the New Deal and could give no color of right to name a third-term delegation.

The group which often agitates for repeal of the poll tax so as to widen the electorate has despotically disfranchised the Democratic voters of an entire state.

The action of the committee is all the more arbitrary because thousands of Democrats who are strongly in favor of the renomination of Roosevelt have joined in the demand for a preferential primary. While they are apparently confident that the outcome of the balloting would be in favor of their candidate, they at least recognize as a matter of principle, that our democratic processes assure a free people the right to express their own wishes at the polls.

In the meantime the rights of the minority, the protection of which is fundamental in our system of government, are trodden under foot.

The resolution introduced in the committee meeting, calling upon Roosevelt to run for a third terl, and effectively denying the people of Georgia the right to vote, was offered by Ralph McGill, executive editor of the Atlanta Constitution, who held the proxy and spoke the sentiments of Clark Howell, editor of that newspaper, who piped the tune to which 120 marionettes danced so light-heartedly.

The procedure was quite consistent with the general belief that Major Howell is to be given the pottage of national committeeman as the price of his apostacy from the political principles formerly espoused in his newspaper.

As we have indicated, the state convention of 1938 and the present state Democratic committee were appointed by Governor Rivers, who ran on state issues in a gubernatorial primary.

Neither that convention nor its executive committee was designed or could be logically intended to name the party nominee for president two years later. As to this, the Atlanta Constitution, on April 21, 1939, said:

> Such a proposal, at this time, IS REPUGNANT TO THE THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES, as understood in Georgia. The Democratic party has never been willing to delegate the authority which reposes, primarily, in the rank and file of its members, to ANY SELECT GROUP, HAND-PICKED, or otherwise.

Apparently, a hand-picked delegation ceases to be repugnant to the Atlanta Constitution in face of the editor's overweening ambition for political power and prestige and the rank and file can only shake their fists in baffled anger and resentment.

The resolution introduced by McGill said the president's leadership "is enabling this country to maintain the democratic ideal and the liberties and rights of the individual through the peaceful solution of our social and economic problems, in marked contrast with the leadership of Europe where failure to solve the same problems brought dictatorships, loss of liberty and war."

Surely, such a farrago of bombast and misstatement has seldom been embodied in a single sentence.

How can it be said that Roosevelt's leadership has maintained the "ideal" of democracy when it has betrayed and perverted every principle for which Thomas Jefferson stood? In place of the ideal that the people are best governed who are least governed we find a monster of bureaucracy with 130 autocratic agencies, strangling the rights and liberties of the people.

With the extent of unemployment practically unchanged and the index of production making the most rapid and sensational decline in history, every social and economic problem has been perpetuated and intensified by blunder after blunder under the dreamy rule of crackpot experimenters.

The freedom of speech has been smothered until an employer can be ruined if he dares discuss with his own employes the questions of most vital concern to one and the other. He must "reinstate" with "back pay" men who have never been on his pay roll.

Billions of investment dollars cower in idleness and fear, because it has become the militant creed of the New Deal that business and industry bear the outlaw brand of Cain, "Behold thou hast driven me out, so that whosover findeth me shall slay me."

Just so surely as night follows day, this New Deal is driving us toward the totalitarian rule of Hitler and Stalin, and one of the most obvious instruments is this sinister movement for a third term, which, as Jefferson warned, may so easily become a fourth term and a life term.

The day of reckoning will come.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Charleston, S. C News & Courier
July 13, 1940

To South Carolina's Chicago Delegates

James F. Byrnes, South Carolina senator, stood on the floor of the United States senate, opposing the anti-Southern or "anti-lynching" bill, January 11 1938, and, speaking in the manly fashion of a Southern man, said:

"The negro has not only come into the Democratic party, but the negroes have come into control of the Democratic party."

That bill has not been abandoned. It has passed the house. It has a majority of Democrats and Republicans, Northern and Western men, in the senate.

The Southern Democrats, so far, have defeated it by a filibuster. Only by a filibuster.

Does the national Democratic party stand for that measure? Then let it say so in the Chicago convention next week. It is the bill that defines and proclaims national Democratic opposition to Southern interest.

It is the national Democratic party's declaration of party war against the South. Shall South Carolinians in the Chicago convention hold their peace about it? They are not dumb men.

Senator Byrnes is a delegate to the Chicago convention. So is Senator Smith. They say he won't be there. He ought to be there. Governor Maybank will be there. Mr. George Warren of Hampton is chairman of the delegation of thirty-four South Carolinians. The man for whom his county is named would not be silent about this bill were he living. Nor would Ben Tillman.

These South Carolinians should demand that the Chicago convention in its platform denounce the anti-lynching bill. It would be consistent with the manly position that Byrnes has taken.

If the convention will not condemn the bill, let the South Carolinians put the convention and party on record. Surely they can make a stand for South Carolina.

What are they there for if not to defend their state against attack on the vitals of its civilization?

President Roosevelt could kill the bill with a word. He won't speak it. His long silence approximates a pledge that he will **not** veto it if it be passed. His wife openly works for its passage, and she is a distinguished party member

The pending bill is a "Democratic" measure. It is the bill of Democrats of Northern cities where the negro vote is large.

It is the bill of negroes who "have come into control of the Democratic party."

If Byrnes and other Southern men can fight it in congress, why can't they fight it in the platform committee room and on the floor of the convention?

They would be hissed by Mayor Kelley's Chicago negroes.

They would be cheered by the white people of South Carolina.

Of these thirty-four South Carolina delegates many will be in politics hereafter. Some of them will be candidates for congress and other offices.

Let the voters of South Carolina see what they shall do in Chicago. And remember.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
October 20, 1940

John Armstrong Heads Knox Negro Democrats

John Armstrong has been appointed Knox County chairman for Negroes in the Democratic campaign, it was announced yesterday. Lula Meek is vice-chairman in charge of the Negro women's organization.

Negro headquarters are being opened on Vine Avenue, and a rally has been set at headquarters for Thursday night.

Negro Democrats In Chicago Session Issue Statement To Nation On Many Vital Issues

Sanford Committee Discusses Defense, Education, Labor and Other Problems

Suffrage Stressed In Statement

CHICAGO.—Headed by J. W. Sanford, Oklahoma City, the Committee on statement to the nation, named by Dr. William J. Thompkins, president of the National Colored Democratic Association, presented and the assembled delegates endorsed a very elaborate survey covering conditions affecting Negroes out in the nation.

The statement was read to the vast assemblage just before the arrival of James A. Farley, postmaster general, and chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

The following is the text of the statement to the nation:

* * *

Citizens of America:

The year 1940 ushers in a new decade. History is being made hourly, the social, economic, educational, spiritual and political standards of the world are being developed. Every nation and organizations within nations are redrafting and planning to meet the trend of events which the world depression and the struggle for existence and self preservation has placed upon the world. The National Colored Democratic Association at its twelfth quadrennial convention has taken cognizance of this situation. From fact-finding groups, surveys and careful and intensive studies. It has sought to give the nation a program of activity and adjustment which is required at this time to bring the colored citizens of this great country the greatest opportunity to serve their fatherland with all of its outstanding loyal strength. To this end we dedicate this letter to the nation at large.

We believe national defense, education, labor, health, housing, recreation, civil service, social security, voting, and emergency employment each are paramount issues of citizenship. We have therefore set down a plan of action for each, which will follow in their respective order of listing.

I. National Defense

We believe that every able-bodied citizen should serve his country in the hour of peril. We demand, however, that able bodied citizens have the right to serve in any branch of the Navy, Army, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, or Air Corps and in the capacity and rank which they are qualified to attain regardless of race or color.

We further ask an opportunity for all citizens to be able to enlist in the National Guard of every state and that the numerical ratio of population and taxes paid entitle the colored inhabitants of a State to just representation in the State Militias. Further, that the service schools of the Navy, Army, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and air corps be opened to the colored youth on the same basis as to the other youth and that every courtesy and fair treatment be accorded the colored youth while members of these institutions.

We recommend an amendment to the reorganization bill of the various military branches to bring about these adjustments in peace times, but during the present emergency we propose that the general staff of the army and the President make immediate adjustment.

We ask the immediate appointment of coordinators in the program of national defense of colored representatives who can advise concerning the service of our group.

II. Education

Education is embodied in the general welfare clause of the preamble of the constitution and therefore should be offered as opportunity to every potential citizen of the nation without discrimination and with equal facilities. Where states are delinquent in educational opportunities because of race, the national government should provide the funds. The trend of machinery is employment and vocational occupations in all lines of industry at present make it imperative that all schools offer the opportunity to boys and girls of high school level to pursue to some trade or vocation. We however do not condone the practice in some systems of forcing every child of the colored race to take only industrial courses.

We demand an opportunity where Federal funds are allocated to state universities that every citizen of the state so involved give equal opportunity to pursue courses at these institutions. Illiteracy must be wiped out in all sections of the country. We believe the only qualification of a teacher should be merit and no bar should be placed on account of color.

III. Labor and Employment

Labor and employment represent the life blood of a people, any tendency to discriminate or handicap the right to earn a living at a livable wage is disgraceful. Any organization which seeks to hinder the employment of a worker simply because of color by setting up barriers of membership in a union, craft or club should be barred as contrary to the public welfare and security of the nation. We have witnessed this situation too long in America. Peace between the two large labor organizations, the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., would be immediate if the classes of discrimination were removed.

We believe everyone who works in a similar industry should have the same protection as anyone else working for the same industry regardless of craftmanship, and should have the opportunity to join all organizations which have the power to bargain hours and wages.

We believe and demand that all public utilities and corporations under state and government charters should be compelled to employ all citizens who are capable regardless of color. We believe all business houses should be given opportunity to all its citizens, black or white.

IV. Health

The health of the citizens is guarantee to the future strength of the nation, likewise to the propagation of the race. We ask the appointment of colored health directors in all states, cities and territories of this nation. We ask that their directors supervise the establishment of pre-natal clinics, baby stations and health depots in all parts of the country in order to give the proper health education so badly needed.

V. Housing

Poor housing and living conditions breed vice, crime, disease and destroy the moral fibre of any people. So-called black belts and ghettoes are un-American and disgraceful sections without adequate police protection, light and sewerage. The program of better housing already started should be continued and rents placed upon the scale of fairness to the wages earned.

Vi. Recreational

Recreational opportunities are of prime necessity in large urban centers and in industrial towns. Proper play and recreational habits make for purity and honesty, bring about tolerance and promote initiative. The race needs more trained recreational workers and every opportunity should be given to the young women and men today to so train.

VII. Civil Service

Civil Service systems in the states and nation should be on a merit basis. We recommend the numerical order of appointment rather than the choice of one out of three. We recommend fingerprints as sole identification rather than photos. We ask that the Civil Service Act be so amended.

VIII Federal Security law

We believe that the Federal Social Security Law should be extended to all classes of workers, to include agricultural and domestic workers.

IX. Suffrage

The right to vote is given every citizen under the provisions of the constitution and provision for punishing those who deny that right. We believe these provisions should be enforced. We go on record, as from this day forth, to work for the enfranchisment of all citizens, in all states. It is our firm belief that the ballot will do more to wipe out the reprehensible crime of lynching than any enactment of Congress.

X Emergency Work

The WPA, CCC, N.YA, FHA, AAA, should be administered fairly and should have equal representation of employment for all citizens, particular in CCC camps, where a system of training and education prevails, there should be equal and fair opportunities in higher administrative positions.

Since these camps are colored, as units, we ask that the administrative personnel be changed to all colored immediately as qualified persons are found for the positions.

In order to carry out these aforementioned plans and program we have appointed a committee to work out in detail the necessary data for the accomplishment of all. We sincerely believe that the provisions herein provided represent our first line of defense, and we can truthfully write history of a great Race for a thousand years.

Greeneville, Tenn., News-Bulletin
October 17, 1940

Negro Demo "Smear" Try Draws Rebukes

Barton Says It Marks All Time Low In Mud Slinging

Referring to a pamphlet in which Wendell Willkie's German ancestry was discussed, Chairman Joseph W. Martin of the Republican National Committee declared:

"The vicious attack on the loyalty and patriotism of Wendell Willkie issued by the colored division of the Democratic National Committee culminates a definite plan of the New Deal high command to 'smear' the Republican nominee, to which not only Henry A. Wallace, the New Deal Vice-Presidential candidate, and Governor Lehman of New York have been parties, but which has been aided by the third term Presidential candidate himself."

Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee, said the pamphlet was the product "of a volunteer worker who is very enthusiastic," and that it was never distributed.

Chairman Edward J. Flynn of the National Committee reiterated a repudiation of the circular and said he was "chagrined that some reckless individual has done such a disservice to our great President and party as to issue this stupid document."

Governor Harold Stassen of Minnesota demanded that Flynn apologize to his state, saying that the pamphlet had called Minnesota the "German state of the union."

Secretary Ickes, at a Buffalo, N. Y., press conference, called the pamphlet "stupid and indefensible."

Rep. Bruce Barton (R., N. Y.) said it "probably marks an all-time low in the history of mud slinging in a political campaign."

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

King County Colored Democratic Club Places Two In Treasurer's Office

B. H. Barrow and Davic Williams have been appointec to the County Treasurer staff at was learned this week. Announcement of the appointment of the two men was made through the King County Colored Democratic club, of which both are members.

At a meeting of the club held Jan. 9, at 1919 E. Thomas St. with President Arthur Head presiding, formation of a program for presentation to candidates seeking election to city offices was begun. This program is designed to promote economic security of the Negro populace of the city. It will be presented to candidates in the near future.

Further information concerning the work of the King County Colored Democratic club will appear in later issues of this paper, according to Perry Stockard, secretary.

NEW DEAL DEGRADATION

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

For the past ten years I have lived in Washington and for the past five years have been in employe of the government. I am a native of Bibb county and many years ago Bridges Smith was my friend.

I am a Democrat (not a Roosevelt Democrat).

Today our nation's capitol is filled with lobbyists, prostitutes, beggars, highwaymen, bloated New Dealers.

Thousands are on relief and there are 25,000 unemployed here; Negroes by the thousands have come here from the South and are living without work: the Communists are busy among them, and the present administration is pampering them in every way possible.

Over one hundred thousand people from every state in the Union have flocked here and thousands have been tucked away in jobs with nothing to do.

For instance as I sit here in my office writing I can see 43 Negroes and six white men digging a ditch 230 feet long; they have been on this one ditch 19 days.

I heard the foreman say that he was on one job when he made the men come up and get back down in a ditch five times and when one of them asked him the reason his reply was that they brought up more dirt on their feet than they threw out with their shovels.

In my office there are 29 men and women employed, half of them in so-called emergency work, drawing from $1400 to $2000 per year. Ten people could do the work of the 29 now employed.

There are more murders, robberies, gambling and people killed by automobiles here than any other city of the same population in America. Government officials, or at least half of them here, ride in high-priced autos with government-paid chauffeurs, until the small hours.

Wine, beer and whisky flow in the night clubs and in the arms of many of these officials painted women are held up while they dance to the tune of "O Johnny."

If the sober-minded men and women of America allow these things to continue by electing Roosevelt again, this nation is headed for serious trouble.

Squandering of public money by men in public office, while honest men and women who strive to earn an honest dollar, and then are forced to pay it to the government to be squandered will some day rise in anger and then blood will color the earth.

I trust that my people of the South will awake and defeat the traitors who have sold our people down the river.

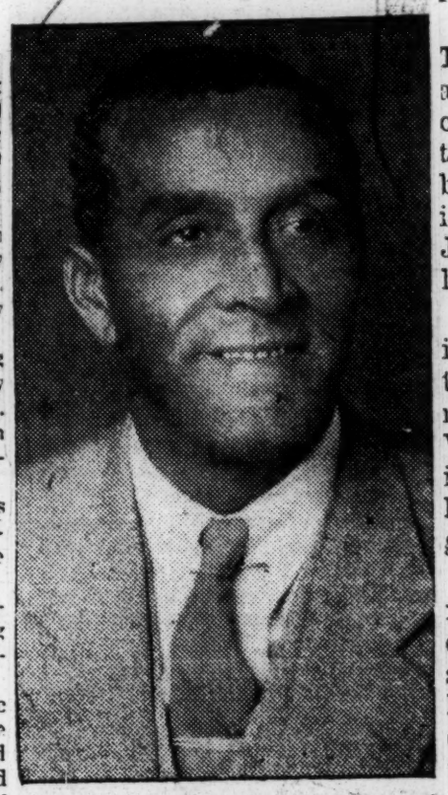
I wish that I were able to write as well as I can speak from a platform. If I could I feel assured that I could impress your readers.

In conclusion let me say that if the good people of my state knew the true facts as they are here they would not vote for the so-called New Deal.

BOB THOMAS.

Arlington, Va.

Enters Race



ISAAC JOHNSON, merchant and fraternal leader of Hampton, Va., who was one of the four persons to file their names on Friday with the chairman of the Democratic city committee seeking endorsement of the party for three seats in the city council to be filled in the general election in June. The primary will be held in April.

6 YEARS, 355 DAYS OVERDUE

A ONE-MAN PARTY

The Democratic Party undoubtedly has a much better claim to being a national organization now than it has been since the Civil War, but nevertheless it has become just as much a one-man party as it was some forty years ago when William Jennings Bryan became its undisputed leader.

No better proof of the Democrats being under one-man rule is needed than the condition of the party just five months before the national convention. With a host of hopefuls ready and anxious to seek the favor of delegates, the Man in the White House is refusing to give the "go signal" to any of them.

Mr. Roosevelt, plainly, can win the nomination, hands down, if he either indicates he will accept it or even keeps silent and suffers himself to be drafted. Possibly a majority of Democratic workers say Mr. Roosevelt is the only man in the party capable of waging a successful fight against a now militant Republican Party that is blessed with a fine array of young, progressive candidates.

The only men, besides Mr. Roosevelt who appear to have a very considerable following are Messrs Garner, Farley and Hull. It is divulging no great secret to say that neither of these leaders is a New Dealer. They belong to the array of Democrats who can boast that they have never "scratched" a nominee of their party. Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand lets the world know that he often has voted the Republican ticket, even voted for the G.O.P. nominee for President in 1904 in preference to the Democratic nominee.

Mr. Roosevelt knows that there are not enough Democrats in the country to elect a President. He has sought to build a party composed of all of the Democrats, but with the understanding that they must share room in the bed with Republican newcomers.

Mr. Roosevelt tells them that it is that "or else" and most Democrats appear to be in such hearty agreement with their Chief that they are about to abandon their opposition to a third term "because of the emergency."

WILBERFORCE HEAD BACKS THIRD TERM

D. Ormonde Walker Wants Roosevelt to Remain in White House

CLEVELAND.—(ANP)—In an address Sunday to a packed audience attending the St. James Literary forum, Dr. D. Ormonde Walker, president of Wilberforce university, sounded a clarion call for the people of America to insist that President Roosevelt again be a candidate for the nation's highest office.

Declaring that the New Deal has has pointed out to the man in the street the path to the American way of life, and citing the progress made by all citizens under the New Deal banner, Dr. Walker said, in part:

"I want to congratulate the St. James Literary forum for keeping open a platform for the discussion of vital questions affecting the welfare of the citizens of America. If democracy is to be saved, it can be saved only through the enlightenment of those who enjoy its benefits. Our American democracy is in danger today in that there is an attempt to stop the hand of progress and turn the throughts of our citizens to the period which I will designate as the Era of Pilfering Privilege.

A Man For The Crisis

"Whenever our country has been faced with a crisis, it has always found a man upon whom it could rely for guidance and for salvation. Such a man has always had the confidence of a majority of all the people to guide the nation through the dangers that arise in its pathway.

"What are the fruits of the New Deal? Today banks are secured with the solid backing of the government of the United States. The stock exchange has been regulated and placed under governmental supervsiio. Non-existing stock cannot be sold on the existing stock market. Old age security has come as a result of the New Deal. Educational opportunities have been extended to the poor under the NYA. The prostrate farmer has been given relief in the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The slums of our great cities are being cleared under the Federal Housing Project.

Many Improved Conditions

"The harassed home owner burdened with a mortgage has been relieved by the Home Owners Loan Corporation. Farm credit banks have been further extended. Inequality of railroad rates has been removed. Labor has been granted the right to organize for collective bargaining. Unemployment insurance has come to mitigate some of the suffering due to technological displacement of workers. Taxes are now being paid according to ability to pay. Farmers in the hinterland of our country now have the use of electricity through the Tennessee Valley Authority and other federal agencies designed to carry light where there was darness. Unemployment is being relieved by the extension of constructive governmental projects, and everywhere in America there is hope for the future.

"There is much that is being said about a third term for a successful President and those who would prostitute our democracy for their own selfish ends are seeking to create a smoke screen by making a false issue out of the third term.

"Democracy has the right to experiment with a third term. If the people do not believe that the President should serve more than two terms the people themselves should have the right to say, and today we have the best opportunity to put this matter to a test. Mr. Roosevelt may not want a third term but the people want to experiment with him for a third term since he suits their purpose.

Progress or Chaos?

"The question that faces us today is whether we desire to continue the progressive era in the development of our democracy, whether the forces of liberalism shall against become dominant in our national thinking. I do not believe that the American people are ready to go back into the wilderness and into the chaos out of which the New Deal has brought us.

"I cannot close without reminding you that when the half of the world is at war and the arteries of our trade are being broken, and when there is at the head of our government a true heart and a steady hand, it would be exceedingly unwise to remove that steady hand that has kept us out of war to place our future in the hands of the schoolboy candidates that are offering themselves for consideration in the opposition party.

Duty Calls President

"When President Grant was being urged a third term he said, "I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered unless it should come under circumstances as to make it an imperative duty." The imperative duty calls Franklin Delano Roosevelt to face the American people, put before them the facts as only he is able, enlighten them as only his voice can enlighten, and to assume anew the leadship of our government to the end that the gains we have made may not be lost and to save us from the ravages of war into which we will be inevitably drawn should unwise hands be place to guide the ship of state.

"My sincere plea to the common man of America is that we shall create an imperative demand to force Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt to remain at the helm of the affairs of our government."

THE NEGRO AND THE WPA

ACCORDING TO A survey made by the American Institute of Public Opinion, of which Dr. George Gallup is director, a large percentage of the Negro voters still favor the Democratic party. This survey shows that 66 percent of the Negroes interviewed favor the Democratic party and 34 percent the Republican. In the 1936 election, approximately 76 percent of the Negro voters interviewed voted for Roosevelt, while 24 percent were for Landon.

The explanation for this tendency on the part of the Negro to stand by the New Deal is due in a large part to the widespread benefits derived by Negroes from the WPA. Certainly, the Democratic party cannot claim to have made more appointments of a political nature than other administrations. The only new outstanding political appointment made has been the federal judgeship of the Virgin Islands. To offset this, the Collectorship of Internal Revenue for the Third New York District was lost, and we have had no Assistant Attorney General as we had during the administration of President Taft.

On the other hand the WPA has taken care of a large number of unemployed Negroes. According to a report from Alfred Edgar Smith, staff adviser at Federal WPA headquarters, an average of 300,000 Negro workers were employed on WPA projects and received some $15,000,000 in monthly wages during 1939. More than a million Negroes, including dependent members of these workers' families, owed their livelihood directly to the WPA.

Though this paternalism of the federal government has been welcome relief to many who would otherwise be destitute, it should be borne in mind that such a policy cannot be continued indefinitely and if it is there is a question as to whether it would be a good thing for the recipients of this bounty. Experience has shown that many of these people lose initiative and ambition and become satisfied with their position as wards of the government.

The idea of the WPA was good but it was never intended to become a permanent government agency. Those groups which come to consider the WPA as a permanent source of livelihood will eventually be considered as liabilities to the country as a whole instead of assets. In the District of Columbia where 67 percent of all WPA workers are Negroes and in such states as South Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia which have 39 and 37 percent Negro of all WPA workers, respectively in their states, it is but natural that the Negro is looked upon as liabilities.

The time has come for us to cease looking upon the WPA and the New Deal as an unmixed blessing and consider what our losses in industry when we think of the jobs secured from the government in the past seven years.

Unemployment has been the biggest domestic problem the government has had to face since 1932 and it remains just as far from solution today as it did when President Roosevelt took office. For this reason, we feel that a change of administration is to the best interest of the Negro and the masses as a whole.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

SAYS HIS NEW DEAL ARGUMENT IS UNFAIR

The Plaindealer
Kansas City, Kan.,

Claims Men Who Receive Their Pay From Masses Should Not Exploit the Poor

NORTH ATTLEBORO, Mass. — "If Roy Wilkins, editor of the Crisis, believes that the New Deal has done more for his race than any other administration in the past sixty years, he should quit his job and thus find out how the masses are being treated under Mr. Roosevelt."

OCT 4 1940

This was the answer given this week by the Rev. French Z. Flack to Mr. Wilkin's recent release which praised the present administration. In his criticism of the editor and the New Deal, the minister said further:

"Who who belong to the NAACP furnish Mr. Wilkins his job and salary and since he knows nothing about the suffering in our group, he is not competent to talk about 'social gains' under this administration. He sees only those who have been paid off for their support.

Appointments Criticized

"The good of any administration is not t o be judged by the priviliged few but by the good done the masses. Even some of those given high posts are men of whom the race is ashamed. I pastored in a town with two of them who were nothing but underworld gangsters. One was in jail more often than he was home for his meals.

"At Warm Springs Foundation headed by Mr. Roosevelt, colored employees are paid only 4.50 a week and white receibe $90 a month. This is what Mr. Wilkins calls 'sharing in' Please remember that this is the foundation which receives money from dances given each January 30 when foolish colored and white people alike dance that others may walk."

Rev. Flack's rap at Wilkins, the Crisis Editor and NAACP Secretary, followed the forced resignation of William Pickens from the Willkie set-up in New York. A growing sentiment is spreading over the country against race leaders who draw big salaries gobbling up large sums of campaign money on the pretense that they have a following.

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
October 6, 1940

NEGROES TO OPEN DRIVE

Democratic Group To Plan City-wide Mass Meetings

With headquarters opened at 173 South Third, the Negro Democratic Club will begin a drive among negroes in Memphis and Shelby County in the interest of the national and state Democratic tickets.

Committee members will meet at 4:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon to plan mass meetings in every negro section of Memphis. Dr. J. E. Walker heads the group.

Officers of the organization include the Rev. J. L. Campbell, vice chairman; T. J. Johnson, publicity director; Harry T. Cash, secretary; D. W. Gary, Dr. L. G. Patterson, J. A. Hayes, N. W. Bonner, L. C. Sharp, Dr. T. O. Fuller, George W. Henderson, Dr. J. W. Kelso, M. S. Stuart, G. G. Olive, the Rev. B. T. Hunt, E. J. Diamond, Mack Lofton, Dr. W. S. Martin, J. A. Swayze, O. L. Cash, J. D. Springer, Dr. S. B. Hickman, F. M. Campbell, A. W. Willis, the Rev. A. A. Williams, A. Maceo Walker, I. A. Gentry, the Rev. J. B. Boyd, E. H. Gillum, Dr. H. H. Johnson, Nat D. Williams.

The Woman's Division includes: Jeanette Shivers, chairman northern division, and Leslie Taylor, chairman southern division. Lyda Graham-Binns is office secretary. Other vice chairwomen include Jessie Coleman, Emma Johnson, Earlie Jones, Katie Banks, Ethel L. Huggins, Mary Ella Duncan, Mary Powell, Donzella Ross, Lenora Smith, Pearl Greggory, Gertrude Motley, Lelia E. Walker, Daisy Stephens, Nannie Ringold, Laura Tyus, Sadie Wright, Corrine Hayes, Mary D. King, Mary Murphy, Ida Easterly, Lucy McClinton, Susie Crawford.

F.D.R. Writes to Lester Walton as To His Health

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.
OCT 1-3 1940

NEW WORK, Oct. 10—(ANP) —Among the many communications received by Lester A. Walton, United States Minister to Liberia, inquiring as to his health was a personal leter from President Roosevelt, who expressed the hope the diplomat was feeling himslf again. Minister Walton collapsed from sunstroke September 26, while speaking at the ground breaking ceremony for the Recorder of Deeds building, Washington. He has entirely recovered from his illness.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
October 6, 1940

NEGROES BACK ROOSEVELT

A Tampa branch of the Good Neighbor league, a national negro organization supporting President Roosevelt for re-election, has been formed and will meet Wednesday night at 8 o'clock at the Longshoreman's hall to hear an address by a speaker from the Hillsborough county executive committee. Officers are G. D. Davis, president; Perry Harvey, vice president; M. A. Lazarus, secretary; David Waters, treasurer, and Lloyd H. King, chairman of the executive board.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 5, 1940

NEGRO CLUB SUPPORTS F.D.R. AND 'THE TICKET'

Leaders of the Colored Roosevelt Democratic club, meeting yesterday at headquarters, 752 East Ninth street, pledged support to all of the democratic nominees in the November election and resolved to convert the group into a permanent democratic organization.

Under the leadership of Dr. W. A. Thompson, Sid H. Byers, D. C. Harper and other colored leaders, Negro voters in Chattanooga, club officials said, will be organized to support the entire democratic ticket in the November election.

Walter B. Parks was elected publicity chairman for the organization at yesterday's meeting. Byers was elected chairman when the club was formed earlier in the week and Harper was elected vic-chairman at yesterday's meeting.

Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of Chicago, the only Negro democrat ever elected to congress, has accepted an invitation to address the Colored Roosevelt club at the Memorial auditorium the night of Oct. 14.

FRIENDS FOR MANY YEARS

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Friends for many years, Democratic Vice Presidential Nominee Henry A. Wallace and Dr. George Washington Carver, were photographed together as shown here during one of Mr. Wallace's frequent visits to Tuskegee to confer with the noted scientist, whom he is said to admire greatly. Both have a common interest in farming besides their close personal friendship. The vice presidential nominee, who was formerly Secretary of Agriculture, is a native of Iowa, and has known Prof. Carver the greater part of his life. Dr. Carver is an alumnus of the University of Iowa.

AN INTERESTED FOURSOME

Newspaper

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Ill.

OCT 13 1940

When **FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.**, son of the nation's chief executive, met with a group of young Democrats in the Stevens hotel last Thursday, he chatted with Miss Olive M. Diggs (extreme left), editor of the Chicago Bee, while he scans a copy of a recent issue. Gathered around him are R. R. Wright III, (extreme right) son of Bishop R. R. Wright, who is directing the party's campaign activities in the Middle West, and Truman K. Gibson, Jr., prominent young lawyer.—Photo by Coshiniere.

F. D. R. PLANS BROADCASTS

NEW YORK, Oct. 17—(AP)—Edward J. Flynn, national Democratic chairman, announced Thursday that President Roosevelt would make four political speeches between Oct. 28 and Nov. 2.

These will be in addition to the president's customary election-eve address from his Hyde Park home.

Flynn announced this schedule:

Oct. 28, Convention Hall, Philadelphia; Oct. 28, Madison Square Garden, New York; Oct. 30, Constitution Hall, Washington, and Nov. 2, Public Auditorium, Cleveland.

The Madison Square Garden date was planned originally as a Negro mass meeting, Flynn said.

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Chicago Bee
OCT 18 1940

Durham, N. C., Morning Herald
July 4, 1940

WATKINS TO SERVE AS COMMITTEEMAN

Local Man Will Head Delegation To National Negro Democratic Session

Frederick K. Watkins, of Durham, who was elected president of the United Negro Democrats of North Carolina during the convention in Greensboro Monday, also had been named national committeeman, it was announced last night.

The following delegates to the National Negro Democratic convention in Chicago July 13-15 were chosen:

R. C. Sharpe, Hallie Emerson, E. Kermitt Hightower, Lonnie E. Reynolds and Waldo C. Falkner, of Greensboro; R. W. Brown, H. V. Price, L. Hill and Aldine Robinson, of Winston-Salem; Dr. O. M. Fisher, Dr. C. A. Clarke and A. H. McLaurin, of Reidsville; W. H. Parker, N. N. Grey and G. M. Matthewson, of Tarboro; Dr. S. H. Vick and Dr. J. W. Butterfield, of Wilson; Joe Blount and Jack Dupree, of Farmville; R. I. Johnson, I. H. Smith and Dr. Wilbur Mann, of New Bern; Dr. J. H. Perry, of Burlington; Edward Saunders, G. W. Holloway, J. H. Strickland, L. E. Austin, Dr. J. W. Cortiss and C. W. White, of Durham, and T. V. Mangum, of Statesville.

Watkins said a platform had been adopted calling for greater political, educational and business opportunities for Negroes in North Carolina, and a closer cooperation between all citizens, Negro and white, for greater democracy.

The platform included 10 points —the perfection of all county units; collection of assessments from county units; creation of own campaign and convention funds; oversee and advocate all legislation designed to advance the welfare of Negroes in North Carolina; work fo rthe establishment of a home for delinquent Negro girls; work for the establishment of training for domestic women; work for appointment of Negroes in higher-class positions in North Carolina; work for the estab- of a permanent welfare commission for Negroes and a sufficent appropriation for its expense and operation; work for the appointment of Negroes on boards of education, and work for the equalization of salaries of Negro teachers in the state commensurate with the economic trend of the present time.

Farley's Immortal Words!

A GOLDEN TRIBUTE FROM THE PEN OF ATTY. JOS. E. BOWMAN,

Union 7-4-40

A noted Colored Democrat of Columbus, Ohio, who was Candidate for Supreme Court Judge, tied with the winner for several days, and who as Candidate for Delegate at Large to the Democratic National Convention, polled an unprecedented vote of 205,000 ! and won !

Cincinnati, Ohio

Columbus, O.,
July 2, 1940.

"We must never permit the ideals of this Republic to sink to a point where every American father and mother, regardless of race, color or creed, cannot look proudly into the cradle of their new-born babe and see a future president of the United States." That rare pearl fell from the lips of the Honorable James A. Farley in his recent St. Patrick's Day address.

Before Mr. Farley had made that declaration, to me he was but another high-powered politician whose chief end was party success. But that statement awakened in me a new interest in the man, for those are the words of a Simon pure democrat and a great statesman. At once I wanted to know more of him. That desire was soon satisfied when I received a complimentary copy of his latest book, "Behind the Ballots." That book is a genuine human document characterized by extraordinary frankness and charm. It is a success story illustrating the value of common honesty, sincerity and courage in politics. It should, and will, become the text book of every youth in the land, contemplating a political career.

JOSEPH E. BOWMAN.

Southerners Say Northern Dems 'Passed the Buck'

Bee 7-28-40

NEW ORLEANS, July 25—(ANP)—A "caucus" held here last week to discuss and consider the contents of a special resolution drafted by southern Negroes to be presented to the Democratic National convention charged Negro Democrats of the North as being "unconcerned with the plight of their 'southern brothers' and indifferently incognito as to the future of the majority of the race's political hopes."

Chicago, Ill.

The resolution was sent to the National Negro Democratic committee together with scores of other Democratic leaders the country over. In it were contained special requisites for consideration of the injustices and pressure practices against "three-fourths of the Negro population" that live in the South.

The document bore out that the "Democratic party, if it would curry the support of the all-important Negro vote" must positively express itself as to its future policy in dealing with legislation effecting Negroes. It insisted that definite steps be taken to lessen the power of southern party leaders who represented a small minority of the southern population, and who uphold discrimination and racial prejudice.

The charge against northern Democrats in this direction came from two disclosures: (1) In a letter to the Graphic Press, the National Negro Democratic committee expressed that its objectives for presentation to the convention contained most of the clauses of the "southern" resolution. (2) In the face of this, the Democratic convention, instead of lessening the power of southern prejudiced Democrats, offered to give them "bonus" delegates in future convening, delegating more power to the "minority" represented southerner.

Would Smile

Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, colored, opened the Tuesday afternoon session of the Democratic national convention with a prayer. (In 1936, Senator E. D. Smith of South Carolina stalked out of the Philadelphia convention when a negro opened one of the Democratic sessions.)

At the same Tuesday afternoon session, Arthur Mitchell, colored, member of Congress from one of the Chicago districts, delivered the principal address before the convention.

At the Thursday afternoon session, Lightfoot Solomon Michaux, colored, described as a church elder from Washington, astonished the convention by calling for the nomination of Mrs. Roosevelt as the vice-presidential candidate on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt. (Lightfoot Solomon Michaux made no mention of Son Jimmy as secretary of state in the cabinet, of Son Franklin Junior as speaker of the House, of Daughter Anna as secretary of labor, et cetera. It must have been an oversight on the part of Lightfoot Solomon Michaux.)

Now comes word that the Alabama delegation of the convention were somewhat astonished when a New York negro by the name of McDaniel Rowe appeared before them at their Morrison Hotel headquarters, and proceeded to join them in "pep talks."

Some of the Alabama delegates—a bit old-fashioned, we venture, and unaware of the party's New View on the color question—wanted to eject McDaniel Rowe bodily. But others suspected that he was a "plant" sent to set off a racial disturbance in the Deep South delegation, and they argued that he should thus have his way.

Rowe proceeded to praise President Roosevelt and Speaker Bankhead, and asserted that the speaker was the only man from the South whom New York negroes would support vice-presidential candidate. Rowe attended other meetings of the delegation—and he ended up by carrying a Bankhead banner on the convention floor!

This story is brought back to the South by Fred Taylor, who went with the Alabama delegation as political writer for The Birmingham News. What Mr. Taylor neglects to say is that in November, were McDaniel Rowe voting for President Roosevelt in Alabama and not in New York, he would be handed a ballot with a striking Democratic symbol at the top. He would find as this symbol a crowing rooster with these words boldly displayed, "White Supremacy." We suspect that were McDaniel Rowe to have this experience, he would smile. "Supreme over what, and where?" McDaniel Rowe would ask.

Rome, Ga. News-Tribune
July 23, 1940

Sidelights On Democratic National Convention

Plaindealer 7-26-40

CHICAGO, July 26 (By Rosroe Dunjee for ANP)--More than 25 Negro delegates sat on the floor of the Chicago stadium this year.

Kansas City, Kansas

When the committee named by the National Colored Democrats association appeared before the Resolutions committee at the Blackstone hotel they received an ovation. The entire committee arose and cheered following the presentation by Earl Dickerson. Senator Pepper followed the committee into the hall and said he approved all of the program suggested regarding civil rights.

Cotton Ed Smith did not take a walk this year. Perhaps it was because he liked the prayer offered by Bishop Reverdy Ransom better than the invoking ability of Marshall Shepard.

And by the way Marshal Shepard made a big mistake at the stadium. He thought he was seating himself with the Pennsylvania delegation, but when he started to cheering Congressman Mitchell's speech, he suddenly discovered he was seated with the Mississippi delegates just one seat behind his own state gang.

Several of the ambitious boys went into a blue funk when they discovered that Bob Vann had arrived in town and was in circulation down at the Stevens and the Blackstone hotels. One excited fellow said" Bob has found out that Perry Howard and Church will not allow him to ride on the front seat in the Willkie band wagon and now he is trying to ride our donkey."

Just two questions were asked the dapper Walter White when he concluded his statement to the Resolutions committee for the NAACP Guess they did not want to crank Walter's motor.

The New York and the Michigan delegation started a little revolt against everything in general Wednesday afternoon. Had a meeting in the Grand hotel that caused Frank Young of the Chicago Defender to almost lose his mind. Frank wanted a story he did not get.

The Oklahoma delegation headed by Bill Hazel of Boley, maintained headquarters in a suite at the Grand hotel. Mayor Letchen Hill, Dr. J. W. Sanford and Major H. C McCormick were busy putting Oklahoma on the map.

Dr. William J. Thompkins really embarrassed his better half Sunday. Called on her for a speech, but when the Kansas City girl left the mike the boys said she could make a better speech than Doc!

Talk about a wild scramble by the 'gate crashes" you should have seen the boys getting up in front and on the line when genial Jim Farley arrived Sunday afternoon to deliver his address to the National Negro Democratic association.

More than 1,000 telegrams were piled in Congressman Mitchell's office Wednesday morning following his notable address to the convention Tuesday.

Tom Davis of Cleveland sure raised the devil in the caucus at the Grand hotel Monday afternoon when somebody tried to take a whack at Edgar Brown. "This race of ours would be a whole lot better off if we had more Edgar Browns and fewer fools who set their sails to catch the passing breeze said the irate Ohioan.

When the big demonstration started for Roosevelt Wednesday night Herbert L. Bruce, delegate from New York, was seen in the forefront of the banner wavers who clogged the isles for 45 minutes.

Irrepressible Edgar Brown was on the floor of the stadium when Lester Hill made the nomination speech for Roosevelt. The Hatch bill does not mean anything more to Edgar than a hitching post in a conversation.

Who were those two-gun guys who questioned folk in the Grand hotel Wednesday morning? Rumor is that a bunch of rackateers are attempting to muscle in on the management of the Democratic campaign.

While the belligerent gallaries were booing Senator Glass when he said he had received two anonymous messages aying Farlley could not get the nomination becaue he is a Catholic a man who sat behind this writer said "Religious tolerance in this country is like freedom for the black man. It's a chemerical something talked about, but never a reality.

Dr. J. F. Walker, president of the National Negro Business league, and genial J. B. Martin, political boss in Shelby county, both of Memphis, arrived in Chicago early last week and caucased with the wise ones in their rooms at the Grand hotel.

Following Jim Farley's swan song Wednesday night one could hear the political gears of the Black Cabinet grating and shifting all up and down South Parkway Thursday morning.

Presidential Campaign Shows Signs Of Ignoring Real Issues

Tribune 8-1-40

SIGNS are not lacking that the Presidential campaign is going to run true to form, with very little real discussion of the serious problems which face America.

For instance, a local newspaper has gone to so trouble to dig up a Tammany Hall certificate, showing the nominee of the Republican Party for the President was a Democrat five years ago.

Philadelphia

Well, what of it? The candidate for vice president on the Democratic ticket was a Republican most of voting life.

Pa.

And, by the way, most of the local Democrats were members of the Republican Party until a few years ago. The real local Democrats, who kept the party alive during the lean years, have been read out of the party.

If the candidates insist on emphasizing the unimportant, at least let our editors try to keep before the public the things that really call for clear analysis and discussion.

NEGROES SETTLE SCORE WITH GOVERNOR STARK

Kansas City, Mo.

AUG 18 1940

THE NEGROES of the State of Missouri settled a score with Governor Lloyd C. Starks last week when they defeated him for nomination as Junior United States Senator on the Democratic ticket. Starks wrote his name on the pages of history and became a national figure when he played the important role that busted up the Pendergast machine which resulted in a number of outstanding men going to the penitentiary, one or two suicides, several deaths from other causes and a complete reorganization of the city government in Kansas City, Missouri. All of this he did for Democracy. But he made one mistake and that was ignoring the voice of the Negroes in the State of Missouri and giving them no consideration in matters of the Government, and failing to take a stand for the civic rights of the black man. Governor Starks could, no doubt, have had a unanimous Negro vote but his general attitude had caused the Negro leaders in Missouri to believe and feel that he had little faith or confidence in the Negro citizens. So they launched a bitter fight that sounded the political death knell for the racket-busting Governor. The returns show that he lost enough Negro votes in Kansas City, Missouri and St. Louis to have easily put him over. Even in St. Louis alone there were enough Negro votes registered against him in the sixth, sixteenth, seventeenth nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-third wards where he ran more than eight thousand votes behind Senator Truman to have meant a great deal to him. Also in the first, second and fourth wards of Kansas City, Missouri, the large plurality given Truman would have, no doubt saved him from the political death row.

The demonstration on the part of Negroes in the recent Missouri election should be a warning to public officials throughout the country, especially where the Negro vote can decide the issue. It is one way for the Negro to settle his score. We think that Governor Starks rendered the State of Missouri, and especially Kansas City, Missouri, a great service in busting up one of the most corrupt political machines that has ever existed in the United States. And had he not made the awful blunder of ignoring the Negro he would have been a "natural" for the United States Senate. Governor Starks' defeat should be a lesson to all public officials and candidates who must serve the people The fact that Negroes of Missouri showed an interest in the Primary Election is a sign of a new awakening on the part of Negroes in their relationship to the Government Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin have laughed at the inefficiency of the Democracies of Europe. They say those countries are impotent because of political corruption Hitler predicted that he would have no trouble conquering the French because the people had lost faith in the leaders which in turn, made them lose faith in their country. The political leaders in whom these good people had to place their faith were inefficient and machine-controlled politicians. The Negroes of Missouri had lost faith in Governor Starks. His actions and attitude toward the Negroes indicated that he had very little faith in them. It is true that he was not of the Pendergast machine but he failed to practice Democracy through his administrative powers because he did not consider the Negroes. So the Negroes for one time became independent voters and trekked to the polls and demonstrated that they could get together. They did not stay at home and ask the question, "What good would my vote do?, but they played the part of good Americans and went to the polls and voted their convictions Their conviction was that Governor Starks was not a good public official because he did not recognize the Negroes of Missouri in his administrative power of the State and ignored their pleas.

Negro Colonel's Elevation Seen As Bid for Votes

OCT 26 1940

Army Officers Note Davis, First General of His Race, Must Retire in a Year

By C. B. Allen

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25.—Army officers made no secret today of their conviction that the War Department's promotion of Col. Benjamin O. Davis to be the United States Army's first Negro brigadier general in history was an out-and-out political move by the White House to influence the Negro electorate in the two critical and politically doubtful states of New York and Illinois, where the voting Negro population is large.

In support of this belief, they pointed to the unusual circumstance that the promotion, announced today among a number of others, comes at a time when he is sixty-three years old and, under the law, must be retired at the end of another year's service. There have been exceptions, but the general rule in the Army is that such increases in grade are given four years before the officer concerned is due for retirement.

It was frankly admitted also that the promotion of Col. Davis, who at present commands the 369th Coast Artillery regiment of the New York National Guard, followed a wave of criticism of the Roosevelt administration and the War Department for alleged "Jim Crow-ism" in the Army. This resulted ten days ago in a special announcement of the War Department's policy toward Negroes, which was given out simultaneously at the White House.

The announcement in question, which some quarters have dubbed the Army's "appeasement release" because it was issued under pressure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and similar organizations that had protested the War Department's alleged "discrimination" against Negroes, declared that the services of Negroes would be "utilized on a fair and equitable basis" in the nation's defense program, including the new peace-time selective service system. It outlined a seven-point policy designed to achieve this objective, one provision being that Negro organizations were to be established "in each major branch of the service" and another that there would be no intermingling of "colored and white enlisted personnel."

Officers commenting today on the War Department's tentative selection of its new Negro general to command a brigade in the 2d Cavalry Division, at Fort Riley Kan., said the Army's companion policy, one of segregating white and colored officers, would suffer a radical reversal if this assignment should be carried out. While the proposed command of Gen. Davis would be made up of Negro troops, these are led by white officers, in accordance with the Army's regular practice, and 154 such men, ranging from colonels down to second lieutenants, would find themselves with a Negro commander.

One speculation which seems to be receiving wide credence in the Army is that, instead of permitting such a situation to develop, the Administration will make a still stronger bid for the Negro vote within the next few days by announcing that colored reserve officers for Gen. Davis's entire brigade will be called to active duty, thereby relieving the present white officers of its component units for service elsewhere in the rapidly expanding Army. Part of the so-called "appeasement release" declared that "Negro reserve officers eligible for active duty will be assigned to Negro units officered by colored personnel."

War Department records show that there are approximately 350 Negro reserve officers in the United States, and part of the recent "Jim Crow" clamor raised against the Army stemmed from the fact that these men were not being called to active duty. There are only five Negro officers in the Regular Army, three of these being chaplains.

Gen. Davis and his son, Capt. Benjamin O. Davis jr., are the Army's only Negro line officers. Capt. Davis, a West Point graduate, had such high academic standing there that he ranked all the officers of his class assigned to the infantry, and he is now professor of military science at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

Following the White House-War Department announcement of policy toward Negroes in the Army on Oct. 15, the Administration has been criticized from several sources for apparently attempting to create the false impression that Negro flying cadets are already receiving training in the Air Corps. One provision of the announcement said that "Negroes are being given aviation training as pilots, mechanics and technical specialists. This training will be accelerated. Negro aviation units will be formed as soon as the necessary personnel has been trained."

As a matter of fact, "aviation training as pilots" is not being given to Negroes by the Army. The only government instruction of this nature is in the civilian flight training program of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, principally at Glenview, Ill., near Chicago. There is a loosely implied interest by both the Army and Navy in graduates of the C. A. A. training program.

Gainesville, Ga., Eagle
October 31, 1940

IPECAC

THE PRESIDENTIAL campaign, as is always the case, is nearing what might be called the ipecac or nauseating stage, since now it is that every force, fair or foul, is called into play in an effort to get votes. In other words, the office of the President, lofty and esteemed as it is by the rank and file, is being gone after tooth and nail and it matters none at all if the tactics used are scurvy, undignified and even base.

For instance, by some rule or other, the Negro and white troops are to be segregated in the coming draft service. This made the colored voters, who switched to the Democratic party in 1936 although traditionally Republican, so sore that they went back to the old party.

So, Roosevelt appoints a Negro a general.

Willkie, a tycoon of Big Business, has gone to bed with John L. Lewis, a labor agitator if ever there was one. Were times normal and Mr. Willkie not seeking high office, it is to be doubted if he would speak to Mr. Lewis, unless it were to call him names.

These two illustrations and the ace word "ipecac" were brought out in a recent "The Capital Parade," of Alsop and Kintner, outstanding columnists. These two reporters are not trying to draw any analysis, they are merely recording what they see and commenting thereon.

The conclusion *The Eagle* draws is to take both the Democratic and Republican camps with a sack of salt. The man is plumb dumb who looks upon the President and Mr. Willkie as, according to Westbrook Pegler, Mr. Bigs. They are politicians first and, if by the grace of God and good breaks they become President, then they may develop into statesmen. The odds, however, are against them because they have to consort with the sort of wardheelers who control spineless groups and, hence, must pay these henchmen in jobs.

It would be great, if impossible, if once in this nation's history a man ran for the Presidency with the intention of being President instead of being elected.

Columbia, S. C. Record
November 2, 1940

Climax

BROOKFIELD, Mo.—A visiting attorney completed a glowing eulogy of the Democratic party at a political rally in a Negro school.

Then a local minister, the Rev. Clarkson, mounted the stand and said:

"Brothers, Abraham Lincon was the best president we ever had."

The meeting adjourned.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Free Press
October 25, 1940

BIG RALLY SET BY DEMOCRATS HERE TONIGHT

McKellar, Cooper, Kefauver to Be Featured in Meet at Auditorium

PROGRAM TONIGHT

Presiding—County Campaign Chairman Fletcher R. Morgan.

"God Bless America," led by Will Shepherd, spotlight on 3x5 foot portrait of President Roosevelt during singing.

Addresses:

City Judge Martin Fleming.

John T. Mahoney, candidate for the state senate.

Estes Kefauver, candidate for re-election to Congress.

Prentice Cooper, candidate for re-election as governor.

Kenneth D. McKellar, candidate for re-election to United States Senate.

Hamilton County's Democratic campaign will reach its climax tonight when Senator Kenneth D. McKellar, Gov. Prentice Cooper and Representative Estes Kefauver, preceded by local leaders, will address a rally at the Memorial Auditorium, beginning at 8 o'clock.

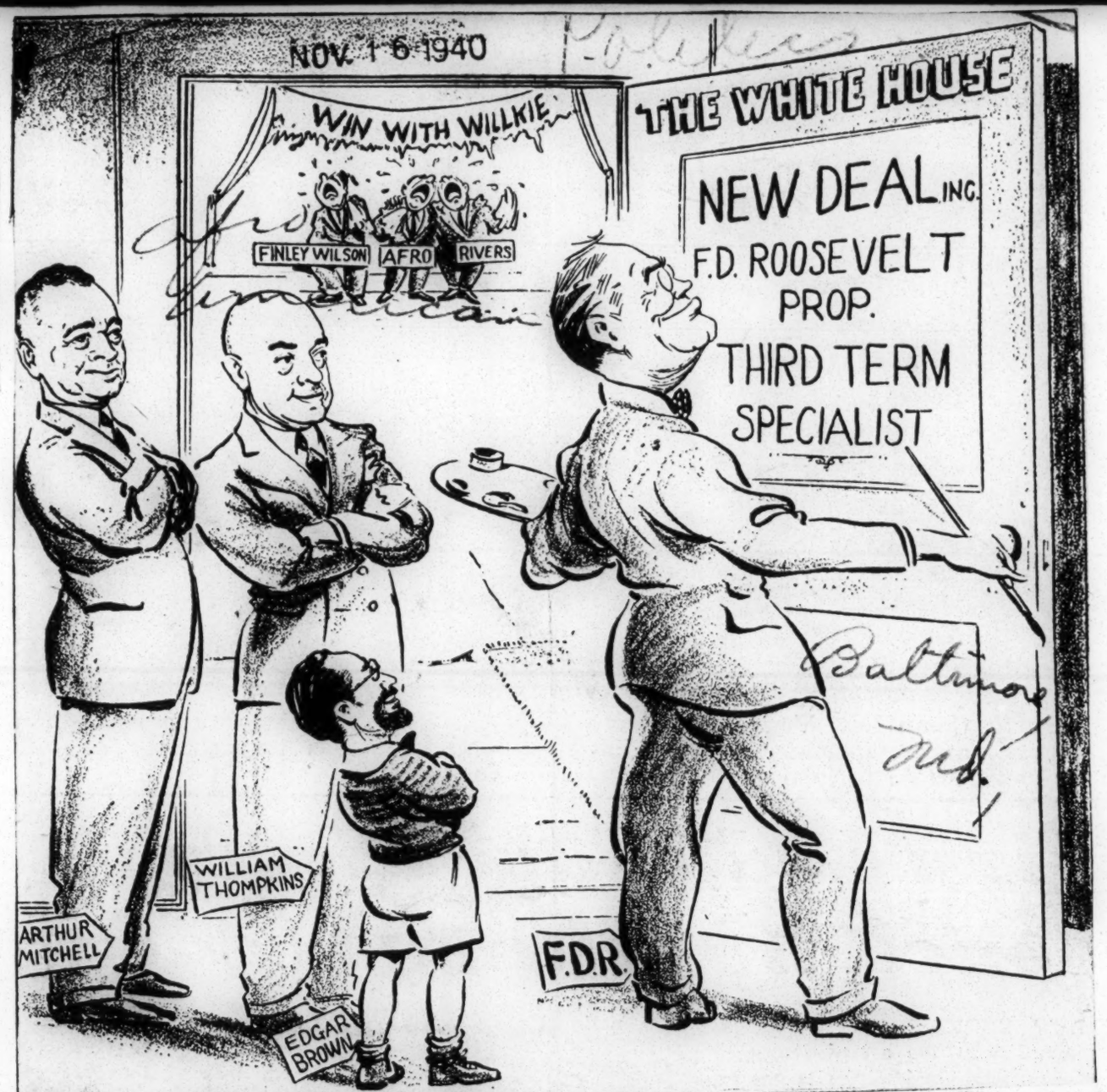
Carrying out the novel feature of the campaign which brought a Negro Democratic congressman from Chicago to address a Democratic rally in the heart of the South some weeks ago, Campaign Chairman Fletcher Morgan announced that a part of the auditorium will be reserved for Negroes and the Negro Democratic executive committee will attend en masse.

Gov. Cooper, with State Democratic Campaign Manager Joe Carr, will come from Nashville by auto and will stop at Jasper in the afternoon to share in a rally where Senator McKellar will be the principal speaker. The party is expected to arrive at 4:30 in the afternoon. The anticipated parade was abandoned last night, Chairman Morgan announced because of requests by workers, who said they would be too tired from their day's work to participate in the parade, then enjoy the addresses.

The rally will begin with the singing of "God Bless America," led by Will Shepherd. A large portrait of President Roosevelt will be placed on the stage and the spotlight will be thrown on it, with lights in the auditorium dimmed, during the singing.

Judge Martin Fleming will "sound off" for the program, Chairman Morgan announced. He will be followed by John T. Mahoney, candidate for the state senate. The legislative candidates will be introduced. Representative Estes Kefauver will follow. Gov. Prentice Cooper will follow the congressman and then Senator McKellar will wind up the program.

Chairman Morgan said he expected a big crowd to attend.



Says Election Shows Negro Becoming Aware of Ballot Power; Swings to Democrats

Publisher Of The California Eagle Thinks Negroes Would Have Fared Better If Willkie Had Won

Says Willkie Was More Outspoken

NOV 23 1940

LOS ANGELES.—(ANP)—Widespread interest in the recent presidential election shows the Negro electorate is becoming aware of the power of his ballot, according to Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, publisher of the California Eagle, who was western woman's director for the Republicans in the campaign.

"In California, for instance," she said, "Negroes in their political views and leanings are perhaps more divided than any other section where the Negro population is large enough to be considered seriously. Thirty years ago it was unpopular for a Negro to declare any other than a Republican political affiliation. Today it is equally unpopular, especially among the younger voters, to be of the Republican faith.

"This swing from the Republican party was not due to any definite conversion into the Democratic ,especially the New Deal faith, on the part of Negroes, but a sort of restless wait for confirmation in the, or his, Republican party that he had served so long and faithfully.

"The Negro is disillusioned by past political promises. He is ready to bargain, not in the old way. His citizenship, guaranteed to all Americans by the constitution of the United States is what he asks.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

25 Negro Delegates and Alternates at Convention

By J. ROBERT SMITH
(Staff Correspondent)

CHICAGO—Six colored delegates and seventeen alternates were seated beneath the banners of the States they represented when Postmaster General James A. Farley, national chairman, officially declared the Convention opened, noon Monday, in the Chicago Stadium, the only two absentees being Dr. D. C. Canageta and Samuel Hennemann of the Virgin Islands.

The delegates exchanged greetings with fellow Democrats from other States, white and colored, and posed for pictures shot by scores of photographers who swamped the Convention floor.

Not Excited

Interviewed by reporters who sought to know the political history of the delegates and their views on the third term issue, the representatives were all very calm, seemed equal to the strenuous task that faces them for the rest of the week.

In favor of the third term and sporting the "Just Roosevelt" button that has flooded Chicago, the delegates and alternates are:

California—Delegates, Augustus F. Hawkins, Los Angeles.

Illinois—Delegate, Arthur W. Mitchell, Chicago; alternates, Harry Hawkins, Springfield; William Dawson, Chicago; William A. Wallace, Chicago; Edward M. Sneed, Chicago.

Indiana — Alternates, Nathan Vann, Gary; F. B. Ransom, Indianapolis.

Iowa — Alternates, Manson James, Des Moines; Rev. W. A. Payton, Topeka; Ross Jones, Kansas City.

Kentucky—John H. Petrie, Louisville.

Michigan — Delegates, Hon. Charles Diggs, Detroit; atlernate, Rev Horace White, Detroit.

Missouri—Dr. Oral S. McClellan, St. Louis.

New Jersey—Alternate, Arthur C. Thornhill. Montclair.

New York—Delegate, Herbert L. Bruce, New York City; alternate, Daniel L. Burrows, New York City.

Ohio—Delegate, Joseph E. Bowman, Columbus; Charles V. Carr, Cleveland.

Pennsylvania — Atlernate, Samuel D. Holmes, Philadelphia.

West Virginia — Daniel W. Ambrose, Huntington; Kermit J. Hall, Montgomery.

Virgin Isalnds—Delegate, Dr. C. C. Canageta (absent), Christiansted; alternate, Samuel Hennemann (absent), Christiansted.

Democrats Offered Planks Covering Race Needs For Platform

CHICAGO, Ill.— (ANP)—Suggested planks, touching upon problems affecting the Negro will be presented to the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention meeting here July 15 by a group representing the NAACP.

The planks urge inclusion of Negroes in the armed services; passage of the federal anti-lynching bill; legislation abolishing poll tax and white primaries; abolition of the color line in employment; equitable distribution of federal money to states to aid education, health, housing, relief, farm aid and other services; extension of social security to agricultural, domestic and casual labor; abolition of the color line in federal government posts; enforcement of civil rights laws in all sections of the United States.

The plans, which are identical with the ones presented to the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia, will be offered to the Democrats by a committee, consisting of Charles H. Houston, Washington; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City; A. Maceo Smith, Dallas, and Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago.

AME Bishop Opens Meet on Tuesday

Colored Delegates from 8 States Will Help Nominate FDR

By RALPH MATTHEWS
Editor Washington AFRO-AMERICAN

CHICAGO STADIUM—Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, of the AME Church, opened Tuesday morning's session of the Democratic National Convention with prayer.

The appointment of Bishop Ransom is the Democrats' answer to the Republicans, who selected Bishop Gregg of the same denomination in Philadelphia.

The 1936 convention marked the first time that a colored clergyman had ever been selected to pray at a Democratic National Convention. The Rev. Marshall Shepard of Philadelphia was so honored and Cotton Ed Smith stormed out of the convention in protest against having a "colored person pray over him."

From Eight States

Colored delegates and alternates are on hand from Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Nebraska, Missouri and Michigan. All of them are enthusiastic for re-election of President Roosevelt for a third term.

Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, the only colored representative expected to speak during the convention, held a special conference with Chairman Farley and Secretary Chip Robert at the Stevens Hotel, Saturday morning, and attended a banquet in honor of the convention delegates, tendered by Mayor Edward J. Kelly, Sunday evening.

Rainey Serves as Secretary

Magistrate Joseph Rainey of Philadelphia is serving as one of the convention secretaries.

The platform committee was busy, Friday and Saturday, considering planks.

Among them were suggestions offered by Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, which were presented Senator Robert F. Wagner, co-sponsor of the anti-lynch bill, and resolutions offered by the National Colored Democratic Association, Inc., of which Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, is president.

The association held its pre-convention sessions in the Eighth Regiment Armory, Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

It is expected that New York will receive special consideration, because this is the GOP's most doubtful Northern State, and Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher of the New York Amsterdam News, is already slated to head up the publicity division, as he did four years ago, according to pre-convention dope.

Julian P. Rainey of Boston, E. V. Mosee of St. Louis, C. E. Kimbrough of West Virginia, Joseph Coles of Detroit, and Joseph Rainey of Philadelphia are all being mentioned for active work in the campaign.

Bankhead Pokes Fun At G.O.P.

Resolution Committee Hears Negroes

CHICAGO—(SNS)—Poking fun at the Republican election program when he wasn't praising the Roosevelt Administration, Senator William B. Bankhead delivered a stirring keynote address Monday night to thousands of delegates here for the Democratic National Convention.

The Keynoter was introduced by Jim Farley chairman of the national committee.

Shortly after opening of the convention Monday, Mayor Edward J. Kelly turned his welcome address into what some politicians called a nominating address for Mr. Roosevelt.

With armswinging oratory, the curly headed mayor said, "We will stand, and put forward, and confirm again that Godsent guardian of our liberties, the kind of man that mankind needs— our beloved President, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

RACE GROUP BUSY

While much talk of drafting Mr. Roosevelt for a third-term candidate, was being heard, colored representatives of the party were eagerly awaiting the mention of the Negro in the Democratic platform.

Walter White, of the N. A. A. C. P., headed a committee of five which conversed with the party's resolution committee last Friday It was understood that the colored gentlemen asked for passage of the anti-lynching bill, representation a the polls and a non-Jim-crow policy in the army and navy.

The resolution committee of the Democratic party has in its hands a resolution from the Catholic Interracial Council Conference, which calls for passage of the anti-lynching measure.

"The Democratic platform should contain a strong plank pledging the passage of the anti-lynching bill by the senate at the present session of Congress,' the Catholic said in their resolution.

Mr. Bankhead's keynote address was delivered amid cheers and yells. Political experts called his speech more of a keynote address than that offered at the Republican Convention.

Those in the know last night declared that President Roosevelt would be nominated on the first ballot. It was pointed out that his name would not be called from the floor, but that more than 800 votes would be cast for him during the first balloting.

Men close to the President said Mr. Roosevelt would not do anything to prevent himself from being drafted.

Roosevelt Sends Note To Colored Democrats

By J. ROBERT SMITH
(Staff Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Whether the Negro will play an important part in the army, navy and air corps of the United States, could not be determined in a letter from President Roosevelt to Dr. William J. Thompkins, president of the National Colored Democratic Association which met here for three days, beginning Friday, last week.

Congratulating the convention for its twelfth quadrennial, the President in his non-committal message said:

Imposes Responsibilities

"The National Colored Democratic Association which is meeting in its twelfth quadrennial Convention at Chicago, Illinois, is to be congratulated on having maintained over a period of forty-eight years, an allegiance to the Democratic Party.

"In preparing your memorandum for the National Democratic Committee, I am sure you realize how valuable it is to minority groups that we maintain in America the right of free petition and assembly.

"It is equally important that every citizen shall understand that the preservation of freedom in a democracy imposes definite responsibilities which must be met willingly and which may require unusual tests of one's effort, courage, sacrifice and devotion.

Time for Unity

"The European conflict with its spread of the Nazi and Fascist influence makes a challenging appeal to every man, woman and child to strengthen our defenses and be prepared to resist any invasion that would destroy our ideal of the American way of living.

"This is a time for national unity and I am strengthened in my hope for the preservation of peace through adequate defense by the knowledge that the American Negro has maintained a cherished tradition of loyalty and devotion to his country.

"Let us all remember that while a nation must give concern to its territory, its financial power, its machines and armaments or its armed forces, the true success of democratic institutions is measured by the desires, the hopes, and the deep-lying satisfaction of the individuals who make up its citizenship."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
The White House,
Washington,
June 26, 1940.

MANY ATTEND DEMOS CONVENTION IN CHI.

Dr. W. Thompkins Takes Leading Part In the National Meet

DEMOCRATS PLANS ON THE NEGRO

"Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitation of low income farm families. We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless to race, creed or color."

CHICAGO.—July (By Herman Clayton for ANP)—Committing themselves to the renomination of President Roosevelt for a third term, the National Colored Democratic association, meeting in its 12th quadrennial convention, wound up its three day session last Sunday in Chicago.

A total of 776 delegates and alternates, swelled up some 4,000 vociferous Democrats of varying degrees and assortments, heard a battery of prominent white Democrats and officeholders, headed by Postmaster General James A. Farley, in a series of platitudinous speeches in which they praised the Negro's fidelity and allegiance to the principles of democracy and patriotism, and urged his continued support to an administration they claimed had done more for the Negro than any previous administration in history.

Have Slogan

"Keep the power on Main Street—don't let it slip to Wall Street" was the battle cry voiced by Congressman James Randolph of West Virginia, sounding the note played on by Senators Minton of Indiana and Barkley of Kentucky in their presentation of the main reason Roosevelt should be renominated and elected and Willkie defeated. Roosevelt was characterized as the greatest friend the Negro has ever had in the White House; the champion of the rights of the common man; the only man in the country with the experience sufficient to take our nation through the times of stress and danger which lie ahead.

To these sentiments Dr. William J. Thompkins, president of the association, State Senator Wallace of Illinois, State Senator Diggs of Michigan, Mike Sneed, Cook County commissioner of Illinois, and other prominent Negro delegates echoed hearty approval.

Pledge Support

They pledged the Democratic Negro constituency to continued support of an administration under which the Negro had gained so much and under which he was best calculated to advance the proposals set forth in the platform adopted by the convention.

This platform, presented to the executive committee of the white Democratic National convention by Alderman Earl B. Dickerson, advocates passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill, passage of the Gavagan-Wagner anti-lynch bill, a bill to end discrimination and jim-crowism, abolition of discrimination in federal civil service, legislation providing safeguards against discrimination in the administration of federal agencies dispensing funds to states for general welfare, and the abolition of the color line in all tax financed projects. The platform concluded with a list of special legislation recommended to be incorporated into the white convention platform.

Climaxing the long four-hour session, generously sprinkled with perfunctory applause, the eloquent presentation of this report by Alderman Dickerson was greeted with genuine warmth and spontaneity.

ASSOCIATION ELECTS

New officers of the Association elected were:

Dr. William J. Thompkins, Washington, D. C., president; Marie Brewer, New York, 1st vice-president; J. Berbard Smith, Oklahoma, 2nd vice-president, Lorenzo Harris, New York, 3rd vice-president; Tom Davis, Ohio, 4th vice-president; E. M. Sneed, Illinois, 5th vice-president; Betty B. Briggs, Massachusetts, secretary; Harry Leland, Nebraska, treasurer; Ethel Waddell, Illinois, assistant treasurer; Paul Jones, Pennsylvania, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Gertrude Skidmore, historian; Atty. Edith Clayton, Illinois, director of publicity; C. C. Wimbish, Illinois, chairman, organization committee; Rev. D. F. Martinez, Tennessee, chaplain; Manson James, Iowa, sergeant-at-arms and Sam Nelson, Gary, Indiana, assistant sergeant at arms.

The platform committee was composed of Austin Norris, Pennsylvania; Guy, New York; J. W. Sanford, Oklahoma; J. B. Watson, Arkansas; Judge Bowman, Ohio; W. L. Dawson, Illinois; E. M. Sneed, Illinois; C. C. Wimbish, Illinois; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma; J. Bernard Smith, Oklahoma; Frederick Weaver, Washington, D. C.; Earl Dickerson, Illinois; Senator Wallace, Illinois; Louis Sperling, Illinois; Mrs. E. Waddell, Illinois; Mrs. Crystal Fausett, Pennsylvania; Marshall Sheppard, Pennsylvania; Rev. D. F. Martinez, Illinois; Dr. J. A. Singleton, New York; Mrs. Nellie Hazelle, Pennsylvania; Julian D. Rainey, Massachusetts; Charles V. Carr, Ohio; Mrs. Thomas Dent, Illinois and Mrs. C. C. Wimbish, Illinois.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Free Press
October 13, 1940

NEGRO TO TALK AT DEMOCRATIC RALLY MONDAY

Kefauver to Introduce Mitchell; 5,000 Expected at Auditorium

Highlight political meeting tomorrow night will be held in Memorial Auditorium, where Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Negro congressman from Chicago, will make an address in behalf of the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket. Mitchell will be introduced by Representative Estes Kefauver, of Chattanooga.

Chairman Fletcher R. Morgan, chairman of the Roosevelt-Wallace campaign here, predicts about 5,000 people will attend the rally. Both white and colored supporters of the President are invited to hear the Chicago congressman.

A colored reception committee will meet Mitchell when he steps off the train at Terminal Station Monday afternoon at 4:35 o'clock, it was announced yesterday. The congressman will be escorted by motorcade to the home of C. H. Hardwick, where he will be entertained until the meeting begins.

A group of more than 400 colored leaders in Chattanooga and vicinity compose the reception committee which will greet Mitchell.

Arthur Morgan, secretary of the Roosevelt headquarters, said the following persons would sit on the stage Monday night:

M. Hogarth, E. F. McIntosh and wife, the Rev. M. Kirby and wife, Prof. John P. Greer and wife, M. L. Green, Walter D. Parks and wife, W. L. Rideout and wife, J. E. Cammon, the Rev. J. W. Wiggins, D. C. Harper and wife, Dr. W. A. Thompson and wife, R. B. Buckner and wife, the Rev. J. P. Daniels and wife, W. S. Strong and wife, the Rev. J. C. Brown and wife, Dr. A. H. Logan and wife, W. B. Bailey and wife, Sidney Byers and wife, William E. Thornhill and wife, Walter B. Cummum and wife, Charles H. Troop and wife, Louise J. King, Ellen Moore, Wallace Sims and wife, E. B. Sherman and wife, Mrs. R. A. Morrisy, Mrs. Helen Taylor, C. H. Hardwick, Jr., and wife, Dan and Mabel Taylor, Pauline Buchanan, Ida Bell Franklin and Otis Cox.

POLITICAL 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

VANN GIVES ANSWER TO DEMOCRATS

Pittsburgh Courier

Asserts Roosevelt Has Given Him No Word that He Has Kept—Gives Credit to Congressman Fish for Amendment to Conscription Bill.

SEP 28 1940

It seems as though the Democratic division in the East is a little shy on "build-up" material and then, of course they are just a little shy in their knowledge of the contents of the Congressional Record.

Pittsburgh

Last week there appeared in the Courier a story sent to us from Julian Rainey's office at Democratic headquarters in New York. We don't know who wrote the article, but we do know there are only three Negroes there who are allowed to write anything so one of the three must have written it.

VANN WANTS TO KNOW, "WH T WORD?"

The article says that the President kept his promise to Vann. When the article was shown to Mr. Vann, he immediately asked, "What word did Roosevelt ever give anybody that he kept, including Bankhead, now deceased of a broken heart, Louis McHenry Howe, James A. Farley, Raymond S. Moley, General Hugh Johnson and plenty more. If Roosevelt would break his promise with these men, Mr. Vann wants to know how he would keep a promise with him when he never made one.

What the New York headquarters is really trying to do is to steal the credit that's due the honorable Hamilton Fish who started in the Courier fight three years ago and stuck by the fight and the colored people until the bill became a law.

SAYS ARTICLE IS "LIE OF WHOLE CLOTH"

Mr. Vann says that the second paragraph of the article labels it as a lie of the whole cloth because it does not give any information as to the source of this great secret; namely, that the President kept his promise.

The article says, and we quote "this inside story was given out at National Democratic headquarters." What is an "inside story"? Ask your city detective.

Then the article goes on to say that this "inside" story was given out by a man who "long has enjoyed the trust and confidence of Edward J. Flynn, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee." To show that this is such a preposterous lie that it should be nipped in the bud, we remind our readers that Mr. Flynn was only appointed to his present job on the 17th of August and, prior to that time, it was common gossip in the Bronx that Flynn didn't know any Negroes and didn't want any introduced.

FLYNN APPOINTMENT DISAPPOINTS NEGROES

And for this reason, the Harlem and Bronx Negroes were very much disappointed when Flynn was appointed in the place of the Hon. James A. Farley.

The amendment referred to in the article of the Democrats was fathered by the Pittsburgh Courier and introduced by the Hon. Hamilton Fish and every intelligent Negro in the United States knows it.

If Mr. Rainey and his associates are trying to give themselves a "build-up," they will do well to let Vann and that soldiers' bill absolutely alone.

Youths At Gettysburg

OCT 11 1940
The Plaindealer
Kansas City
Kan.

From Democratic Campaign Com.

In keeping with the Military Training Act just signed by President Roosevelt, members of the Civilian Conservation Corps at Gettysburg National Park, Penna., attired in their new green winter uniforms uncover as their senior leader salutes the American flag at retreat. While in camp, these young men are trained in orderliness, cleanliness in appearance and obedience to law and order.

—(POL. ADV.)

BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT JOINS FORCES TO SUPPORT ROOSEVELT

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHICAGO, Oct. 10—"Why I am for President Roosevelt," from the pen of A. M. E. Bishop R. R. Wright, will be told to thousands in this section of the country next week, the Bishop promised Monday. Bishop Wright was named as head of colored activities in the midwest region several days ago by Senator Scott W. Lucas, chairman of the midwest area.

While here Bishop Wright made it plain that he would not accept any salary for his services in President Roosevelt's behalf. "I want it distinctly understood," he told reporters, "that I am to receive no salary. I only want to be permitted to contribute what time I can spare from my ecclesiastical duties, to the great cause of re-electing a great president."

Earl Dickerson Nominated Western Manager for Demos; Doctor Singelton for East

Black Dispatch 8-10-40
Oklahoma City, Okla.

J. Austin Norris Fails To Develop Strength To Blast Selections

Meeting Held In Washington, D. C.

A delegation representing the National Colored Democratic Association, headed by the Association President Dr. William J. Thompkins, called on Mr. James A. Farley Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, July 20, 1940. Mr. Lawrence Wood Robert, Jr., and Mr. Oliver Quale, secretary and treasurer respectively of the Democratic National Committee, sat in on the conference. Attending the Conference from the National Colored Democratic Association were:

Dr. William J. Thompkins, Missouri; J. Austin Norris, Mrs. Crystal Bird Fausett, Rec. Marshall Sheppard, Mrs. Nellie Hazell, Judge Joseph Rainey, Philadelphia; Felix H. Payne, Missouri; State Senator Charles Diggs, Michigan; Frederick S. Weaver, Missouri; Attorney Harold Bledsoe, Michigan; Joseph A. Craigne, Michigan; Earl B. Dickerson, Illinois; Charles V. Carr, Orio; Mrs. Frances Rainey, Pennsylvania; E. Louis Moore, Indiana; S. C., McAllister, Ohio, and Charles W. Jones, Michigan.

The purpose of the meeting was to petition the Chairman of the Democratic National Committe to permit representative Negro Democrats of the Eastern and Western States, through the National Colored Democratic Association, to recommend the persons who are to head up the Negro Campaign in those two sections.

The Chairman of the Democratic National Committee requested the group to get together, with the Western States making their recommendation and the Eastern States making their recommendation, and to get it to him immediately.

Mr. Hobert advised the group that time was of essence and that if the group could agree after conferring among themselves in the hotel, he would send his stenographer in to take dictation so that the Chairman could have the wishes of the group before they left Chicago.

The West immediately nominated Alderman Earl A. Dickerson Chicago, for director, and without opposition from the group present, Alderman Dickerson was recommended as the person to direct the Western Democratic Campaign among Negroes.

The East, represented at the meeting by Pennsylvania only, felt that their selection should be postponed until a representative from the East could be assembled. Mr. Farley was so advised, and told that the selection from the East would be transmitted to him within 10 days.

Accordingly, Dr. Thompkins sent invitations by wire to the following representatives of the Eastern States, requesting them to meet in Washington, Saturday, July 27, for the purpose of recommending a manager of the Democratic campaign for the Eastern Division.

Emory B. Smith, Thomas H. R. Clarke, W. L. Houston and Charles E. Hall, Washington, D. C.; Alvin Jones, J. Howard Payne, Truly Hatchett, Josiah F. Henry, Jr., Baltimore, Md.; Isaac Thornton, Delaware; I. J. K. Wells, Isaac Carper and E. L. Powell, West Virginia; Assemblyman Daniel Burrows, Dr. John Singletton, Herbert L. Bruce, Mr. and Mrs. Guy Brewer, Mrs. Bessye Bearden and James Stephens, New York; Judge F. K. Watkins, N. C.; Lorenza Harris and Robert Hartgrove, New Jersey; Julian D. Rainey, Massachusetts; J. Austin Norris, Judge Joseph Rainey, Rev. Marshall Sheppard, Mrs. Nellie Hazell, Mrs. Gertrude Skidmore, M. Louis Jones, Paul Jones, M Crystal Byrd Fausett, Pennsylvania.

Those present at the meeting held Saturday are as follows:

Louis Jones, Paul Jones, J. Austin Norris, Judge Joseph Rainey, Mrs. Gertrude Skidmore, Edward R. Hazell, Pennsylvania; Dr. John A. Singleton, James E. Stephens, James O. Freeman, Jr., Marie Brewer, Guy Brewer, Thomas C. Murray, New York; J. Alvin Jones, William Dixon, Donald G. Murray, J. Gene Payne, Howard H. Murphy, Lloyd Randolph, E. C. Ridgley, T. Randolph Waters, Edward Clark J. Howard Payne, J. Howard Payne, Jr.; Aubrey Briscoe, Josiah F. Henry, Jr.; Charles Owens, Creston L. Woingust, L. B. Gamby, Maryland; Richard L. Martin, Paul F. Sinclair, M. D.; Dr. James E. Lee, Roger V. Tucker, J. Bernard Johnson, J. Lorenzo Harris, J. Leroy Jordon, Fred W. Martin, Alfred Jackson, Charles Hall, Dr. Louis A. Hilton, New Jersey; Isaac N. Carper, M. T. Obie, W. Va.; Emory B. Smith, Thomas H. R. Clarke, Charles E. Hall, Washington, D. C.; Isaac Thornton and Maurice Rouselle, Delaware; Judge F. K. Watkins, N. C.

Dr. Thompkins was elected temporary chairman to preside over the meeting, and immediately announced that he was from Missouri, a Western State and was not a candidate for the recommendation. An effort on the part of the assembly to prevail upon him to accept the directorship was of no avail.

After lengthy discussion, Dr. John A. Singleton, New York, was unanimously elected for recommendation to Mr. Farley to direct the campaign in the East. Dr. Singleton is a practicing dentist in New York and was formerly a member of the Nebraska State Legislature.

The group was definite in its opinion that the leaders of the campaign should be selected by the group among which they are to work.

An effort on the part of J. Austin Norris from Philadelphia to break up the meeting by urging further postponement of the consideration, was voted down by the remainder of the group.

Answers Charge Chicago Democratic Meet Was Jim-Crow Session

By ALBERT WHITE

ST. LOUIS.—Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, in a statement here Wednesday blasted his critics and cited his success in helping United States Senator Harry S. Truman gain renomination in the Missouri Democratic primary Tuesday.

The senator triumphed over Gov. Lloyd C. Stark who had the opposition of Negroes because of his asserted position on the Gaines equal educational decision of the United States Supreme Court which upheld the right of Negroes to the same public training as whites.

The recorder denounced headlines in the various papers which said his National Negro Democratic association parley in Chicago, which met prior to the National Democratic convention, was a "jim-crow meeting."

He rapped Lavert (St. Louis) Kelly, Chicago labor boss, who organized a picket line demonstration against the association meeting. "He has been arrested and quizzed so much about his labor record until it's impossible to count the times," he declared.

Dr. Thompkins said newspapers which played up Kelly's actions in Chicago should have known Kelly did not represent the character and ideals of the people of that city. He said papers, regardless of whether they differed with him, should be fair in depicting his plans and his methods.

His organization, he said, met in Chicago before the Democratic convention to draft a platform of interest to Negroes which he said the convention accepted.

Thompkins said he is a Democrat of long standing and was a torchbearer for the party before many of the present day Negro Democratic leaders "crawled on the bandwagon."

The recorder cited the fight in Washington to abolish his office. "Not only did I succeed in squelching the fight," he said, "but interested congress in appropriating $450,000 to erect a new building for my department of the government."

CITES RECORD OF SUCCESS IN PARTY WORK

Defender 8-17-40
Chicago, Ill.

THE NEGRO GETS THE DIRTY WORK IN POLITICAL SMEAR CAMPAIGNS!

The Union
Cincinnati
Ohio
OCT 24 1940

(By Anthony B. Ferguson)

New York—(C)—The lowest and vilest types of political skullduggery is the smear campaigns and Negroes are usually made the goat because the so-called Negro politicians and swivel-chair artists haven't the guts to say "no" when asked to do the dirty work by their political bosses.

Neither political party is immune to this type of thing. Back in 1928 when Al Smith was a candidate for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket, the opposition had pictures made of Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, who happens to be colored and his secretary, who happened to be white. The picture showed him giving dictation to her in the New York City Civil Service Commission office and this was used to show what could happen in New York under Tammany in order to arouse race hatred in the south.

IN 1936 SOME OVER-ZEALOUS OPPONENT OF THE NEW DEAL MADE PICTURES OF MRS. ROOSEVELT VISITING HOWARD UNIVERSITY WITH EDGAR BROWN, A FEDERAL EMPLOYEE AND THIS WAS CIRCULATED IN THE SOUTH TO SHOW THE NEW DEAL'S LOVE FOR THE NEGRO.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

The Democratic National Convention

Dispatch
7-7-40
Okla. City, Okla.

We sat in the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and saw the delegations from the South cheer to the echo the able address delivered by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell. Republicans talked much about the "walkout" of "Cotton" Ed Smith when Marshall Shepard prayed at the previous Democratic convention. Attempt was made to prove that this was an expression representative of all Democrats.

But this year a Negro Congressman stood before the assembled thousands in Chicago's gigantic stadium, a bishop of the African Methodist church prayed, and we watched particularly the delegations whose standards showed they were from down in Dixie. If anything applause came from those sections more than from delegations coming from the North.

Again, when a committee representing the National Negro Democratic Association appeared before the Resolutions committee of the Democratic National committee in the Blackstone Hotel, they were received courteously. The committee was given attention, and the entire Resolutions committee arose and applauded as the Negro committee retired. Senator Pepper followed the committee into the hall and personally expressed his opinions to the chairman.

In addition to this, and very signifigant, was the presence of 27 delegates and alternates on the floor of the convention. Anybody with a half grain of sense could see that the black man is being rapidly integrated into the Democratic party. It would be foolish for anyone to assume that after fighting the Democratic organization for three quarters of a century the party of Jefferson would immediately embrace the black man without some mental reservations, but even so the rapidity with which the Negro voters are being accepted on the ground floor of the Democratic party was the most outstanding event of the Chicago convention.

Aside from the 27 Negro delegates and alternates who sat in the well of the convention there were hundreds of Negroes who sat indiscriminately and unsegregated all over the vast Chicago Stadium. Negroes sat in the press section. This writer was awarded a press badge which we never took time to go and get, but we did wear an assistant secretary's badge and had a pocket full of first and second balcony tickets. It might be interesting to note that we had the extreme pleasure of giving one of our tickets to a white lady who said she was from Mississippi. She was not a delegate but she wanted to get in the Democratic National Convention. When a Negro from Oklahoma gets to the place where he can supply white ladies tickets to the Democratic National Convention, the lillywhites in the G. O. P. ought hang their heads in shame.

It might be well to note that at the moment President Roosevelt shattered the third-term bugaboo, this writer was seated in the first balcony beside a white lady from Oklahoma City, who incidentally was opposed to a third term. We have gone into this phase of the seating arrangements at the Chicago convention so that our Republican brethren who always forget about lillywhitism when they snort about democrats, may realize that the Democratic party of 1940 from Mississippi to Maine, is really democratic.

A great deal of ballyhoo is now being offered regarding the difference between the "Negro" planks in the Republican and the Democratic platforms. Most everybody is overlooking the major view which should obtain at this time. The Democratic party has been in power for the past eight years and should not be evaluated solely on a basis of what is said in its party platform regarding Negroes, but rather upon an estimate of what it has done for America's largest minority group during the Roosevelt Administration. In other words the Republicans offer promises. The Democrats point to preformance. Too many people overlook that passage of scripture which reads "By their deeds ye shall know them."

No black man with a grain of sense is going to say that Negroes should be absolutely satisfied with what black folk have received during the Roosevelt administration, but on the other hand every black man who does not belong on the inside of an insane asylum, and who is not one of these job hustling, hungry political mis-leaders must acknowledge that Negroes have been given fairer and more impartial treatment by governmental agencies in recent years than ever before in the history of the Republic.

We went into a caucas at the Grand Hotel in Chicago with Negro leaders from all over the nation, and said there what we felt Negroes should ask for during the next four years, but even so, we know that in governmental function there has been more of democratic spread during the existence of the New Deal than black men have ever known.

Why in Washington today there is more recognition given to the floressence of the race than ever before. 15,000,000 black people applauded when Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution and taking Marian Anderson by the hand, led her down to the Lincoln Memorial and told a black girl born in the slums of Philadelphia to sing. That act of the First Lady epitomizes the attitude of the Roosevelt administration along the entire racial front. Today in the nation's capitol, in administrative departments of the federal government, more able, college bred black men and women have been called to leadership by the Democratic party than the Republicans gave recognition during their entire history.

The Republicans during the administrations of Grant, Hayes, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover had fulsome opportunity to do all of the things pledged in the recent "Negro" plank adopted at Philadelphia, but they did nothing about these grave problems of the black citizens of this Republic.

When we read the Republican platform this year we should think of that old adage,

The truth itself is not believed
From one who often has deceived.

Take for instance the question of lynching. From 1897 to 1901, during the period when Theodore Roosevelt was the Republican president of the United States, and at a time when the Grand Old Party had a brutal majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives, there were 520 Negroes lynched in the United States.

More interesting facts are supplied by the lynching records between the years of 1889 and 1902, when William McKinley was the Republican president of these United States. Tuskegee records show that there were 54 Negroes lynched during this period. McKinley also had overwhelming Republican strength both in the Senate and House.

Why is it that the Republican party did not enact anti-lynching legislation at that time? Why is it that during this period the Republican party allowed disfranchisement to run rampant in the South when the War Amendments gave to Congress the power to put teeth into the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments? Why is it that the Republican party waited until 1940, when Republicans in Congress are as scarce as hen teeth, to announce to the world the party favors anti-lynching legislation? Do you realize how hypocritical is such an attitude?

It was Senator Costigan of Colorado and Senator Wagner of New York, two Democrats, who had the moral courage to introduce in Congress and fight for legislation which if enacted would have stopped mob murder in this country. When you read the two "Negro" planks this year keep in mind the record we have offered above.

The Democratic National Convention

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MAY OUST DEMOCRATS

Scandal May Keep All 3 Candidates Off Ballot In State Senate Race

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

Negro Democrats of the 19th Assembly District face one of the most peculiar situations in the annals of political history.

The lid is about to be blown off of political chicanery without equal and when the fireworks begin there may be no candidates left on the Democratic ticket for State Senator

Attorney Arthur A. Madison, Republican candidate for the State Senate, 19th District, may be the first Negro State Senator elected in New York State.

To top it all off it is expected that District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey's office may take a hand in what promises to be the major political scandal of the current election.

The unusual situation developed last week after two Negroes, G. Edward Brown, and Manning Johnson, filed their petitions with the Board of Elections—petitions designating them as candidates in the primary elections next month against State Senator Charles D. Perry, white incumbent and nephew of Tammany Hall's boss, Christopher D. Sullivan.

According to law, anyone may examine designating petitions after the closing date for filing them has passed, for the purpose of making objections to signatures, etc. These objections are heard at open meeting by the Commissioners of the Board of Elections who either retain the designating petition and put the candidate on the ballot, or reject the petition thereby leaving the candidate's name off the ballot.

Immediately it was bruited about in Harlem that someone had mutilated Eddie Brown's petitions, mutilated them in such a way that the Board of Elections was sure to throw them out thereby eliminating Brown as a candidate, eliminating his running mate, Henry P. Hargraves as candidate for Assembly, and seriously endangering the candidacy of Richard E. Carey, insurgent candidate for the nomination as Justice of the 10th Municipal Court District.

The Board of Elections was thrown into a dither by the charges that clerks had been negligent in their duty to protect the petitions; Eddie Brown's followers were in more of a quandary when it was revealed that he had not taken the precaution of having his petitions photostated. After a conference the Board of Elections Commissioners are said to have agreed they would entertain no objections to Brown's petitions as regards the jurat or any other changes which would normally invalidate a petition. The only objections allowed will be on the priority of dates of signatories to the petition or objections to signers who were either not registered Democrats or had removed from the district.

Some of Brown's followers were for immediately filing complaint with District Attorney Dewey but on the advice of others, Brown decided not to pursue that course.

Say Petitions Pre-Dated

To add to the confusion, objections filed against the petitions of Manning Johnson, the third candidate for the Democratic nomination, may result in his name also being dropped, his opponents claiming that he filed petitions which bore the signatures of voters dated almost three weeks before the petitions were actually printed.

Republicans of the district are said to be prepared to fight against the petitions of all three Democrats and ready to ask District Attorney Dewey to step in. If this action is taken, Arthur A. Madison may be elected by default because the American Labor party's candidate is not expected to be able to pull any votes.

BISHOP WRIGHT TO HEAD DEMS IN MID-WEST

OCT 6 1940

Senator Scott W. Lucas, Chairman of the Midwestern Region for the Democratic National Committee today announced that Bishop R. R. Wright of Wilberforce, Ohio, had been prevailed upon to head the Colored Division for the purpose of re-electing President Roosevelt. In making the announcement the Senior U. S. Senator from Illinois said:

"We are endeavoring to bring together, as leaders of the various divisions of the campaign, the most outstanding citizens available. I have been fortunate in securing two United States senators, a Congressman, and others to head up divisions, but in none do I feel greater pride than in Bishop Wright."

"Call of Duty"

The bishop, who came to Chicago in response to a telephone call from Senator Lucas, said:

"When I met Senator Lucas the other day I had no idea for what purpose he wanted to confer with me. But when he disclosed that he wanted me to help re-elect Mr. Roosevelt, I felt it was the call of duty. For President Roosevelt is, to my mind, the greatest president since Lincoln. I can conceive no greater calamity in a political way that could befall our people than to put Mr. Roosevelt out this time.

"I said I would serve, with the distinct understanding that I receive no salary, that I be permitted to contribute what time I can spare from my ecclesiastical duties

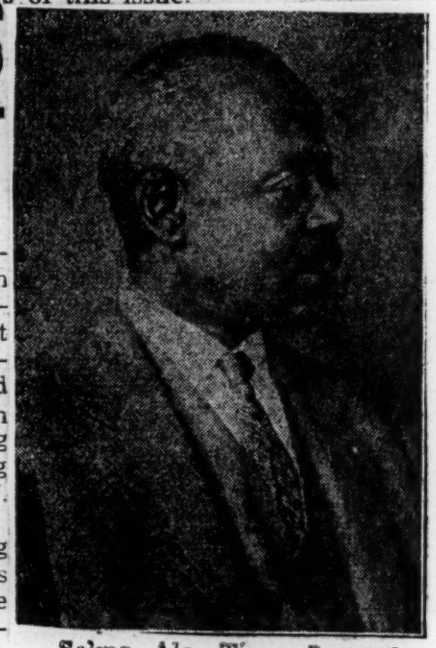
BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT

to the great cause of re-electing a great president.

Best for Nation

"Roosevelt is best for the nation. He is best for the Negro, and from time to time I shall let my friends know how the campaign is progressing. However, with me it is not merely a campaign, but a crusade. We just must elect Roosevelt."

Bishop Wright preached at the Chicago conference and returned to Ohio. During this week he will set up headquarters on the seventh floor in the Stevens Hotel so that he may be in close contact with all that is going on. He tells the people "Why I am for President Roosevelt," on page 8 of this issue.



Selma, Ala., Times Journal
October 14, 1940

Negro Democrats Probing Pamphlet Attack On Willkie

NEW YORK, Oct. 14—(AP)—The head of the negro division of the Democratic National Committee started an inquiry today into a campaign document calling attention to Wendell Willkie's German ancestry.

Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the national committee's colored division, declared he hoped to "run down" the source of the five-page pamphlet, adding that he expected to make a statement on the matter soon. He had repudiated the document earlier.

From Chairman Edward J. Flynn of the national committee came a statement saying he was "chagrined to think that some reckless individual has done such a disservice to our great president and party as to issue this stupid document."

Flynn repudiated the circular which bore the heading, "speakers bureau, colored division, Hotel Biltmore, New York City," and asserted it had not been submitted to the publicity division of the national committee.

"Neither our director of publicity or I had the slightest knowledge of its existence until it was called to our attention by newspaper men."

The democratic chairman added that no one questioned Willkie's "100 per cent Americanism" and said he particularly regretted the use of Mrs. Willkie's name in the pamphlet.

"Reference to Mr. Willkie's family or to the president's family have no part in a political campaign," he said.

John I. McNamara, co-chairman of the Brooklyn committee of democrats for Willkie sent a message to President Roosevelt asking that he "publicly repudiate the smear campaign of some of your supporters against Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Willkie."

"The stirring of race and religious prejudice against an American candidate is nothing less than the introductions of Hitler's and Stalin's methods into an American campaign."

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Texas Editor Warns Against Race Getting On "Garner Band Wagon"

Calls Vehicle A "Steam Roller" Against Franchise

HOUSTON—(ANP)—Bemoaning the fact that many Negroes of the East, West and North might be misled by campaign propaganda proclaiming the "liberalism" of Texas' John Nance Garner, avowed candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, the editor of the Houston Informer, in a recent editorial warned that in Texas the Democratic party is the State and the State, the party.

Citing a case in point, the Informer's editor took issue with C. A. Franklin, publisher of the Kansas City Call, declared: "We're astounded to see Mr. Franklin write that Mr. Garner 'comes from Texas where Negroes vote.' Since when did Negroes in Texas vote?" The Informer's editorial continues:

"Until we read Mr. Franklin's editorial, we never thought there was any difference in effect or injury between the disfranchisment practiced in Underwood's Alabama and that practiced in Garner's Texas. We couldn't see why Negroes should refuse to support Underwood for being an exponent of disfranchisement in Alabama, where they have the 'Grandfather Clause,' and still find room for praise and support of Garner, the champion of the pernicious primary bar. But now Mr. Franklin tells us blandly:

"'Other Southern Democrats have been talked of for the presidency. Underwood of Alabama is a notable example. But, good man though he was, he came from a state whose disfranchisement of part of the citizenry was so patently a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, that he was not acceptable in the East and North. Garner is more fortunate. He comes from Texas, where Negroes vote.'"

COMMENTS ON STATEMENT

Commenting on this Franklin statement, the Informer said:

"Everybody who reads, knows that under Mr. Garner's primary system, elections are determined in the Democratic primary. 500,000 people vote in the Democratic primary, less than 100,000 vote in the general elections because they know that the general election is merely a gesture. In Texas, there's no such thing as a two-party system. And Negroes being barred from the Democratic primary, have no effective vote...

"In Texas, the Democratic party furnishes and controls the officials of the state; and the State is the party, and the party is the State. The Negroes of Texas are hoping that disinterested Negroes all over the country will not help to crucify them by jumping on the Garner band-wagon, which is a steam-roller against the Negro franchise."

PRESIDENT ENJOYS HIS JOKES

His Is the Field of Hearty Humor, as He Indicated in His Jackson Day Speech

By DELBERT CLARK

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13—When President Roosevelt at that strictly family dinner of his party this week gently joshed the Democrats who do not agree with him, and poked fun at the official Republican opposition, he was in his best form in a field where he is, perhaps, most at home—the field of racy humor.

So much of his Administration has been concerned with serious matters that Mr. Roosevelt has not often had an opportunity to be just himself, a good fellow among good fellows. But on this occasion he subordinated weighty matters and adopted the manner of the President of Ye Ole Poole and Poker Clubbe.

Actually, while the general public has caught only occasional glimpses of this side of the President, those who know him better will tell you that he enjoys nothing better than a good joke, verbal or practical; that he retains a fund of these as they come to him, and that it is difficult to know which he enjoys more—telling or hearing them.

If the joke is on him, he is especially amused.

A Negro Story

At an informal White House party a young woman who knew Mrs. Roosevelt, but not the President, told him a true story centered around him. A Negro laborer was standing on Pennsylvania Avenue as the President's car whizzed by. He asked the young woman, who was standing near by, "Who dat?" She replied that it was the President.

"Well," said the Negro, "who all dem men on motor cycles?"

"Why, they're policemen."

A long, bewildered pause, then—"What he done?"

The President leaned back in his chair and guffawed at the story, and repeated the catch line over and over with greatest relish.

That is the sort of story he likes—the homely anecdote of the common people—not because it is good politics to prefer such stories to the more "intellectual" variety, but because he grew up in the country and derives solid enjoyment from association with homely people. Even in the midst of the most arduous duties of state he can, on occasion, become a small-town big shot and hobnob with the town dog catcher and constable.

Yearning for Home

The most quoted story he told at the Jackson Day dinner—the one about "Uncle Jed"—was a perfect illustration of his half-suppressed yearning to renew his relationship with the [illegible] As some one remarked recently, [illegible] man who comes from a small t[illegible] or rural district, no matter how [illegible] urban his later life, seldom feels so much at home elsewhere, as he grows older, as he does amid the scenes of his childhood. Barring that, the best substitute is something that recalls those scenes.

The President, accordingly, revels in his frequent visits to Hyde Park, where he can be a man among men with his old neighbors. When he can't go to Hyde Park he frequently creates a comparable atmosphere by indulging in homely talk and old-style humor.

Contrast to Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge was another such, in his way, but his type of humor and Mr. Roosevelt's were as different as the backgrounds of the two men. Mr. Coolidge delighted in understatement. His humor stemmed directly from his Puritan ancestry and the rockbound region where his family had lived for generations. Mr. Roosevelt's is more characteristic of the broad valleys of New York and the broad good-nature of the Hollanders who were his forebears.

Contrary to what some may think, the President does not employ a joke book, and he does not have men among his intimate advisers whose duty it is to keep him supplied with anecdotes. Rather, like any one with a good sense of humor and a good memory, he remembers stories he has heard, and at the proper time out pops a joke.

It is true, of course, that, knowing this side of his nature, those who talk with him bring him the latest stories for his delectation, and General Watson, one of his secretaries, always has a plentiful supply. But few of General Watson's stories get told in public.

There are many tales—private ones—of the jokes Mr. Roosevelt perpetrates on those he likes. Sometimes they are rather rough, but here again is revealed the rural jokesmith.

"We Want Butch"

One of the regular White House correspondents, at an informal party, suddenly found every one but himself singing an improvised song, to an old tune, in which there were repeated calls of "We want Butch." Before he had time to think much about it he learned that the elaborate jest had been arranged for him alone, at the President's instigation, and no one was more delighted than the President at the reporter's embarrassment over his new nickname.

On the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt several weeks ago helped a New York broker to clean up a fair amount of small change in royalties on a book ridiculing the President. It was called "Frankie in Blunderland," and the President though it so amusing that he read passages from it to all his friends when they called. Sales boomed briefly, and the astonished Roosevelt-hater began to collect the proceeds.

Mr. Roosevelt's press conferences are studded with his quips.

Not long ago he had his grandson —the Boettiger heir—as honor guest at a conference. The infant sat on the grandparental knee and tore a newspaper to shreds—which delighted the President immensely. The grandfather then formally proposed the child for membership in the White House Correspondents Association.

Simultaneous Unities

More recently some one handed the President a copy of a well-known Middle Western newspaper just as the press conference began. He glanced at it, let out a bellow of joy and held it up for all present to see. Across one page was an eight-column headline which said: "F. R., in Message, Pleads for National Unity." Across the top of the next page was another line, in identical type, which read: "Unity, on Stretcher, Nearing Her Home."

When Mr. Roosevelt eventually retires to Hyde Park he probably will delight in driving along the road and regaling his neighbors with the latest story. Had he never become President he might have become famous in his home town as an inveterate jokesmith. His humor is of the country town and betrays, at every turn, his love of the simple, homely life.

DEMOCRATIC CATECHISM Of Negro Equality.

JULY 4th, 1863.

Who said that all men are created equal? Thomas Jefferson, the Father of Democracy.

Who gave the negroes the right of suffrage in New York? The Democratic party. Geo. Lincoln

Who presided over the Convention which gave this privilege to negroes? Martin Van Buren, a Democrat.

Who married a negro woman, and by her had mulatto children? Richard M. Johnson, a good Democrat.

Who elected Richard M. Johnson Vice President of the United States? The Democratic party. 2-24-40

If President Van Buren had died, and Richard M. Johnson had become President, who would have become the Democratic mistress of the White House? This same negro woman.

Who made the negro a citizen of the State of Maine? The Democratic party. Baltimore, Md

Who enacted a similar law in Massachusetts? The Democratic party.

Who gave the negro a right to vote in New Hampshire? The Democratic party.

Who permitted every colored person owning $250 in New York to become a voter? A General Assembly, purely Democratic.

Who repealed the laws of Ohio which required negroes to give bonds and security before settling in that State? The Democratic party. 2-24-40

Who made mulattoes legal voters in Ohio? The Supreme Court of which Reuben Wood was Chief Justice.

What became of Reuben Wood? The Democratic Party elected him Governor three times, and he is still a leader of the Democratic party.

Who helped to give free negroes the right to vote in Tennessee, under her Constitution of 1796? General Jackson.

Was General Jackson a good Democrat? He generally passed as such.

Who with the above facts, and many others staring them in the face, are continually whining about "negro suffrage" and negro equality? The Democratic party.

All these things were done by Democrats, and yet they deny being in favor of negro equality, and charge it upon the Republicans—just like the thief who cries "stop thief" the loudest.

Greenville, S. C. News
January 1, 1940

PRESIDENT HAS SLICED DEEPLY, REPORTS STATE

Members Must Give Up 'Vote' Projects Or Continue Huge Spending

ECONOMISTS 'ON SPOT'

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31 — (AP) — Congress, meeting Wednesday, may be in for a painful surprise when President Roosevelt sends up his annual budget the following day.

Reliable reports reaching Capitol Hill indicate that last minute wielding of the chief executive's budgetary pruning knife has cut deeply into the sections containing projects dear to every congressman's heart—flood control, rivers and harbors, reclamation and the like.

TOTAL UNDER NINE BILLION

Taking off a slice here and another there, the President was said to have made a total reduction substantial enough to bring his recommended government expenditures below $9,000,000,000, in spite of liberal estimates for this year of $9,500,000,000.

Thus, those Congress members who have been calling for economy may find themselves on the horns of a dilemma—unless they are willing to increase the President's figures, they will be "economizing" at the expense of projects the home folks like.

It is understood that the President will propose both an "A" and a "B" budget. The "A" budget will be full of all the usual things and will call for roughly $8,500,000,000. The "B" budget will be an itemization to the tune of something less than $500,000,000 of the extra costs of maintaining neutrality—etra enlistments for the army, navy and coast guard, extra counter-espionage agents for the F. B. I., the cost of keeping navy and coast guard ships patrolling American waters and similar expenses.

FLOOD CONTROL CUT

As an illustration of how deeply the presidential knife is supposed to have slashed, there are apparently authentic reports that a contemplated $115,000,000 expenditure for flood control work was trimmed to $70,000,000. Similar cuts were said to have been made in rivers and harbors projects.

Shortly after Congress convenes, it will hear the President's annual message on the state of the nation. There are reports that the President will devote a major share of this message, to be delivered in person to a joint session at about 2 p. m. (Eastern Standard Time) to the need for strengthened national defenses in the light of turbulent world conditions.

There is speculation also that the President may sound a call for national unity and a soft-pedaling of partisan politics in the consideration of major domestic and foreign issues, so that this country may present a united front in its efforts to bring about world peace.

SUPREME COURT NOMINATION

There is a possibility that the President will send a Supreme court nomination to the Senate either Wednesday or Thursday, along with some diplomatic and other nominations.

Attorney General Frank Murphy generally is regarded as the most likely choice to fill the high court vacancy created by the recent death of Associate Justice Pierce Butler. Also on the President's list may be a federal district court appointment for Senator Schwellenbach (D-Wash).

With action on major controversies slated to be delayed, Congress will have little to do its first week except listen to the message and receive the budget. Senate leaders plan to adjourn Thursday until the following Monday and House leaders probably will follow suit.

The House may take up the controversial anti-lynching bill once it gets down to work January 8.

TRADE PACT FIGHT SEEN

The first deficiency bill of $270,000,000, carrying funds to pay for neutrality patrol costs and other emergency items, also will be ready for House consideration.

Opening of the session is expected to bring almost immediate introduction in the House of legislation to extend the life of the reciprocal trade treaty program, which will expire June 12 unless Congress acts before then. The program, roundly criticized by republicans and many democrats, is expected to be a major issue of contention in the session.

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PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

For Fairer Representation

When the Democratic convention of 1936 abolished the two-thirds rule in the selection of nominees, a companion resolution designed to bring about fairer apportionment of delegates between the different states, the District of Columbia, etc., was adopted.

At the present time apportionment of delegates to the Democratic convention is based on congressional districts. Each district is given two votes in the party convention and each state is given four votes at large. This is irrespective of the Democratic strength in any district. Thus a district, say in Vermont, with less than 2 per cent of its voters Democrats, gets equal representation in the Democratic convention with a district in Georgia or South Carolina, just as overwhelmingly Democratic as the Vermont district is Republican.

It was the general understanding at the 1936 convention that the reapportionment program directed would, in some degree, recompense the south for loss of the two-thirds rule, since the south is the region of greatest loyalty to the party. Unless the reapportionment program is carried out, it means that, for example, Pennsylvania, which rarely goes Democratic, can outvote, in the party convention the combined vote of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, almost always Democratic states. Pennsylvania has 72 votes in the convention, while the three southern states combined have only 64.

The Republican convention has a much fairer method of apportioning votes. Under their plan, each congressional district has one vote. Then, an additional vote is given each district that gave as many as 10,000 Republican votes in the preceding presidential or congressional election. Each state has two votes at large and three additional if the state cast its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee in the preceding presidential election.

This, of course, costs the south votes in Republican conventions, which is as it should be. It would be absurd to permit South Carolina, which never went Republican, to outvote in Republican conventions the combined vote of such Republican strongholds as Vermont and New Hampshire.

If the same system was now in force in the Democratic party as in the Republican party, the south would have 147 more votes than it has today.

John Temple Graves II, associate editor of the Birmingham News, has suggested what appears to be a fair and proper system for the apportionment of votes in the Democratic convention.

His plan envisages one delegate for each congressional district. One additional delegate for each district which either elected a Democratic congressman or cast not less than 15,000 votes for a Democratic candidate for congress in the last preceding congressional election. Four delegates at large for each state, and three additional delegates at large for each state which cast its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Democratic nominees in the last preceding presidential election.

Not only because such a system would give the south a stronger voice in the affairs of the only party in which this section counts, but because it is a fairer and more democratic way of apportioning voting strength, every southern delegate to the convention this year should go prepared to do all he can to see that the recommendations of the resolution adopted in 1936 are carried out.

Unless some such method is adopted, the injury done to the south by abrogation of the two-thirds rule will be perpetuated and this section will not hold the strength its loyalty deserves in the councils of its own party.

8 COLORED EDITORS CALLED INTO CONFAB BY THE DEMOCRATS

But There's Secrecy to Move as no Names Are Given

WASHINGTON, May 12 (ANP) Representatives of eight Negro newspapers have been summoned to meet with the National Democratic committee chairman in this city during the week-end of May 2-4, it is reliably reported, to discuss ways and means of conducting the Democratic campaign for the coming election.

Much secrecy surrounds the call which comes simultaneously with the meeting of 400 women of the Democratic party, who will assemble to hear discussions by seven cabinet members and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Carefully concealing the names of the newspapers thus summoned, no one connected with the committee will discuss the forthcoming meetings, other than to point out the fact that the "government institute" under which heading the women are assembled, is an event sponsored by the Democratic party to familiarize women workers of the party with the things the New Deal has accomplished in the past seven years

Winston-Salem, N. C., Sentinel
May 19, 1940

Negro C[illegible] Is Cha[illegible]ed In the City

The Winston-Salem Negro Chartered Democratic Club was organized recently by Judge Frederick K. Watkins of Durham, and as an initial step the club is sponsoring a county meeting of Democrats to be held today at First Baptist Church at 4 o'clock.

Following today's meeting, on tomorrow there will be held the first Negro Democratic convention in Forsyth county at the courthouse in the large courtroom at 1 o'clock. At this meeting delegates will be elected to the state-wide convention which will be held in Greensboro the latter part of June. All Democrats in the city and county are invited to be present. The public is invited to see and take a part in the first Negro Democratic convention to be held in this section.

The Winston-Salem Negro Democratic Chartered Club will entertain the county convention. The following are the officers of this club: Leander Hill, president; O. A. Brown, vice-president; Attorney W. Jones, secretary; J. H. Alexander, assistant secretary; Mrs. C. Jones, treasurer; Rev. Edward Gholson, chaplan; Charlie McClean, sergeant-at-arms; Attorney H. V. Price, chairman of the steering committee, C. S. Brown.

Representatives from other North Carolina Negro Democratic clubs will be present at the meeting on Monday. The clubs are organized in Greensboro, Reidsville, High Point, Durham, and Raleigh.

Judge Watkins has had considerable experience organizing Elks. For 15 years he traveled all over the United States, Canada, Havana, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Isles of the Seas organing Elks. At present he is the assistant grand commissioner of the educational department of the Grand Lodge of Elks.

Several decades ago Judge Watkins was the owner of a chain of 15 theatres with headquarters in Durham. One of his theatres was the Dunbar Theatre located on Patterson avenue in our city about 20 years ago.

At present he is devoting a great deal of his time to the organization of Negro Democratic clubs.

Greensboro, N. C., Record
May 30, 1940

Negro Democratic Convention to Open

The state negro Democratic convention will open in Greensboro tonight with a public gathering to be held at the Trinity A. M. E. Zion church, 447 East Washington street, at which time candidates for office will be heard.

Sessions of the convention scheduled for Saturday will be held at the Elks lodge, 709½ East Market street. The work of the convention will be carried on Saturday.

J. Archibald Joyner is chairman of the committee in charge of arrangements for the convention, other members being Dr. J. L. Alexander, N. L. Gregg, W. F. Frazier, Parry J. Brown, E. Patterson, I. R. Mitchell, Helen Jones, Rosalie Gibson and J. W. Crawford.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
May 14, 1940

Resolutions Suggested to White Democrats

In the South Carolina Democratic convention tomorrow a resolution of this purport should be introduced and adopted:

Resolved, that the so-called "anti-lynching bill" which the national house has passed and is now before the senate is an anti-Southern bill designed to gain negro votes in Northern cities and calculated to kindle racial animosities and instigate lynchings in the South.

Resolved, that while it is regrettable that this outrage on the South, this attempt to destroy state rights and the power of states to administer their own criminal laws, has heretofore been prevented only by resort to the filibuster, we, white Democrats of South Carolina, call on our senators to resort to it again if necessary to defeat the iniquitous measure.

Resolved, that we hereby express our gratitude and thanks to Southern senators and a few Northerners, Democrats and Republicans, for defeating the bill by the filibuster of 1938, and we especially thank and praise James F. Byrnes, senator of South Carolina, for his skillful and aggressive defense of his state and the South in that filibuster.

Resolved, that we, the Democrats of South Carolina instruct our delegation in the Chicago convention to urge the inclusion of a plank in the national Democratic platform condemning the so-called anti-lynching bill as an unwarranted attack on the South and on state government.

Resolved, that the South Carolina Democrats hereby petition President Roosevelt to veto this un-Democratic bill if it be passed by the senate.

The only conceivable objection to the passage of resolutions of the foregoing purport by the South Carolina Democrats is that they might embarrass the coalition, or hook-up, of the national Democratic party with the negro voters in Northern cities. The colored voters and the New Deal party are now smoothly cooperating and the retention of the offices and subsidies in South Carolina depends upon perpetuation of the New Deal in office and that may depend upon concessions to the colored voters.

Birmingham, Ala. News
April 7, 1940

America Will Stay Out Of Europe's Conflict, Jim Farley Predicts

In Swing Through State, He Also Forecasts New Victory For Democrats

BY LILY MAY CALDWELL
Birmingham News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—"America is going to stay out of the war in Europe because the people don't want war and because we have an administration in Washington that is going to keep us out.

"The Democratic party is going to nominate and elect a man in 1940 who will please not only the Democrats but the Republicans and Independents as well."

These were the predictions of the nation's No. 1 prognosticator, that genial triple-threat Irishman — Postmaster General James A. Farley, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and avowed candidate for the 1940 Democratic nomination—on a whirlwind tour of the state Saturday in which before cheering throngs he lauded President Roosevelt, not once mentioning his own candidacy except by jokingly referring to this handshaking, speech-making trip as "postoffice business although some suspect me of other motives."

There has been no breach in the friendship between Roosevelt and Farley, the general said during his jaunt from Meridian, Miss., to Montgomery Saturday and he described Roosevelt as "the greatest president in the history of our nation."

He Praises Bankhead

The suggestion that Farley would not have announced his candidacy for the presidential nomination if Mr. Roosevelt had intended to run for a third term brought a smile and a comment, "I have no right to question any fine interpretations any reporters make."

A Bankhead-Farley ticket was mentioned in the event Roosevelt does not seek a third term and Farley took advantage of the opportunity to laud Alabama's favorite son "as a great Democrat who is rendering a great service to the party and the nation."

Time and again the Democratic chairman sent Cordell Hull's stock soaring by references to him, and the assertion that even the most bitter opponents of the New Deal are wholeheartedly in accord with the foreign policy of Roosevelt and Hull." Declining to spot the states that will go Democratic in November, Farley said "There may not be all except Maine and Vermont —but there will be enough.

"I honestly believe that the country will keep the Democratic party in power. Whether we will retain the same degree of control in the House that we have now, I don't know, but I would say that much of that revolves around what happens in Chicago. By that I mean who is nominated and under what circumstances."

On a swing through Mississippi and Alabama Saturday, Farley picked up plenty of dope on the political pulse of the South—and the South once more succumbed to the magic that is Jim Farley's.

Saturday was a Democratic field day in Alabama. Thousands jammed the flag-draped streets, bands played and sirens screamed as the Alabama Highway Patrol escort preceded the decorated official cars. Farmers paused at their hoeing to cheer, and Farley shook more than 3,000 hands.

No one short of the president himself could have received a more roaring welcome than the big jovial Irishman on his stops in Meridian, Cuba, York, Livingston, Coatopa, Demopolis, Marion Junction, Gallion, Faunsdale, Uniontown, Browns, Massilion, Selma, Benton and Montgomery.

His Energy Is Amazing

Through the day he moved smoothly, never late for an appointment, delaying nothing, remembering everything even the names of casual acquaintances.

The energy of the man is amazing. Even after a 14-hour trip from Jackson, Miss., Farley did not seem fatigued when he arrived in Montgomery Saturday night and entered in to the festivities that were planned at the banquet of the State Convention of District Postmasters, after which he spent the night with Gov. Dixon.

The one impression that reporters away from a day with Jim Farley was that he is definitely a "party" man and that all day long there was party sentiment in Alabama, and even after Farley had departed those with whom he had talked must have retained something of the inspiration of "Loyal Jim."

Accompanying Farley on this tour that will take him Sunday to Auburn and Tuskegee to launch the Booker T. Washington issue of stamps are, Ambrose O'Connell, assistant postmaster general, and several associates.

Democrats Invite 8 Editors To D. C.

WASHINGTON, May 3.—(ANP) —Representatives of eight Negro newspapers have been summoned to meet with the National Democratic committee chairman in this city during the weekend of May 2-4, it is reliably reported, to discuss ways and means of conducting the Democratic campaign for the coming election.

Much secrecy surrounds the call which comes simultaneously with the meeting of 4200 women of the Democratic party, who will assemble to hear discussions by seven cabinet members and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Carefully concealing the names of the newspapers thus summoned, no one connected with the committee will discuss the forthcoming meetings, other than to point out the fact that the "government institute" under which heading the women are assembled, is an event sponsored by the Democratic party to familiarize women workers of the party with the things the New Deal has accomplished in the past seven years.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
August 27, 1940

Young Democratic Club For Negroes Organized

Pledging themselves to secure a large Negro vote in Nashville and Davidson County, a group of the city's leading Negro Democratic workers met last night and organized a Young Democratic Club for Negroes. The organization meeting was held in the law offices of W. S. Walker, Fourth Avenue, North, and Cedar Street.

John Young was elected president, and other officers chosen were: Leslie Young, vice-president; William A. Reed, secretary; Dr. E. L. Price, treasurer, and E. Vance Kinnard, assistant secretary.

An executive committee was selected as follows: H. E. Cole, Dr. G. L. Jackson, Steven Sisney, Edward Alexander, and L. H. Bradley.

An intensive drive for membership will be launched at the next meeting on Friday night in the same offices, it was announced. The group, composed of Negro business and professional men of Nashville and Davidson County, adopted a resolution pledging full support to President Roosevelt for reelection.

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
October 13, 1940

Negro Democrats Contribute $50

The $50 contribution to the Democratic campaign received by the City Democratic Executive Committee Thursday night came from the Community Democratic Club, a Negro organization with Dr. S. F. Coppage as president and L. A. Howell, secretary, it was announced yesterday by Marshall T. Bohannon, chairman of the city committee.

At the time of presenting the check Thursday night, Secretary Howell said that another in the same amount would be offered before the campaign ends.

The Community Democratic Club is planning a rally for Negroes the night of October 30 at the Dunbar School, it was announced.

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DEMOCRATIC

Democracy at the Cross-Roads

A heavy responsibility rests upon the members of the state Democratic executive committee who have been called by Chairman Gillis to meet in Atlanta Thursday to consider "important party business."

It has been intimated that the important business would be to pass resolutions calling upon Roosevelt to run for a third term. On the other hand, it is earnestly hoped that the committee will yield to the demands of what we believe to be an overwhelming majority of the rank and file that a presidential preferential primary be called at an early date.

There can be no possible escape from the conclusion that any refusal to hold this primary will be to nullify one of the most essential principles of real democracy and the committee, by refusing, will work a great injury to the party and to its own standing as an exponent of justice and fairness.

It is little less than astonishing that the committee could even hesitate to give the people of Georgia an opportunity to vote for delegates in a preferential primary.

On the one hand we have a Democrat of national stature, occupying the second place in the administration at Washington, knocking at the door and asking that he be allowed to submit his candidacy for the presidential nomination to the people of this state.

This demand for a primary comes from public spirited citizens who insist that they are acting on principle. While some of them may, personally, favor the nomination of John N. Garner, they contend that this primary should be held because it is the right of the people in a democracy to go to the polls and express their choice.

On the other hand, a committee from the Georgia Democratic Council, created by Lawrence Camp and admittedly favorable to the nomination of Roosevelt for a third term, has presented strongly worded resolutions to the committee asking that the primary be held.

It would be bald and unrelieved autocracy for the members of the state Democratic executive committee to hand-pick the delegates to the Democratic national convention or assume to speak for the Democratic party of Georgia by adopting resolutions calling on Roosevelt to run for a third term.

The state executive committee is supposed to represent the sentiments of the people as expressed in the immediately preceding general election. That election, held in 1938, resulted in the defeat of the administration candidate by a vote of 243,922 to 78,223.

By what test of fairnss and common honesty can it be held that the results of that election gave the executive committee a mandate to "draft" Roosevelt for a third term or to hand-pick a delegation to the national convention in the interest of a third term?

There are many ardent supporters of Roosevelt in Georgia who feel that the state is strongly in favor of him. But it is one thing to commend him for what he has done and quite another thing to violate every tradition of the party and of the American government by nominating him for a third term.

Whatever may be the private opinion of committee members on this point, nothing can outweigh the incontestible right of the people to express their own views at the polls.

More than 22 thousand names have been signed to a petition, and over 4 thousand postcards have been sent the committee, asking, as a matter of principle, that they be allowed to vote.

The action of the committee in taking matters in its own hand could be regarded as nothing more than a personal triumph of Governor Rivers, while large groups, including ardent New Dealers, insist that the governor does not represent, for them, the administration tradition in Georgia.

Writing in the Telegraph of April 23, Raymond Clapper says that in the house of representatives, whose members are in close touch with people back home, "the New Deal is taking a daily flogging," and cites the overwhelming defeat of the administration in the passage of the Logan-Walter bill. When the house kicks up a dust, says Clapper, "you may be sure that the wind has shifted out in the country."

Be that as it may, no state executive committee has the right to do the thinking for the people of the state and it had better yield to popular demand while there is yet time.

Cops Halt Riot of Democrats

PHILADELPHIA—The timely intervention of a police squad prevented a possible riot between factions of Democrats during an executive meeting of the Thirtieth Ward, during which Dr. Willard Grinnage was elected chairman of the ward committee and Michael Kerrick, white selected as ward leader on Monday at the Southwest YWCA 1605 Christian Street.

The differences of opinions reached a fever heat during the meeting, resulting in a lengthy debate between members and well wishers. At the conclusion of the meeting, supporters of Elmer Bradley and Herman Williams, the defeated candidates grouped outside the building and threatened members of the opposing faction.

Two Squads on Hand

Two squads of policemen dispersed the crowd and compelled all except committeemen to leave the neighborhood.

During the meeting, the committee, consisting of fifty-four committeemen, ten of whom are white, elected Dr. Grinnage by a 29-21 vote over Bradley for the committee chairmanship. Following announcement of the vote, it is alleged that a number of persons, many of whom were workers, were called into the room to display placards.

Grinnage Calls Police

Dr. Grinnage, it is reported summoned police and had the factional supporters forced from the room. Feeling ran high when on a second ballot, Kerrick was re-elected leader of a ward predominately colored.

Later encounters on the street as hot words passed between the different supporters, were prevented by police, who remained in the vicinity long after the close of the meeting.

'Cotton Ed' Smith Rebuffed by Own Party in South Carolina

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—Senator E. D. "Cotton" Smith, senior senator from this state and dean of the U. S. senate, self-styled champion of nullification, of walkout fame when a Negro prayed at the last Democratic National convention, and arch Negro baitor, was soundly spanked by his own Democratic state convention here last week.

Senator Smith came to the convention as a delegate from his home county which had instructed their delegation for Roosevelt and a third term. Smith, who successfully defeated the attempt to purge him in 1938, arose to stem the tide of the convention going for Roosevelt and a third term.

Although he was a member of a county delegation instructed for Roosevelt he ignored this and said in part, "God and myself alone know what I have suffered for six long years of Roosevelt administration." He injected the Negro question into his speech: "the Negro is as good as you and a little better and you know it" referring to the present Democratic administration.

In spite of his rambling speech in which he used all the stock phrases of the rabble rousing southern politician, the South Carolina delegation voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt and a third term. The delegation to the national convention was so instructed and to add insult to injury "Cotton Ed" Smith was made a member of the delegation with a half vote.

The Iowa Negro Democrats meeting in Des Moines passed a resolution praising Senator Herring's record. The Bystander wonders if they know the senator's record on the anti-lynching bill? If so, we are certain they would have tabled this resolution.

SAVANNAH VOTERS TO CHALLENGE ALL-WHITE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY; PLAN DRESS REHEARSAL IN 1941

Pointing Toward 5,000 Qualified Voters to Make the Test in Next Year's Primaries, Young Men's Civic Club Plans Big Job.

By TED POSTON
Staff Correspondent

SAVANNAH, Ga., May 23.—Led by George Fuller, a 35-year-old resident of Yamacraw, Savannah's oldest and most picturesque community, the Negro voters of this city were continuing a registration drive this week as a part of a long-range program of challenging the all-white Democratic party primaries in the state of Georgia.

Having pushed the registration from 500 to 2,000 in this year's registration period, the Negro voters, mustered under the banner of the Young Men's Civic club, were pointing toward an eventual 5,000 qualified voters in order to make the test in next year's primaries.

Fuller and other leaders of the movement are looking forward to a dress rehearsal for the primary challenge in the near future. At that time the city is planning to float a new bond issue and white political leaders are urging Negroes to vote for the proposal so that it will be accepted.

The Young Men's Civic club is preparing to bring out a record Negro vote on this occasion so that its members may become accustomed to the use of the ballot and so that the whites may see the strength of the Negro vote. The club has not announced whether it will support the bond issue. It may do so if certain civic improvements are offered the Negro community.

At present Savannah Negroes are only permitted to vote in national elections since the Republicans are so weak here that they do not put up state and local candidates. This year, however, the G.O.P., spurred by a revival of the party elsewhere, is considering the nomination of Republican candidates locally. Such a move would aid the Negro drive.

White civic leaders have shown a deep interest in the Negro registration drive. Recently, Captain Frank Spencer of the board of education, addressed the Young Men's Civic club on the "Place of the Negro in Community Life." In the course of his address, he told the group:

"You cannot ever hope to get anywhere unless you vote."

The Rev. Adam C. Powell Jr., of New York, a recent speaker before the club, also urged the use of the ballot and a determined fight to participate in the Democratic primaries.

Five thousand Negroes participating in the Democratic tallies would exert a powerful influence on local office holders, since only 10,000 Democrats are included in the two warring factions here. The $1 poll tax, enforced here for voting, has disfranchised many white as well as Negro voters.

Mr. Fuller, director of the drive and president of the club, is clerk and financial secretary of the First Bryan Baptist church, oldest institution of its kind in the world. The church, which was founded in 1788 and which now has 2,000 members, is located in Yamacraw, a stone's throw from Fuller's birthplace.

The vote drive in Savannah has spurred similar movements in Butler, Rome, Macon and other Georgia communities. It followed a similar drive in Atlanta, led by J. Wesley Dobbs, grand master of the Masons. The Atlanta voters got a new Negro high school and other improvements by supporting their local bond issue.

CHALLENGER

Shaking hands with M. P. Sessoms, city physician, George Fuller, right, pledges the continuation of his fight to break down discrimination at the ballot box in Georgia. As head of a newly-formed organization, the Young Men's Civic club, Mr. Fuller plans to challenge the legality of the all-white Democratic primaries in his state.—foto-rowe.

In Washington With GEORGE MORRIS

Negro Goes New Deal

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11.—For more than 50 years following the Civil War the words "negro" and "Republican" were synonymous. In the North the negro voted Republican and in the South, where he did not vote, his sympathies were Republican.

Northern Democrats could make no headway in their attempts to alienate the negro from the Republican Party. The negro was still thinking in terms of freedom. He was freed by Lincoln. Lincoln was a Republican, therefore the negro was a Republican.

The argument was ineffective that if the negro had not been freed by force of war, he would have been freed by compulsion of his owners. It was perfectly obvious that the white people of the South were the ones who most needed to be released from the shackles of slavery.

In 1932 the Northern negro went over, bag and baggage, with his vote and the Southern negro with his sympathy, to the Democratic Party. In the North the negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. He had begun to think in economic and social terms, and the Democratic Party offered opportunity. The unfilled Republican promise, of 40 acres and a mule, no longer bound the negro to the Republican Party.

DURING THE RECENT Republican Convention in Philadelphia, this writer had the opportunity to make inquiry into the negro political situation. The state has permanent registration and no poll tax requirement for voting. Voting is a simple matter and requires less supervision and organization than in the states where requirements are more exacting.

Philadelphia's population is about 10 per cent negro, with more than 300,000. The negro vote is approximately 100,000, often a determining factor in a close election. More than 50 per cent of all Philadelphia negroes are on relief. The number is not diminishing.

The Democrats control the relief administration. Negro officials in relief administration are among the smartest members of their race. Assuming that relief is administered without politics, relief clients are well aware that negro administrators are Democrats and the direct agents of President Roosevelt. It is not necessary to tell them what party is in power or what party administers to them.

Backs President

MRS. CRYSTAL BIRD FAUSET

Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee this week announced the appointment of Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, of Philadelphia, as the director of the Colored Women's Division. Mrs. Fauset, a native of Maryland, headed the division for the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt four years ago. A former member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature Mrs. Fauset holds the unique distinction of being the first and only colored woman ever to serve in a legislative body in the United States.

SEP 26 1940

Negro Democrats Give Party Strong Platform, Back FDR, At National Three-Day Meet

Dispatch

Many Prominent White Democrats and Office Holders Attend, Headed by Jim Farley

7-27-40

Give Democratic Party Much Praise

Okla. City, Okla.

CHICAGO.—(By Herman Clayton for ANP)—Committing themselves to the renomination of President Roosevelt for a third term, the National Colored Democratic association, meeting in its 12th quadrennial convention, wound up its three day session last Sunday in Chicago.

A total of 176 delegates and alternates, swelled up some 4,000 vociferous Democrats of varying degrees and assortments, heard a battery of prominent white Democrats and officeholders, headed by Postmaster General James A. Farley, in a series of platitudinous speeches in which they praised the Negro's fidelity and allegiance to the principles of democracy and patriotism, and urged his continued support to an administration they claimed had done more for the Negro than any previous administration in history.

"Keep the power on Main St.-don't let it slip to Wall Street" was the battle cry voiced by Congressman James Randolph of West Virginia sounding the note played on by Senator Minton of Indiana and Barkley of Kentucky in their presentation of the main reason Roosevelt should be renominated and elected and Willkie defeated. Roosevelt was characterize as the greatest friend the Negro has ever had in the White House; the champion of the rights of the common man; the only man in the country with the experience sufficient to take our nation through the times of stress and danger which lie ahead.

To these sentiments Dr. William J. Thompkins, president of the association, State Senator Wallace of Illinois, State Senator Diggs of Michigan, Mike Sneed, Cook County commissioner of Illinois, and other prominent Negro delegates echoed hearty approval.

They pledged the Democratic Negro constituency to continued support of an administration under which the Negro had gained so much, and under which he was best calculated to advance the proposals set forth in the platform adopted by the convention.

This platform, presented to the executive committee of the white Democratic National convention by Alderman Earl B. Dickerson, advocates passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill, passage of the Gavagan - Wagner anti-lynch bill, a bill to end discrimination and jim-crowism, abolition of discrimination n federal civil servce, legislation providing safeguards against discrimination in the admnistration of federal agencies dspensing funds to states for general welfare, and the abolition of the color line in all tax financed projects. The platform concluded with a list of special legislation recommended to be incorporated into the white convention platform.

Climaxing the long four - hour session, generously sprinkled with perfunctory applause, the eloquent presentation of this report by Alderman Dickerson was greeted with genuine warmth and spontancity. Ironically, the convention, so wildly cheering for a cession of all semblance of spearation and distinction, was itself a conspicuous and enthusiastic example of what it would destroy.

By its complete withdrawal into separate quarters it voluntarily forced upon itself the jim crow label it was trying to escape. It minimized the problem of the so-called liberal white democratic delegates in keeping their hotel lobbies and counsel rooms free of the annoying presence of black Democrats.

All the black Democrats were conveniently congregated in black neighborhoods. It was indeed a black holiday for a black group naively seeking to break through the bounds that held them captive in a black work of discrimination and curtailed opportunity.

In the meantime, downtown at the white Democratic headquarters in the Stevens hotel, the white Democrats held forth. Here, with but rarely occasional interruptions from a stray delegate or so from the black division, they were at work fashioning the official, bona fide platform for the party. However, when Negroes did appear they were warmly welcomed and the report of the platform committee was generously applauded.

A few of the prominent democratic leaders in evidence about the convention hall were: Nathan Vann from the first congressional district of Indiana, an alternate to the white Democratic convention. Mr. Vann is a Gary business man. Also from Indiana, and a member of the Gary city council, was Robert Anderson. Mr. Anderson is the vice president of the city council, the first in the city's history. From Indianapolis came E. Louis Moore, who was a special officer at the convention. Others present were: Committeeman William Dawson, Anthony Overton, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Wimbish, Edgar J. Brown, Duke Slater, Dr. Charles S. Wesley and many more.

Negro Leaders On Dixie Point Finger Of Scorn at North

Dispatch

7-27-40

Okla-City, Okla.

NEW ORLEANS.—(ANP)—A "caucus" held here last week to discuss and consider the contents of a special resolution drafted by Southern Negroes to be presented to the Democratic National convention charged Negro Democrats of the North as being "unconcerned with the plight of their 'Southern brothers' and indifferently incognito as to the future of the majority of the race's political hopes."

The resolution was sent to the National Negro Democratic committee together with scores of other Democratic leaders the country over. In it were contained special requisites for consideration of the injustices and pressure practices against "three-fourths of the Negro population' that live in the South.

The document bore out that the "Democratic Party, if it would curry the support of the all important Negro vote,' 'must positively express itself as to its future policy in dealing with legislation effecting Negroes. It insisted that definite steps be taken to lessen the power of Southern party leaders who represented a small minority of the Southern population, and who upheld discrimination and racial prejudice.

The charge against northern Negro Democrats in this direction came from two disclosures: (1) In a letter to the Graphic Press, The National Negro Democratic committee expressed that its objectives for presentation to the convention contained most of the clauses of the "Southern" resolution. (2) In the face of this, the Democratic Convention, instead of lessening the power of Southern prejudiced Democrats, offered to give them "bonus" delegates in future convening, delegating more power to the "minority" represented Southerner.

Praise John L. Lewis

A favorable reaction to the resolution was expressed by John L. Lewisg famed labor leader, and special praise was expressed to him for this consideration of "a depressed group for whom their own Northern brethren give no consideration."

When Jim Crow Isn't Jim Crow

Dispatch

We caught a glimpse of what can and will happen by reason of intelligent Negro's participation in the affairs of the Democratic party during the recent national convention held in Chicago. It happened we were a member of two committees charged with the responsibility of presenting the Negro view and objectives to the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention, where we made interesting observations.

Friday we appeared with the committee named by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Walter White spoke for the group, and while the committee was accorded a respectful hearing it was a cold reception as compared with the attention given the committee representing the National Colored Democratic Association.

No cheers greeted the N. A. A. C. P. committee and only two questions were asked. With the committee representing the Negro Democrats all was cordiality and the entire Resolutions committee arose to cheer folk who had avowed friendship for Democrats with whom they held council.

Of course there is positive evidence of the mellowing influence Negroes has given to the rabid attitude of many southerners, through the experience black folk have had in Oklahoma. Take for instance the Oklahoma Supreme Court. Is it not signifigant that our state supreme court would out-law residential segregation? Is it not true that 40,000 Negroes now vote in the Democratic primary and "vote 'er straight" from President to constable?

Now both of the committees which appeared before the Democratic National Convention presented practically the same agendum. We saw to it that practically everything that was in the N. A. A. C. P. outline was incorporated in the later resolutions presented by Negro Democrats. The difference noted in the attention given to the two committees rested in the fact that Negro Democrats when they appeared were recognized and immediately identified as tried and true friends. The representatives of the N. A. A. C. P. were placed in the doubtful column.

Nothing that we say here should be construed as in disparagement of the work of the N. A. A. C. P. As a member of the National Board of Directors of that organization we shall continue to fight under that banner. Great work has been accomplished by this very useful organization.

What we do want to say is that if we want to do a thing wholly political we can do it more effectively in a political machine. The men and women who sat on the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention feel under obligation to the Negroes who work for and with them. That is the crux of the proposition we submit.

It is with this in mind that we regret the sharp division existing between several different factions of Negro Democrats, we observed in action during the Chicago convention. Every one of these groups seemed more interested in the attempt to implement themselves into the management of campaign funds, or were obviously seeking a job, rather than attempting to develop a program in the interest of the common weal.

It is at this point the men and women in the N. A. A. C. P. out-distance the Negro leaders in the Democratic party. No one can doubt the utter sincerity of of N. A. A. C. P. leaders. They seek no flesh-pots, and in their presentation of issues seek to promote the common weal.

Take for instance the millions of dollars spent by the federal government on highways. Every Negro who has a ragged Ford buys a liscense tag and must purchase gasoline. Negroes pay highway taxes but the labor on the highways go to men of other races. If Negro Democrats would use their influence properly and unselfishly they would demand employment for the masses rather than seek some individual job in the black cabinet.

Take the wage and hour laws which exclude practically all of the Negro population from benefits. The social security laws which also offer handicaps to America's largest minority group. All of these grave questions need adjustment, and Negro leaders in the Democratic party could adjust these matters properly if they would cease looking after self and attempt to lift the standard of the common mass.

The truth is that the New Deal has almost changed our form of government and unless the Negro leaders in the Democratic party become alert to the difficult adjustments that must be made in the body politic and integrate black folk into the new order, much ground will be lost.

While Dr. William J. Thompkins should be given great credit for the organization he has effected in thirty states in the union, it ought be perfectly obvious to every one that an organization meeting quadrennially and during a presidential election year can not develop a civil rights program of substantial value.

Whatever was said in Chicago regarding improving the conditions of Negroes in the United States could easily be construed by the opposition as relating to the delinquencies existing within the Democratic party. In our keynote address we sought to bring in the open the things we should fight for because after all we were black before we joined the Democratic party.

How much better it would be to meet annually. In these off years a worthwhile agendum could be developed and at the end of a quadrennium the Negroes who had formulated such a program could meet to evaluate the achievements for which they had battled.

As a practical proposition the Negro Democrats in the several states should each contribute something like $500.00 per year to maintain an executive secretary in the city of Washington. This individual should have a full time job checking all types of legislation and on important occasions calling prominent Democrats from over the nation to appear before congressional committees. Real worthwhile legislation can be driven through Congress for Negro citizens if Negro Democrats adopt the type of program suggested here.

We take no stock in the aspersions cast upon the Thompkins convention, by those who said it was a Jim-Crow setup. Surely it is a vast improvement on the Republican arrangement as observed during the recent Philadelphia meeting. Every informed person knows that there was no organized attempt to present constructive proposals to the Republican parley. The boys ducked around and button holed folk as individuals. If one wants to call separate meeting such as held by Negroes prior to the Democratic convention, Jim Crow meetings, we rise to wonder whether it would not be more desirable to have organized rather than unorganized Jim Crow such we observed in Philadelphia.

We think we can safely say that our record of thirty years battling against Jim Crow entitles us to speak with authority on this subject. We have waged battle in season and out of season upon this un-American practice and we say here and now we are against Jim Crow because it is focal in the idea that one human being is better than another.

But we do not live in the moon. We live down here on the ground. Common sense teaches that we should find advantage in every disadvantage. While Jim Crow remains a fixed policy in the South we must find some way to take advantage of Jim Crow.

In Oklahoma Negro Democrats have worked out a plan by which they meet the day before the Democratic State Convention. In this meeting the viewpoint of all the Negro Democrats is consolidated. When the Democratic State Convention convenes the Negroes who are delegates to the State Convention can rest assured when they go before the policy forming units of the parley they are fully and adequately representing the Negro view.

If there is a more sensible plan for handling the important issues confronting Negroes in state and nation we would certainly appreciate having the plan outlined. As we said at the outset we caught the vision of what Negro Democrats should do in America. Negro Republicans should also follow such a program. If 30 organized states were to annually raise $500.00, we would have a fund of $15,000, which would maintain an effective worthwhile lobby in the city of Washington.

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POLITICAL* 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Greensboro, N. C., News
July 1, 1940

Negro Leader Says Salvation Of Race Lies With Democrats

Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, and president of the National Colored Democratic association, made a sweeping indorsement of President Roosevelt and his social programs in addressing the opening session of the United Negro Democratic Convention of North Carolina yesterday afternoon at Trinity A. M. E. Zion church.

Approximately 800 from over the state were in attendance for the opening session. The convention will continue at 1 o'clock this afternoon with a business session to elect delegates to the national Colored Democratic association convention in Chicago, July 14-15.

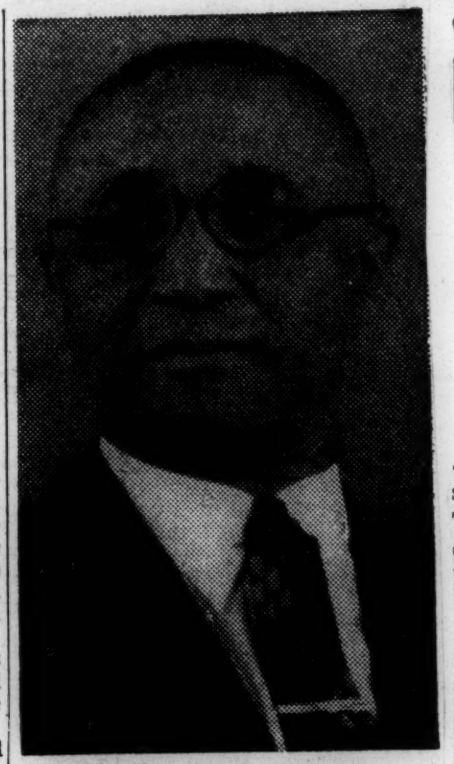
Judge Frederick K. Watkins, Durham, state chairman and national negro Democratic organizer, will preside at this afternoon's session. The final meeting will be held at 7:30 o'clock tonight at the Zion church. The convention will end with a banquet and convention ball at Friendly lake.

Dr. Thompkins urged all negroes to stand behind the President and "show the Willkie forces that we know who our friends are".

"The negroes' only hope and salvation," he said, "lies with the Democratic party, as the Republicans have clearly demonstrated their attitude toward our race in many instances. As a result of the attitude of the Republicans toward negroes, the new deal administration found the negro in the worst plight he had been in since Civil war days."

The speaker was introduced by Judge Watkins following a preliminary program. The negro national anthem opened the session and invocation was by Rev. J. W. Anderson, Greensboro. Following a men's quartet, the welcoming address was made by Rev. J. J. Green, Greensboro. Prof. D. L. Boger, Greensboro, welcomed the group and gave a brief sketch of the negro Democratic organization in this state. Music during the program featured solos by Virginia Sharpe and Margaret Tynes.

An executive committee meeting this morning at 11 o'clock will be followed by the 1 o'clock public session. The meeting tonight will be presided over by Judge Watkins, and will have welcome by Mayor Ralph L. Lewis. Invocation will be by Rev. J. T. Hairston. Speakers will be L. E. Austin, editor, and Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, of Durham. Music will be furnished by Pearl Garrett and Maude Windsor.



JUDGE F. W. WATKINS.

Climaxing the evening will be a dinner to which all negro Democrats are invited. Special music has been arranged, with a convention ball to follow.

Greensboro, N. C., News
June 24, 1940

NEGRO DEMOCRATS OPEN MEET JUNE 30

Two-day Event to Attract Several Hundred.

Approximately 500 delegates from over the state are expected in attendance for the first statewide negro Democratic convention being held here next Sunday and Monday, June 30 and July 1, for which Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina senator, has been asked to deliver the keynote address. Senator Reynolds has been asked to speak to the local session by Pierce C. Rucker, who managed the senator's campaign during the last election.

In addition to a large state delegation, representatives are expected here from other states. Speakers on the program will include Dr. William J. Tompkins, recorder of deeds, Washington, and president of the National Colored Democratic Association; Judge Armond W. Scott, of Washington; Arthur W. Mitchell, Washington; Bessie J. Bearden, New York city, national vice president, and Dr. Miles M. Fisher, Durham, state chaplain.

Greensboro, N. C., News
June 30, 1940

NEGRO DEMOCRATS CONVENE HERE TODAY

Association Opens Two-Day Session With Program At 4 O'Clock.

Negro Democrats of the state will convene here today for the first such meeting ever held in this state. The first session is scheduled to open at 4 o'clock at Zion church, East Washington street.

Dr. W. M. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, Washington, D. C., and president of the National Association of Colored Democrats, will make the main address of the afternoon. Judge Armond W. Scott, of Washington, also will be present at the meeting which will be presided over by Judge Frederick K. Watkins, of Durham, president of the state association of Colored Democrats.

Judge Watkins stated yesterday afternoon that unexpected developments had made it impossible for Senator Robert R. Reynolds, who had been invited to make the keynote speech, to attend. Senator Reynolds expressed his appreciation for having been extended the invitation and expressed his regrets at not being able to accept in a telegram received by Judge Watkins.

The opening program today will include several features. Dr. R. T. Weatherby will bring a short sermon while special music will be provided by several groups.

At a business session Monday morning delegates will be selected to attend the national convention of colored Democrats in Chicago July 14-15. A program Monday night will feature addresses by L. E. Austin, editor, and Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, of Durham. A convention ball at Friendly lake will conclude the program.

A large group is expected to be present for the convention. Several prominent leaders of the negro association are scheduled to attend the event.

Greensboro, N. C., News
June 28, 1940

FINAL PLANS MADE FOR NEGRO MEETING

State Democrats Will Gather Here Sunday and Monday For First Convention.

Last arrangements are now being made for the first statewide convention of negro Democrats which will open here Sunday afternoon and continue through Monday, it was stated last night by Judge Frederick K. Watkins, of Durham, state president of the National Association of Colored Democrats.

Judge Watkins stated that as yet he had heard no response from Senator Robert R. Reynolds, junior member of the United States senate from North Carolina, to a request to make the keynote address of the convention. However, it is planned to have some outstanding person make the keynote speech, it was said.

First event of the two day session will be held Sunday afternoon at Trinity Zion church, West Washington street.

In making final arrangements for the program, Judge Watkins said: "I am making the final call to all delegates and negro Democrats, professional men and women all over the state to gather here in one organized body to discuss vital interests of the race problems and the political setup for the national Democratic convention at Chicago."

Delegates will be chosen here to go to the national colored Democratic convention at Chicago July 14-15.

Among speakers appearing on the two day program are Dr. William J. Thomkins, of Washington, national president; Judge Armond W. Scott, of Washington; Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, of Durham; Dr. C. C. Spaulding, of Durham, and Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, of Sedalia.

The program will be ended Monday night with an outing at Friendly lake.

Blasts Slander Against Race Democrat Meet

Dr. W. J. Thompkins Hits Charges of Critics; Cites Success

By ALBERT WHITE

ST. LOUIS (ANP)—Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, blasted his critics and cited his success in helping United States Senator Harry S. Truman gain renomination in the Missouri Democratic primary Tuesday. The senator triumphed over Gov. Lloyd C. Stark who had the opposition of Negroes because of his asserted position on the Gaines equal education decision of the United Supreme court which upheld the right of Negroes to the same public training as whites.

The recorder denounced headlines in the various papers which said his National Negro Association parley in Chicago, which met prior to the National Democratic convention, was a "jim-crow meeting."

Raps Labor "Boss"

He rapped Laverne (St. Louis) Kelly, Chicago labor boss, who organized a picket line demonstration against the association meeting. "He has been arrested and quizzed so much about his labor record until it's impossible to count the times," he declared.

Doctor Thompkins said newspapers which played up Kelly's actions in Chicago should have known Kelly did not represent the character and ideals of the people of that city. He said papers, regardless of whether they differed with them, should be fair in depicting his plans and his methods.

His organization, he said, met in Chicago before the Democratic convention to draft a platform of interest to Negroes which he said the convention accepted.

Democrat of Years

Thompkins said he is a Democrat of long standing and was a torchbearer for the party before many of the present day Negro Democratic leaders "crawled on the bandwagon."

The recorder cited the fight in Washington to abolish his office. "Not only did I succeed in squelching the fight," he said, "but interested Congress in apropriating $450,000 to erect a new building.

The newly passed Hatch bill, which prevents federal employes from doing political work, does not involve him, the doctor stated. "Congress exempted me from the provisions of the bill," he stated as he exhibited a copy of the bill which backed up his assertion.

Let the People Choose

By all means let the Democrats nominate Franklin D. Roosevelt! The questions at issue will then be squarely before the American people. Not only the new legislation he has sponsored, but how well he has administered it, will be judged in a nation-wide referendum. Whatever the decision, the will of the people will have been made known. For seven years the American people have abdicated their duty as members of a democracy. They have swallowed "must" legislation, and have gone along with demands for huge sums. It is time that they think.

It is important that the American people clarify their thinking. At present some of them would intervene in the war across the seas as though that was a small chore. Full of Fourth of July ideas about this nation's superiority, they think the Germans will run when Uncle Sam appears. A public discussion will bring these to their senses. They need to be told how slow our preparation was in 1917-18 and is bound to be again.

There is a practical side to this election. The new issue raised by the war in Europe finds the people of one mind. They all want defenses. But between the wish and its accomplishment is a huge job of administration. It is not only reasonable, but vital that they find out in time the leadership that will translate the tax dollar into tanks and airships.

If after thinking, this nation decides to intervene, then this election becomes supremely important because now and only now have we the chance to chose the engineer for our war train. Unlike England, which changes governments at will, we elect for four years. With Germany conquering Poland in ten days and France in a month, a blind man can see that whoever the United States makes its leader in November will hold office for the duration of the war. We must choose wisely. We will not be able to swap horses while crossing the stream.

That again is a reason for the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. His ability to get things done stands or falls on the record he has made. What he has done, what he is saying are a record any voter can read.

Another reason why we would see this election fought out with the President one of the nominees is that the American people have been sleep walking. Instead of being the virile, conscientious citizens their fathers were, they are dazed, and grope about aimlessly as though they were caught in a disaster from which no thought or effort could save them. Having once left all to Roosevelt, they have forgotten that the arrangement was asked and given as a temporary measure. Either that or they now prefer to make it permanent.

Only an election can express the will of the majority. By all means let the issues be stated in clear terms. Let the party nominees express the difference in views. Then let the people choose. If democracy is workable, let it function.

Example For Democrats

Southern Democrats should watch closely the attempts of Republican leaders to increase the G. O. P. strength in the South by a rule that each congressional district be required to poll at least 1,000 Republican votes in general elections in order to have representation.

Northern Republicans have complained for years, and rightly so, that districts which poll practically no Republican votes should not have representation in the national party councils. Already Republicans have apportioned party representation somewhat in line with the party strength —but apparently not enough.

An Alabama congressional district that supplies only a handful of Republican votes, the national party leaders argue, should not be allowed to send a delegate to the convention. The district's voice in the party councils should be determined by the number of Republican votes cast. A Republican stronghold, for instance, might have three delegates, a weak Republican district might have two delegates, an overwhelmingly Democratic district would have only one delegate. And districts which fail to muster as much as 1,000 Republican voters would have no voice at all.

Should the Republicans adopt this new system it would mean that the South would lose about 75 delegates to the G. O. P. convention. But party leaders say that actually the local Republican leaders in the South would be forced to go to work to build up the party in the Southern states. It would mean that the Southern Republicans would cease keeping their numbers down to fit the federal plum tree.

Southern Democrats who carry their districts and states year in and year out for the Democratic ticket should push toward a similar program for the Democratic National Conventions. Certainly an Ohio or a Vermont district that never musters a handful of Democratic votes should not have a voice in party affairs equal to a Democratic stronghold like Jefferson County or the district embracing Mobile County.

Alabama delegates to the Democratic convention at Chicago next month should make every effort to improve the present apportionment system. The South's voice in national Democratic affairs was greatly weakened when the two-thirds rule was abolished. It should make a strong attempt to recover the full force of that voice.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

ANY DOUBT THAT the South controlled the Democratic party nationally should be dispelled by the actions of the platform committee in their work of drawing a party platform for the forthcoming Presidential election. The platform committee was headed by New York's senior Senator, Robert F Wagner, and Negro Democrats in the North brought considerable pressure to bear on Senator Wagner to have the platform make specific promises to Negro voters as regards discrimination in the Army and Navy, segregation and discrimination in the City of Washington.

But despite Senator Wagner's known sympathy and friendship for the Negro cause, the best he could do was to get a general statement inserted in the platform promising to "strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces." The text of the paragraph dealing with the Negro reads as follows:

Negroes

Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this Administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitation of low-income farm familes. We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against government service and benefits and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color.

It is to be noted that no specific mention is made of the federal anti-lynching bill of which Senator Wagner is co-author and which is before Congress at the present time. Neither is any promise made to change the policies of the War and Navy Departments as regards Negro enlisted men. We believe that the failure of the Democratic platform to mention these things was due entirely to the influence of southern party leaders.

Despite the efforts of Robert L. Vann, Walter White, Congressman Mitchell and other Negro Democrats who have the ear of the administration and who are in the confidence of Senator Wagner, the Democratic platform falls far short of the promises made Negro voters by the Republican party, which not only has pledged the Negro a square deal in the economic and political life of the nation but which takes a definite stand on discrimination in Civil Service, the Army and other branches of the federal service.

The Democrats promise only to continue in the same direction they have been going in the past seven and a half years. And those of us who know conditions in Washington know that they have certainly not improved insofar as the Negro's econimic plight, or his participation in government is concerned.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

Don't Accept Injustice Says Mrs. Roosevelt

United People Key To Real Defense, She Says

NOV 16 1940

NEW YORK, N. Y. — The complete cooperation of America's Negro citizens, like that of all other minority groups in the United States, is vital to the nation's present defense effort, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt told guests at a dinner in her honor sponsored by the National Urban League at the Aldine Club here Friday night.

At the same time, the First Lady warned the more than 300 guests that they must not adopt a complaisant attitude and accept injustices as a matter of course.

"Defense, to be real defense, must spring from the feeling in the heart of every individual that the life he is able to live is good enough to want to live for it, and to die for it, too, if need be," she said.

MUST WORK TOGETHER

"We know, those of us who know the country as a whole, that there are many, many places in this land where it would be almost impossible to expect that the individuals would really feel that their daily way of life is worth much sacrifice on their part, and I think that is something which concerns us all.

"Now, if that kind of defense which has been lacking in some of the countries which have lost their democracy, their freedom, if that kind of defense is to be our goal, then we have got to work together —all of us without any line of race, creed, or color.

"We have got to have faith in each other. We have got to know that each and everyone of us has contributed to the making of this nation. I hope we will do all that we can for this country which all of us love, and tonight I wish you good luck in carrying forward your program because I feel that the Urban League, going into many communities, can do much to bring about that cooperation which is vital to the interest of our Democracy."

OTHER NOTABLES SPEAK ;

Other speakers on the program, which commemorated the 30th anniversary of the National Urban League, included Judge Joseph N. Ulman of the Supreme Court of Baltimore, and Lester B. Granger, assistant executive secretary of the league. L. Hollingsworth Wood, chairman of the league's executive board, acted as toastmaster, while Hubert T. Delany, New York City commissioner of taxes, served as chairman of the dinner committee.

Judge Ulman called upon the Urban League branches all over the country to see to it that the rights of colored citizens, guaranteed by laws enacted by the New Deal and intended to benefit equally all citizens regardless of race or color, are given full recognition.

NOV 16 1940

Mr. Granger said: "Between the group and the government must always stand a devoted leadership, stimulating programs of group self help on the one hand, and on the other hand interpreting to the larger community the needs and aspirations of their constituency."

Tribute was paid Commissioner Delany to the devoted work, throughout the 30 years of the executive secretary of the league, Eugene Kinckle Jones, who was present.

Among others attending the dinner were: Colonel William Jay Schieffelin, Lieut.-Governor Charles Poletti, Mrs. David Alter, Dr. E. T. Devine, Winthrop Rockefeller, Dr. E. P. Roberts, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Mrs. L. Hollingsworth Wood, the Rev. John H. Johnson, and Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz.

DEMOCRATIC (MRS. ROOSEVELT)

THE FIRST LADY

FROM THE CHICAGO BEE

DEC 26 1940

ROOSEVELT'S ELECTION WAS WARRANTED, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON, THAN HIS POSSESSION OF A WIFE, FREE FROM PREJUDICE, A SINCERE HUMANITARIAN, WHO WEARS A CROWN OF MERIT, THAT WOULD HONOR ANY MAN. (Dabney.)

The Julius Rosenwald Fund has just announced the election of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to its board of directors. In its selection of the First Lady, the board made a most commendable choice for Mrs. Roosevelt has proved herself the number one woman in America and one of the most outstanding women in the world in our generation.

No greater soul has graced the portals of the White House than Mrs. Roosevelt and the future is not likely to find therein a woman who will approach her humanitarian attitude and her magnificent convictions that so often manifest themselves in the most worthy causes.

Mrs. Roosevelt's attitude toward colored people is seldom equalled by any other woman of her race. In these regards she has never been paralleled by any other president's wife. She has consistently championed the cause of the Negro people in her writing and in her speeches and at times when neither political dividends nor goodwill were forthcoming from the white people of the nation.

In the matter of the Daughters of the Daughters of the American Revolution's refusal to allow Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution Hall she not only vehemently condemned its act as un-America, but withdrew from the organization. No stronger protest could have been hurled against that group than her resignation for the echo resounded throughout the nation to hold the action of the D. A. R. up to scorn and ridicule. Although Marian Anderson did not sing in Constitution Hall she did sing in the nation's capital and her voice was heard by untold millions who, but for the noble act of Mrs. Roosevelt, would not have otherwise heard it.

Many times the First Lady has conducted herself in such a humane and understanding manner toward colored people that her association with them has all but caused political embarrassment to the Democratic party and the South has cited such conduct as the object of its attack against the policies of the New Deal.

If the Rosenwald Fund sought ability in its choice of a director it will find in Mrs. Roosevelt an ability rarely equaled and perhaps never excelled. If it sought a director who exercises impartial and unbiased convictions, Mrs. Roosevelt will meet those requirements. If it sought a person who had the goodwill and admiration of all the Negroes, no better selection could have been made than that of the First Lady of the land.

MRS. ED VISITS WITH AUTHORS

Amsterdam News New York, N.Y.

Writers In Capital Enjoy Informal Gathering

DEC 28 1940

WASHINGTON, D. C.—An informal Get-Together of Washington authors, with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President of the United States as guest of honor, was held last Monday evening at the Readers' Book Shop, 814 Seventeenth St. Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith welcomed the 40 authors, and stated her purpose to compile a complete list of Washington writers, and to hold similar meetings from time to time.

Dr. Alain Locke, author of "The New Negro", "Race Contacts and Inter-racial Relations", "Negro Art and Music", and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, author of "Tuskegee and Its People", "Booker T. Washington—Builder of a Civilization", "The American Negro in the World War", and "Negro Migration During the World Conflict", were among those present.

Others were: Miss Mabel Boardman, Secretary of the American Red Cross, and former Commissioner of the District of Columbia; Ruby Black, author of a Biography of Mrs. Roosevelt; David Cushman Coyle, author of "Roads to a New America"; the Misses Helene, Estelle and Imogene Philibert, whose recently published book, "St. Matthews of Washington", is a record of the 100 years' history of that church.

Mrs. May Merrill Miller, wife of Justice Justin Miller of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia; Dr. William C. Brewer of the U. S. Department of Justice, whose book "Permanent Peace", advocates the creation of a super-state to include all civilized nations; J. P. Kinney, author of "A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won," and others.

Mrs. Edwin M. Brown recited Mrs. Roosevelt's "A Christmas Story," just published.

After refreshments, Mrs. Roosevelt pleasingly read Clement Clarke Moore's "A Visit from St. Nicholas", beginning with the familiar line, "'Twas The Night Before Christmas", and also engaged in good-natured banter and reminiscences with those present.

FIRST LADY AND AUTHORS SWAP NOTES

Move Begun To Organize Literati Of Capital At Get-Together

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Chicago, Ill.

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POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC- MRS. ROOSEVELT

MY DAY

Share Croppers Gain Help On Problems

By Eleanor Roosevelt.

WASHINGTON—I have been sent an original cartoon by Wortman as a gift and I do not think anything I have received of late has entertained or pleased me more than this. It depicts "Mopey and the Duke" and the caption under it says: "Pull up your socks, and straighten your tie, Duke, you never can tell when you will run into Mrs. Roosevelt." I am not quite sure, however, that this suggests the kind of person who is always a welcome visitor, but it takes me right back 25 odd years to a collection of small boys who were always reminding each other that mother might be around the corner and they had better tidy up!

Yesterday was one of those days when I seemed to be busy every moment and afterwards could think of nothing I had really accomplished. There were only five of us at luncheon, two of my cousins, and a friend besides Miss Thompson and myself, and that seemed to me a very peaceful interlude. Some friends came in a group from North Carolina to reiterate their invitation that I come there this spring, not on a lecture trip, but to attend a Federation of Women's Clubs meeting and see something of the NYA work. By co-ordinating many of their youth agencies, they are really making a concerted effort to find jobs and fit young people in them. I am happy to say that they are meeting with some measure of success.

Someone said to me this morning that we had neglected educating young people to do occupational therapy work. I am wondering if this is a field where many talents could be usefully employed and which would appeal to both young men and young women as a career.

I received a pamphlet yesterday which I think may have a germ of some real achievement for the future. It is called: "Vocational adoption," and was published, I believe, in the New York Times. What interested me was that the man has actually placed over a thousand young people in various careers without displacing anyone, for in each case he asked that new work be created for the applicant and in almost every case when the apprenticeship period was over, it resulted in a real job.

I forgot to tell you that I had a visit from a group of representatives of the Southern Missouri and Arkansas sharecroppers. Dr. Will W. Alexander of the Farm Security Administration, and Mr. Philip F. Maguire of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, listened with me to their problems. They are serious problems, but at last some light is breaking, for representative of the plantation owners have come to the Farm Security Administration and have agreed to co-operate.

The plight of the sharecropper, thrown out of his shack with no possessions and no income, is sad indeed. There is a camp in Missouri for which the land was bought by some St. Louis women, but it is already overcrowded and there is not enough ground to raise food for the families on it. There is no school, so 138 children are without a chance for education. This is not only a Missouri problem, but a problem which extends to a great many states in our country. I am glad that there is not only this meeting of sharecroppers here, but that there will be an opportunity from now on for many people to learn about this problem.

Mrs. Roosevelt And Capital Bigwigs Rush Picket Line

WASHINGTON—(AP)—A picket line in front of the theater failed last night to keep Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, four cabinet members and three Supreme Court justices from attending the premiere of the motion picture "Abe Lincoln in Illinois."

The pickets, both Negroes and white persons, protested against the theater's barring Negroes. "Negro citizens may not see the picture of the great emancipator," read one of their signs.

The management explained it always had been the practice of theaters here not to admit Negroes.

"I'm sorry I have to go through a picket line," said Mrs. Roosevelt.

Among those in the audience were Secretary and Mrs. Hull, Secretary and Mrs. Morgenthau, Atty. Gen. and Mrs. Jackson, Secretary and Mrs. Wallace, Justice and Mrs. Roberts, Justice and Mrs. Reed and Justice and Mrs. Black.

In a box seat next to Mrs. Roosevelt's sat the stars of the picture, Raymonod Massey, who plays the part of Abraham Lincoln; Ruth Gordon, who plays Mary Todd Lincoln; Mary Howard, who plays Ann Rutledge; Robert E. Sherwood, the author, and John Cromwell, the director.

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
January 9, 1940

FIRST LADY'S VISIT STILL IS UNCERTAIN

Mrs. Roosevelt Hasn't Decided Whether To Attend Spring Conference Here

Whether Mrs. Roosevelt will come to Atlanta for the rural-urban conference this spring, not even Mrs. Roosevelt knows.

Mrs. Robin Wood, who runs the conference, invited her at a personal conference in Washington Sunday. Mrs. Wood thought Mrs. Roosevelt said "yes," and the word got all about town that the famous lady would be here again.

In Washington Mrs. Roosevelt said she hadn't said "yes" and she hadn't said "no." She couldn't tell what her plans would be that far ahead. She had talked with Mrs. Wood, and she had asked Mrs. Wood to write her a leter, inviting her again, as a reminder.

So that's how it stands.

Anyway, Mary Pickford is coming, Mrs. Wood says, as well as Mrs. George Griffin, president of the Pan-American Association for Women.

DeLand, Fla., Sun News
February 19, 1940

5,000 NEGROES LISTEN TO TALK BY FIRST LADY

Democracy Means More and More People Can Share Better Things Says Mrs. Roosevelt

RAIN INTERRUPTS DAYTONA PROGRAM

"Democracy doesn't mean having the same religion or color," Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President, told a crowd of 5,000 Negroes attending the 35th anniversary celebration of Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach yesterday.

"Democracy," she said, simply means that more and more people can share the good things of life . . . It means more citizens who can share better things all the time."

A downpour of rain caused the huge mass meeting to be transferred from the Bethune Cookman campus studded with live oaks, to the nearby auditorium. Inside, she completed her definition of Democracy: "Every step forward towards giving more people a better existence is a step toward a more perfect democracy."

Inspect Campus

The nation's First Lady arrived in Daytona Beach Sunday morning in a car driven by a state highway patrolman. She stopped in a hotel there long enough to dictate her column, then joined President Mary McLeod Bethune, middle aged Negro head of the famous institution, whose guest she was all day. Thronged about by students, white and Negro alike, Mrs. Roosevelt inspected the campus, its buildings, its kitchen, its weaving looms, NYA exhibit room.

Aubrey Williams, NYA Administrator, arrived just in time to make a brief speech on the anniversary program. Nearly 50 sponsors including educators and social workers of both races were on the platform. Dr. Frank Buchanan, Oxford movement leader, was present from Stuart, Fla. Bishop Charles W. Fling of Syracuse delivered the invocation; Dr. Merrill J. Holmes, secretary of the Methodist Board of Education, praised the Bethune-Cookman School as one of the highest among the 15 Negro educational institutions of the country. Students of the college sang spirituals.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
February 18, 1940

First Lady Told State Cannot Operate School

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was informed Saturday that the State of Georgia can not operate the Training School for Negro Girls recently completed in Macon.

Mrs. Roosevelt had written Governor Rivers about the operation of the school, and the Governor turned the letter over to Director Braswell Dean of the State Department of Public Welfare.

Director Deen wrote Mrs. Roosevelt that the building was erected with the aid of a WPA grant under the sponsorship of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and the State of Georgia and is of great value and beauty. However, the Legislature of 1937 refused to appropriate money for its operation.

"I regret to advise that there is apparently nothing the Governor can do about it and certainly nothing that the State Department of Public Welfare can do until and unless the Legislature makes available funds for the operation of this institution," Mr. Deen wrote Mrs. Roosevelt.

The DeKalb County Grand Jury last week urged that a committee call on the Governor and ask him for assistance in operating the school.

MY DAY: Students Write Essays About Sharecroppers

By Eleanor Roosevelt.

NEW YORK CITY.—I came to New York city yesterday morning in order to see my aunt, Mrs. David Gray, who is sailing this week with her husband, our new minister to Ireland. I cannot say that I shall see them go very cheerfully, for I like to have them in this country. But Mr. Gray loves Ireland and I know he will enjoy his time there very much.

I had a few engagements in the afternoon and then went to the dinner given by the "National Sharecropper Week" and gave the prizes for essays written by high school students on the sharecropper situation. A few more appointments this morning and back to Washington I shall go by this afternoon's plane. I must, however, tell you about a book which I finished on the plane last Sunday.

The book is called "Stricken Field," by Martha Gellhorn. Here is a foreign correspondent's story which could not perhaps be written for the daily newspapers, for the reason that the correspondent writing it would be thrown out of the foreign country and would cease to have a job. This is a picture of stark tragedy painted by the use of simple events in ordinary lives which are important to the individuals concerned, but which count for little in history. This book is a masterpiece as a vivid picture. It is not a novel, it is just daily life under the kind of circumstances which, thank God, we do not know in the United States.

It is important to us, every one of us, to understand what happens to the individual forced to live under such circumstances and to those other individuals who through force and fear rule people in such a manner. If we lack this knowledge, we cannot understand what is happening in Europe today. I strongly recommend the reading of "Stricken Field," not for pleasure, though it is very well written, but because you will know vividly the fear of the little people all over the world.

Yesterday I was unable to finish telling you about the other things which happened on Monday, so I must go back and say that in the afternoon I visited the crippled children's unit at Gallinger hospital, where the Twentieth Century Club has equipped a room for occupational therapy and has also installed a library.

On the way home, I stopped at an art exhibit which is being held at the Mayflower hotel by Princess Guerilli for the benefit of the Polish refugee relief fund. In the evening we had our annual dinner with the cabinet.

They always have a delightful dinner for us, and Mr. Eddie Dowling again brought down the entertainers. Among them was the fine magician who did so many clever tricks at the Newspaper Women's Club party in New York city. As usual, when the party was over, they all came over to the White House for a very light supper and a glimpse of the house, which, to some of them, was a new experience. Our guests at supper this year included Mr. Eddie Dowling, Mr. Dean Murphy, Miss Laurette Taylor, Mr. Caspar Reardon, Miss Dana Suesse, Miss Kitty Carlisle, Miss Patricia Bowman, Dr. Giovanni, Miss Stella Adler, Miss Muriel Hutchinson, Miss Sheila Barrett, Miss Nilli Monte and Miss Barbara Frietchie.

Mrs. Roosevelt Is Heard At Bethune College

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla., Feb. 29 (ANP)—It took a ninety-mile ride in a police patrol car from Jacksonville to Daytona Beach for Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to keep her speaking schedule at Bethune-Cookman college here Monday, but 5,000 persons stood in the rain to greet her as she arrived.

Rain was falling as Mrs. Roosevelt began speaking to the outdoor audience, and the downpour forced moving the meeting into the college auditorium.

It was the thirty-fifth anniversary of Bethune-Cookman college, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president, said she was duly proud of the honor paid it by the First Lady. Mrs. Roosevelt did not disappoint her audience in her speech when she explained the true meaning of democracy.

"Democracy does not mean having the same religion or color," she said. "It means more citizens who can share better things all the time. Every step forward toward giving more people a better existence is a step toward a more perfect democracy."

After her talk, Mrs. Roosevelt left for a month's rest in Miami Beach.

Mrs. Roosevelt to Award Prizes at Sharecroppers' Dinner

NEW YORK, Feb. 29. (ANP)—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt will be a guest at the annual New York dinner of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union Sunday, March 10 where she will award prizes to winners of the national student essay contest on sharecropping. The contest is being observed from March 4 to March 10.

Mrs. Roosevelt To Receive 1st 'Nation' Award

Chosen For Her Helpful Interest In Problems Of Youth

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The presentation of The Nation award to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at a dinner given in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Astor at seven o'clock on May 1 marks the climax of the seventy-fifth anniversary which The Nation is celebrating this year.

Mrs. Roosevelt was selected by a national nominating committee of prominent liberals to receive this award, which will hereafter be given annually, for distinguished service in the cause of American democratic progress.

The choice of Mrs. Roosevelt was based on the following citation: "For her helpful interest in the problems of young men and women and for her quiet, intelligent and dogged defense of democratic principles."

Clifton Fadiman will be toastmaster, and the speakers will include William Allen White, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Judge Ferdinand Pecora, Stuart Chase, John Gunther, Oswald Garrison Villard and Melvyn Douglas.

D. A. R. Is Received By Mrs. Roosevelt

WASHINGTON, April 19. — (AP) — Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution last spring because of the Marian Anderson incident, today received with a smile and handshake the delegates to its 49th Continental Congress.

Standing along side her at the White House reception was Mrs. Henry M. Robert, Jr., of Annapolis, Md., president general of the D. A. R. A total of 1,744 women came to see this as well as to look over the White House.

For it was the first time these two women had been together since Mrs. Roosevelt dropped her membership after the organization declined to rent its Constitution Hall for a benefit concert at which Marian Anderson, noted negro contralto, was to sing.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC-- MRS. ROOSEVELT

Tampa, Fla. Times
May 9. 1940

My Day

By Eleanor Roosevelt

WASHINGTON—I didn't tell you yesterday what a delightful spring day Sunday was. The sun shone warm and bright and a sense of irresponsibility seized me. I went for a ride, I had lunch in the sun in the garden, I visited a friend and had other friends come to tea and dinner. It was a thoroughly pleasant day with very little work interspersed with the pleasure.

I received two groups this morning, one the history group from Cathedral high school of New York, under the care of Sister Vincent Loretta. The other, the woman's club, from Frankfort, Pa. In a little while the ladies of the cabinet are coming to lunch with me.

* * *

WORLD'S FAIR TO HAVE INEXPENSIVE ROOMS

Several items have been brought to my attention which I want to tell you about. First and foremost, for the sake of many people who will come from all over the country for the opening of the New York world's fair on Saturday, you should know that the mayor's official World's Fair Rooming Bureau, Inc., will again be active during the coming summer. Their object is to obtain hotel and room accommodations at prices consistent with the budgets of people visiting the fair. This is a non-profit organization and the only fee charged is 25 cents for the first night's lodging, which goes to the committee to cover overhead. The members of the executive committee serve without salary, but there must be some paid workers. The office of this bureau is in the Chanin building, 122 East 42nd street.

I would like to tell you about Karamu house in Cleveland, Ohio, founded 25 years ago by Russell and Rowena Jelliffe, who are still its directors. Their objective is to further "the more complete functioning of the American negro in the democratic life of the community and the nation as a whole, participating through the field of the arts." Many years ago James Weldon Johnson told me that this country made a great cultural mistake in not bringing out the natural gifts of his people, so it was interesting to hear what the results of 25 years of this work had been.

* * *

MAINTAIN OUTSTANDING NEGRO LITTLE THEATER

Mr. and Mrs. Jelliffe have succeeded in creating and maintaining for 25 years the most outstanding Negro Little theater in the country. This theater has become the national focal point for both negro and white playwrights writing for the negro theater. It has produced over 160 plays and has been carried entirely by its own door receipts. Members of the Karamu theater are today participating in the professional theaters of the country. Members of the Gilpin theaters and the African art sponsors of Karamu house have contributed a valuable collection of primitive art to the Cleveland Museum of Art, and an equally valuable ethnological collection to the Cleveland Museum of Natural History. This was the first such contribution ever to be made by a group of negro citizens in the United States. The work of negro artists and craftsmen of Karamu house has been accepted in an increasing number of local, national and international exhibitions.

A fire destroyed its theater and craftshop not long ago and the board of trustees are now appealing for funds to continue to expand the program. In the meantime, the educational and artistic facilities of Cleveland have been offered them in a most generous measure, which shows appreciation of this group.

Peace Resolution Tragic Mistake, Says Mrs. F. D. R.

NEW YORK—The New York Youth Congress, affiliate of the American Youth Congress, ignored a plea of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Sunday, that its peace resolution was a "tragic mistake" in view of the world situation.

"You don't want to go to war," she told the 1100 delegates and visitors to the three-day conference. "I don't want to go to war. But war may come to us." Thomas Jones of Brooklyn, was elected chairman of the congress.

MY DAY: Benefit Dance For Rural Youth

By Eleanor Roosevelt.

WASHINGTON.—Last night I went to a dance given by the various state societies here for the benefit of the Association for the Guidance of Rural Youth. I hope these societies are not only going to raise a fund to use in establishing a center here and in other places to assist young people coming from the country to the city, but that they will awaken interest all over the country in an effort to have better vocational guidance in rural districts and in all federal and state employment agencies. The work of these agencies can, I hope, be extended with special thought to the assistance to be given young people.

I had a ride this morning and a talk with Mrs. Mary Bethune who, after weeks in the hospital, is back at work in the National Youth Administration. She came to see me with the desire to get some information as to where the Negro people could function in helping the unfortunates in other countries and in taking a real part in national defense.

Every patriotic citizen is anxious to be doing something these days. However, it seems to me that probably the best thing we can do is to go about our regular jobs, doing them as well as we can, improving them where we can, keeping as calm as possible and waiting until some definite plans are evolved where we can be of real value. I am afraid that too much desire to serve may result in neglecting the jobs in which each and every one of us should continue. I will acknowledge, however, that it is deseprately hard to wait in inactivity when a battle costing thousands of human lives is going on across the sea and when things of great moment to the human race are hanging in the balance.

Perhaps this is the time to ponder over and improve our own citizenship. In Brand Whitlock's "Life of Lafayette," he quotes from a speech Lafayette made in the chamber of deputies in France on January 3, 1834. Lafayette said in substance: "Liberty is never a static thing. It has to be won over and over again. It is a living thing, never to be relegated to the archives." In another part of the book there is a letter written by General Lafayette to Mr. F. B. Morse in 1830, in which, after reviewing the gains made for democracy in Europe, he rather ruefully remarked: "But it will not be so short and so cheap as we had a right to anticipate it might be." Nothing worth saving is ever "short or cheap." Perhaps our difficulty at the present time is that each and every one of us must make up our mind where we stand and what we are willing to do for our own country and other countries. These decisions are always hard.

First Lady Sends Flowers Daily to Mrs. Bethune

BALTIMORE — Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady of the Land, has been sending flowers daily for the past several days to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, divisional director of the NYA and founder and president of Bethune-Cookman College, who has been confined to Johns Hopkins Hospital since April 8.

It is understood that Mrs. Bethune will remain at the hospital for at least two months, during which time she will undergo an operation for asthma, an ailment with which she has been suffering for a long time.

Mrs. Bethune's private room in the Woman's Clinic of the hospital is scented with beautiful flowers received from friends all over the country. She was reported "resting comfortably," by a hospital attache on Monday.

Flynn Disowns 'Smear' Circular; Calls It Disservice to President

New York Times

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No one for a moment questions Mr. Willkie's 100 per cent Americanism. He himself himself discussed his ancestry in a most forthright manner in his acceptance speech. I had hoped that the 1928 campaign, when Governor Smith was the Democratic candidate for President, marked the end of bigotry and intolerance in American politics. I am chagrined to think that some reckless individual has done such a disservice to our great President and party as to issue this stupid document.

I particularly regret the use in the circular of Mrs. Willkie's name. Reference to Mr. Willkie's family or to the President's family have no part in a political campaign.

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I have seen campaign material, put out by opponents of the President, which are too vile for public mention. I deplore the hate-Roosevelt campaign which has been fostered by people who should be ashamed of such tactics.

The statement was phoned to Democratic National Headquarters at the Hotel Biltmore by Mr. Flynn from his Summer home at Lake Mahopac, and was released at the Biltmore.

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"I wish to call to your attention, as chairman of the Special Senate Committee Investigating Campaign Expenditures, a pamphlet entitled 'Hands Across the Sea,' which is being circulated by an organization signing itself as 'Guardians of the Republic.'

"This organization gives as its address, 'P. O. Box 418, New Haven, Conn.' There is in my possession correspondence which indicates that the pamphlet has been sent into all New England States in large quantities.

"The pamphlet contains a mendacious, scurrilous and vitriolic attack on Wendell Willkie, the Republican candidate for President. It untruthfully imputes to Mr. Willkie a sympathy with Nazi aggression which he has repudiated again and again in his speeches. In addition it relates the details of a purely fanciful and imaginary 'plot' by Adolf Hitler to control the outcome of the Presidential election on Nov. 5.

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"I believe this is a matter which your committee should investigate to determine whether the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, or the Hatch act, is being violated.

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"The publication of this report was not a leak; it was a plant. A United States Senator, chairman of an important committee, was double-crossed. And the purpose of that 'plant' was to give the Communists and their fellow-travelers a sign that the New Deal is still stirring up hatred of the rich."

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Baltimore Md

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Under Pressure

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"Even this flimsy effort at excuse is swept away by virtue of the fact that the materials contained in this mimeographer copy referred to by Mr. Rainey were in a large measure contained in a printed pamphlet — 'Let's Follow Through — Who Is Wendell Willkie?' — which has on it the Union label and which has on it 'Prepared and Issued by Colored Division — Democratic National Campaign Committee'; a piece of literature which even Mr. Flynn wouldn't dare deny the National Committee's responsible for issuing.

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PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC--MRS. ROOSEVELT

Chattanooga, Tenn.,
Tribune, Apr. 15, 1940

Mrs. Roosevelt Here

The First Lady

THE FIRST LADY TALKS

Mrs. Roosevelt Would Like To Be Having Experience Of Mrs. Harriman in Norway

By VIVIEN BROWNE

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, first lady of the land by right of marriage and accomplishment, and first lady of the air by right of mileage, stepped off the silver Eastern Air liner at 12:35 Monday at Lovell field. Tall and beautifully dressed in navy wool dress and small, modish hat of deep blue straw, she blinked first at the sun and then smiled widely at the crowd assembled to greet her—the plane was not posted due until 12:55 and only the early birds were lucky enough to be there to greet her.

Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Judge Louise O. Charlton of Birmingham, President Rufus Clement of Atlanta university (Negro) and Mr. and Mrs. Carl Thompson of the publicity division of the Conference for Human Welfare, which Mrs. Roosevelt has come to address tonight, officially welcomed her, and there was the usual battery of flashlights as newspaper men and amateurs took her picture from all angles.

Along the wire fences were children and a queue of small Negro children from a neighboring school were just coming in at the outside gate to see her and catch one of her really interested smiles. She had not a moment to stop and chat.

Mr. Thompson took her check and arranged for her bags and Mrs. Roosevelt went immediately to her car—but one noticed she tipped the baggage boy herself, and there another cordial smile and a "thank you."

A FEW REMARKS:

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"I don't recall the article in detail—but I'm finding that women are more and more lining up with the parties. Women are now 'just people' and 'voters' and they're reacting just like the men."

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Fair Enough

By Westbrook Pegler

N.Y. World Telegram 8-9-40

To return to the subject of Mrs. Roosevelt's decision to remain a member of the Newspaper Guild, which is controlled by the Communists, I would like to call attention to the effrontery of this lady's attitude in presuming to vote and exert an influence in affairs which are none of her business but which are terribly important to legitimate journalists.

New York

Journalism is not Mrs. Roosevelt's occupation; she is not properly eligible for membership in the Guild, and her resolve to remain a member, notwithstanding the fact that it has become a Soviet outpost, is in contrast to her hasty and sensational resignation from the D. A. R., which, whatever its faults, has never been accused of adherence to the Communist party or the Nazi or Fascist movement. Her determination to remain in the Guild and participate in its decisions is an imposition on the rights of editorial workers in and out of the Guild.

This organization recently held a convention in Memphis, in which the Muscovite control was confirmed by a typical Communist political trick. The non-Communists had organized a rebellion, and the Communists thereupon split into two factions for a mock fight.

* * *

They set up a phony rebel faction of their own, which took the play away from the legitimate, anti-Communist group, and the two Communist groups then closed in from both sides to prevent "Red-baiting" and re-elect the Bolo control.

I called the turn on this before the convention met, exposing then the fake character of the fight between the two Communist groups. The scheme was so good that it was just too good; for it revealed at last to many editorial workers the smooth, efficient political cunning of the Communists in control. At the psychological moment the two bands of comrades dropped their pretense of antipathy and came together to defeat the Americans and silence a proposed condemnation of Communism, along with the two other infectious political diseases.

The Communist party is now in absolute control of the American Newspaper Guild, and any employer who signs a closed-shop contract with this transmission belt, whereby non-Guild employees would be compelled to join or be fired, is literally driving these people into the power of the Communist party.

Such a move is now in progress on The New York Times and in the Hearst papers, and the authority of the United States government is being invoked, under the Wagner act, to help a subversive organization to control these journalists.

That Mrs. Roosevelt is not aware of the Communist control of the Guild I will not admit. This is no matter of interpretation or opinion. It is an obvious fact, and her intention to remain a member for the purpose of fighting the Communists will be considered in the light of her attitude toward the Communists in control of the American Youth Congress.

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In that organization her activity has seemed more like co-operation or conciliation than opposition. But, aside from the question whether she will oppose or co-operate with the Communists, the fact remains that she has no right to intrude in decisions affecting the professional and political freedom of real newspaper people. She is not a journalist but a diarist and a dilettante, and her participation in Guild affairs is a presumption.

The Communists are now deliberately trying to drive out the legitimate newspapermen and women, so that they can hold over them the penalty of expulsion. Thus when they have achieved the closed shop they would permanently exclude from all departments of journalism all those individuals who have the principle and the courage to reject Soviet leadership.

They have now come into the open, after several years of evasion, with a frank declaration that anyone who resigns from the Guild may be permanently expelled from membership and thus made ineligible for employment in any closed shop.

The prestige of the Presidency of the United States, which is Mrs. Roosevelt's sole qualification here, should not be added to the weapons with which a subversive organization is attacking the rights of American citizens.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC--MRS. ROOSEVELT

Chattanooga, Tenn.,
Tribune, Apr. 15, 1940

Mrs. Roosevelt Here

The First Lady

THE FIRST LADY TALKS

Mrs. Roosevelt Would Like To Be Having Experience Of Mrs. Harriman in Norway

By VIVIEN BROWNE

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, first lady of the land by right of marriage and accomplishment, and first lady of the air by right of mileage, stepped off the silver Eastern Air liner at 12:35 Monday at Lovell field. Tall and beautifully dressed in navy wool dress and small, modish hat of deep blue straw, she blinked first at the sun and then smiled widely at the crowd assembled to greet her—the plane was not posted due until 12:55 and only the early birds were lucky enough to be there to greet her.

Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Judge Louise O. Charlton of Birmingham, President Rufus Clement of Atlanta university (Negro) and Mr. and Mrs. Carl Thompson of the publicity division of the Conference for Human Welfare, which Mrs. Roosevelt has come to address tonight, officially welcomed her, and there was the usual battery of flashlights as newspaper men and amateurs took her picture from all angles.

Along the wire fences were children and a queue of small Negro children from a neighboring school were just coming in at the outside gate to see her and catch one of her really interested smiles. She had not a moment to stop and chat.

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Columbia, S. C. State
April 30, 1940

AS MRS. ROOSEVELT SEES IT.

Last Saturday afternoon at Winthrop college, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt held a press conference, out of which no hot stories developed. But the way in which she answered or did not answer questions—some of them loaded—and the ease with which she skittered around and among poisonous political subjects was delightful. Good judgment and surprising honesty (if the two may be bracketed as not in conflict) characterized her extemporaneous discussions.

Inevitably, there were efforts made to have her talk of the possibility of a third term for President Roosevelt; there was some outwardly innocent probing about her associations with the American Youth Congress, which has a few communists among its members; there was a feeler about John L. Lewis and his third party threat, and another about the Dies committee; also there were some leading questions asked in the hope, perhaps, that answers might be used to support pet principles of education, journalism or something.

In her talk of a third term Mrs. Roosevelt was not specific. But she sees no reason why a custom, tradition or policy that may have been good at one time in history, is therefore good for all time. Under imaginable conditions, which she would not describe, a third term might be appropriate, wise and demanded by the people.

What about the young communists of the Youth Congress? Yes, said Mrs. Roosevelt, there are some communists in the organization; perhaps ten per cent of those who attended recent meetings were communists; and of those ten per cent, perhaps half know what communism is; and of this five per cent, all or nearly all would trade their communistic dreamings for a job with pay to it. Old communists, she thinks, might be more disturbing to the peace of mind than young communists. Youth is the age when new ideas appeal, and when they are not much modified by judgment. She spoke no word for communism, but she did speak sympathetic words for youth, even for misguided youth. After all, she said, we must not crush the exploratory spirit of youth. Indifferent youth, placid and uninterested in life and its problems, is not wholesome.

Will John L. Lewis succeed in forming a third party? Well, after all, any one has a right to try; and always there are some people who will join a new movement. There is, however, doubt whether a third party can become strong if its appeal is merely to dissident groups.

When the Dies bait was offered, by referring to a proposal that the Dies committee investigate the University of North Carolina, Mrs. Roosevelt laughed. Why investigate such a fine institution? However, she had not read the stories, and therefore would say nothing.

What does Mrs. Roosevelt think of the economic status of the Negro in the South? Is is as bad as that of the Negro in the Northern slums? As bad as that of the Orientals in California?

Those questions, said Mrs. Roosevelt, were unfortunate. She had been, immediately prior to coming to Winthrop, on a tour in the South, studying the Negro, and she had found conditions shocking and incredible. Yes, worse than any she had observed in the big city slums, or among the Orientals. She spoke especially of the status of the mobile Negro labor in Florida.

Her answer to the questions about the Negro in the South was one of the illustrations of her surprising candor. It would have been so easy to say the pleasant thing. But a more amazing, and more amusing burst of honesty was yet to come.

What had Mrs. Roosevelt heard of Winthrop college before this visit? Again Mrs. Roosevelt was sorry, but she could not recall having heard of the institution prior to the invitation to speak there.

Thus the press conference proceeded, to be followed by a long lecture on the problems of youth, and that in turn followed by the answering of more questions, one of which was this: Is there not a danger that a third term might mean perpetuation in office because of the influence of patronage?

No, said Mrs. Roosevelt, not so long as you, the citizens, do your duty and vote as your judgment guides. In the United States you will have the kind of government you desire, or the kind you permit. No man has or can have enough power to remain in office if you, the citizens, do not want him to remain and if you discharge your clear duties as citizens.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 14, 1940

MITCHELL TO TALK AT COLORED RALLY

Illinois Congressman to Speak for F.D.R.—Kefauver Hopes to Attend

Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, colored, of the First Illinois district, will deliver a campaign address in behalf of President Franklin Roosevelt here tonight at the Memorial auditorium before a rally of colored supporters of the president.

Mitchell, a native southerner, is the only Negro democrat ever elected to congress. He represents the Loop district in Chicago and was first elected in 1934.

Representative Estes Kefauver, of the Third Tennessee congressional district, is to introduce Representative Mitchell. Kefauver said last week in a telephone communication from Washington that unless congressional duties in Washington prevent, he will be here today to take part in the rally.

Walter C. Robinson, colored leader in the Fourth ward, the city's largest Negro precinct, answered the move by the democratic opposition in colored ranks to bring Mitchell here by scheduling seven colored precinct rallies tonight in behalf of the republican nominee, Wendell L. Willkie.

Business Places to Close

Meanwhile, Judge Martin Fleming announced that all colored places of business which can close without serious inconvenience will be closed for the Mitchell rally. The action, Judge Fleming said, will permit the owners and workers to attend the Mitchell rally.

The rally starts at 7:30 o'clock. Glee clubs of the Howard High school and the Booker T. Washington school will sing a number of Negro spirituals.

Former State Senator Fletcher R. Morgan, Hamilton county democratic campaign manager, will preside. Morgan will then introduce City Judge Fleming, who will speak, and then introduce Dr. W. A. Thompson, colored physician. Dr. Thompson will introduce Representative Kefauver. If Representative Kefauver is unable to be here, Dr. Thompson will introduce Representative Mitchell.

Representative Mitchell will arrive this afternoon at Terminal station at 4:35 o'clock and will be met by a reception committee headed by Sidney H. Byers, president of the Hamilton County Colored Roosevelt club. Judge Fleming last week invited all Negroes supporting President Roosevelt to go to the station this afternoon and take their automobiles for a motorcade.

"We will go up Market street from Terminal station to Ninth street and then down East Ninth street," Judge Fleming announced.

Representative Mitchell was to be the guest in the home of C. H. Hardwick, Jr., while here. He will leave for Washington early tomorrow morning.

First Staged Here

The Mitchell rally is the first of its kind ever staged in Chattanooga and Byers said he believed it would be the beginning of a "new era for the colored people of this section."

Dr. Thompson said that Mitchell is one of the nation's best orators and that "regardless of whether the colored man is for Mr. Roosevelt or against him, he ought to hear what one of the leading members of our race has to say about him."

A special section will be erserved for white people.

Mitchell was born in Alabama and as a youth was associated with the late Booker T. Washington, whom he served as an office boy at Tuskegee institute. He studied at Harvard and Columbia universities and taught school for several years. Finally he entered the legal profession, practicing in Washington and Chicago. He was one of the speakers before the national democratic convention last July.

Brookhaven, Miss. Leader
October 1, 1940

Are They Prohibitionists?

Why do not the prohibitionists vote for their man? Roger Babson is their man—and he is a citizen of much good sense too. He is the prohibition candidate for president. The prohibitionists will not vote for him—not in South Carolina. They are "Democrats" first, then prohibitionists. Some of them hanker after offices. They would like to be in the legislature or to get other little jobs from the third term machine. They do not yearn for the gin pots, but the flesh-pots have a powerful appeal for them. They will stick to the "Democratic" party although the "negro question" has been eliminated, although it is if anything (Senator James Francis Byrnes is our authority) more negro than the Republican party is. Thousands of the good men who swear eternal enmity to the "Demon Rum" will vote as usual for politicians who will say that they are prohibitionists and keep a bottle or two in their hotel rooms. With exceptions, many exceptions, the prohibitionists in South Carolina will surrender at the polls to the wet national third term Democratic party that calls itself "Democratic" the party of "Ed" Kelly, Eddie Flynn of the Bronx, Mayor Hague and Mayor LaGuardia, which is the wettest party ever.

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
PARTY AFFILIATION

THE NEGRO MUST CHANGE HIS PARTY

OCT 27 1940

By BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.
Wilberforce, Ohio

One of my friends said to me that he was a Republican because he felt it his duty to support the party that freed his race. I said to him "You know I have deep respect for you and your opinions, but I can't go along with you on your theory of 'once a Republican, always a Republican.'

"Nor do I believe that the Republican party is MY party? How is it MY party? Do I own it? Have we Negroes had anything to do with managing it? Many years ago the Negroes did have representatives on the Republican National Committee, but they have been cut down to one lone member.

Once a politician upbraided me in the presence of an older man saying that the colored people should be grateful to the Republicans because the Republicans emancipated them. Before I could answer, the old man said "Yes, I am a Republican for just that reason, and perhaps that is the only reason left, for I was actually emancipated by President Lincoln's famous Proclamation in 1863. But this younger man was born free and hence was not emancipated by Republicans or anybody else."

He added that most of the Negroes that Lincoln emancipated are dead and that the Republicans had better get another argument. Our race has paid the Republicans all we owe them.

The Republicans who freed our forefathers, are also gone. Lincoln is dead, Charles Sumner is dead, General U. S. Grant is dead. General Garfield is dead. Major McKnley is dead. Yes, they are all gone. When these men lived, the Republicans encouraged the Negroes to hold office. We had United States Senators from the South, and U. S. Congressmen from the South. There were Negro postmasters, collectors of customs, collectors of internal revenue, U. S. marshals, etc. The Republican party recognized the Negro as a citizen and encouraged him in those days, and I confess if we had that Republican party today, I might be a Republican.

But what have we today? We have the "Lily-white Republicans"—those who want to drive the Negroes out of the party. There has not been a single collector of customs or U. S. marshal appointed anywhere in the South in a quarter of a century. The Republicans have ignored, poked fun at and insulted the Negroes time and time again. The Republicans have given no encouragement to the aspirations of the Negroes.

Where is the Republican who has tried to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which their fathers and grandfathers passed? The Republicans were in control for twelve years under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, and they didn't lift their voices against peonage or against disfranchisement. They did not even appoint a first class postmaster. And although the Negroes were unanimous for an anti-lynching bill during the twelve years the Republicans were in power, they would not pass it.

For two generations the Negroes have blindly voted the Republican ticket, hoping against hope, but nothing has ever been done for them. Indeed, so great was the contempt that the Republicans had for the Negroes, that the Republican President Hoover would not even have his picture taken with a Negro.

By this time we have overpaid the Republicans, and should emancipate ourselves from their slavery.

For many years neither party offered us anything, and we were in despair. Thousands of Negroes did not vote at all. But now we have an opportunity to change. And we should change parties. We should no longer be Republicans. We should at least become Roosevelt Democrats, since we see the advanced policy of the Democrats under our President.

Mr. Willkie changed his party; why should not we? But the Republicans tell US that WE should not change. Mr. Willkie changed because he did not like Democratic policies. He is a utilities executive. He wanted to control the electric power of this country for private enterprise. His company is the Commonwealth and Southern Power company. When the Roosevelt administration started to give cheaper power to the people through the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mr. Willkie fought the administration, and when he could not influence the Democratic administration as he wanted, he changed from Democrat to Republican.

Mr. Hoover, too, changed his party when he found he had an opportunity to be used by the big interests who were exploiting the country to make him President.

So when Negroes vote for Roosevelt and Wallace they do not have to make excuses. This year there will be millions who will change from Republicans to Democrats, as they did in 1936, as the campaign develops and the issues become clearer.

It is a fight of the Common People vs. Protected Privilege. Since most of we Negroes are among the common people, and since most of us were not emancipated by Lincoln, we do not owe anything to the Republicans, have no other alternative than to vote the Democratic ticket this year.

Parties are used to put over governmental principles. Since the principles of President Roosevelt are our principles, we must vote that way.

WILLKIE BOYS ARE REAL MAD AT ROOSEVELT GIRLS

OCT 28 1940

By Mary Tobin

The Willkie boys are getting real mad at the Roosevelt girls, so put-out during these last campaign zero hours they are even sending the F.D.R. girls' mail back unopened.

On the Calendar

This morning over at the headquarters of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee in the Biltmore, the women stared at an envelope marked with the post office's official stamp, "Refused." They paid nine cents to find out that Publisher George G. Wood of the Herald in Eureka, Kansas had sent one of their stories back complete with pretty pictures.

"Editor Wood's slogan must be, 'What the people don't read won't enlighten them,'" said 'Molly' Dewson. "He must be scared—won't even give us wastebasket room."

* * *

Hell's Kitchenette

The Riverside Community House begins its 51st year of subtle crime prevention work in that section of the city known to rubber-neck bus barkers as "Hell's Kitchen." The community house keeps the children of the neighborhood off the street by providing classes in cooking, dramatics, dancing and sewing.

There's no Lady Bountiful gesture toward the engaging hellions of the neighborhood. The board of directors have won out by offering an honest-to-goodness club life to the girls. Mothers' clubs are also popular. Money is needed so the organization is giving a series of Monday morning lectures—for themselves and friends—at the Weylin Hotel. Eleanor Markell talks on "Literary Personalities of Europe and America." Mrs. M. Frazier Clark is chairman, and she is assisted by Mrs. Elwood Horton, Mrs. Handley Calloway and Mrs. N. Chamberlain Klugh.

* * *

Negro in Campaign

"The Negro in the Election Campaign" is the subject of an exhibition now on view at the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature of the 135th St. branch of the New York Public Library, 103 W. 135th St.

Included in the display, which will be shown until after election day, are printed and manuscript copies of speeches, pamphlets, books, photographs and articles on the Negro vote. All political parties are represented. There is a list of the principal Negro candidates who are running on the various tickets for public office and statements from President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Wendell Willkie, James W. Ford, Frank R. Crosswaith, William L. Patterson and Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell.

Hi', Mister Mayor

Outstanding examples of modern embroidery from the workshops of leading New York designers will be shown with representative pieces from four centuries of decorative needlework in a public exhibition which will open this afternoon at the Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration.

Entitled "Made in New York," the exhibit has been arranged by Local Sixty-Six of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and officials of the Museum to stress the excellence of American craftsmanship and to publicize the sources of original patterns which are available in this country.

"It will demonstrate that even in the field of elaborate embroideries, a European specialty for generations, New York is qualifying for consideration as the fashion center of the world," declares Zachary Freedman, manager of the Local.

THE CAPITAL PARADE

By JOSEPH ALSOP AND ROBERT KINTNER.

ON THE HOME FRONT WASHINGTON, Nov. 3.—The relationship is often rather tenuous between the issues really involved in a national campaign and the issues most energetically discussed. In this campaign, the paramount questions before the people are the foreign policy and defense of the United States.

NOV 4 1940

Indeed, catastrophe treads so close upon the heels of the world we live in that worrying about internal problems seems a little bit like starting downstairs after the silver when you are trapped in a third-floor room of a house three-quarters in flames. Judging by the attitudes of their ablest advisers, both Wendell L. Willkie and the President are fully aware of this fact. Yet, politics being what they are, both have devoted much campaign time to debating issues which may be considered purely domestic. This secondary debate will probably influence many votes, particularly among conservatives and middle-of-the-roaders inclined to approve the President's conduct of foreign affairs.

The Constitution

IS AMERICA THROUGH? The Republicans' choice of Wendell Willkie, and the war crisis, made it unnecessary for the administration to defend many sectors of its political front which would have been hotly attacked if such a man as Senator Robert A. Taft had been nominated in times of peace. For Willkie, refusing to follow orthodox Republican practice, has cheerfully indorsed virtually all of the New Deal's social reforms, such as the national labor relations act, and several of its economic experiments, such as the agricultural program. And the war, forcing $12,000,000,000 of defense expenditures with the almost unanimous approval of the electorate, has made it impossible for the Republicans to denounce "New Deal spending" in a really telling way.

Atlanta Ga.

Thus the comparatively serious debate of domestic issues has been confined to the single question: Is the New Deal economic philosophy right or wrong? As roughly, but reasonably accurately summarized by Willkie, the economic theory behind the New Deal is that capitalism in the United States has reached maturity, can no longer expand under its own power, and in normal times requires such stimulants as government spending to keep going. Willkie indignantly rejects this theory, predicting that, with a president enjoying the confidence of businessmen, another great economic forward march may be expected. As he does not propose to repeal any of the New Deal legislation objected to by business, it may be presumed his promise simply implies an intention to create business confidence by more amiable administration of the statutes.

Unfortunately, the President has not squarely locked horns with his adversary in defense of his economic philosophy, preferring merely to rehearse the great improvements in the country's internal affairs since he took office. Moreover, neither Willkie nor the President has chosen to give the people his picture of the future of American free capitalism after the war, when the world at worst will be enslaved and at best in ruins, when the country will be saddled with a public debt larger than the greatest sum mentioned by conservatives as sure to cause bankruptcy, and when the defense program will inevitably have brought large areas of business directly under government control. Even the more serious domestic debate has therefore seemed a trifle unreal.

STUFF AND GUFF As for the stuff to feed the boobs, always handed out in any political campaign, it has the dreadful sound of strange shouts heard in a dream. Both sides have been equally guilty of handing it out.

The more extreme Republican talk of the President's dictatorial ambitions has been neatly matched by the Democrats' babble about Willkie's desire to appease Hitler, when his every speech contains a re-assertion of his desire to aid Britain. The Democrats' dissemination of poison-pen stuff about Willkie's German ancestry is on a par with the Republicans' busy circulation of cards bearing a picture of the President smiling for the photographers while signing the draft bill, with the inscription, "He even laughs when he calls the boys to war."

NOV 4 1940

There has been a lot of such stuff in the campaign, and some of it, such as the behind-the-scenes Republican appeals to the Irish, German and Italian votes, may prove pretty effective. The quality of it all is nicely summed up in the great current excitement over the Negro vote. The White House, finding the Negroes straying from the fold, ostentatiously appointed a Negro general. The Republicans, staggering from this dreadful blow, were suddenly rescued from their despair when the President's secretary, Stephen Early, irritably kicked a Negro policeman who was trying to keep him off the Presidential train at New York's Pennsylvania station.

At the present writing, both parties are screaming their appeals to the unhappy Negroes in a high state of political abandon, the Democrats pointing to their general, the Republicans calling the Democrats habitual kickers of the colored race. Some Democrats, and not a few Republicans, say that the Harlem districts, and therefore New York, may be swung over by Early's contretemps.

If they are right in supposing that such trivia can decide the vote of a great state in this year of not very visible grace, then the time has come to despair indeed. Fortunately, they are almost certainly wrong.

AN EDITOR MUMBLING TO HIMSELF The more ardent Rooseveltians regard FDR as godlike, indeed that he has the precious qualities of the sacred ox. The more passionate Roosevelt haters regard him as the devil incarnate. This is unjust to the president. Actually he is neither god nor devil. He is merely a great American political leader, about two cuts above other politicians in the same league. . . . Mr. Roosevelt, fond of lecturing newspapers, is a fair-to-middling reporter himself. For instance at Brooklyn Friday night he scooped all the reporters by his interesting news that the Commonwealth & Southern so trusts the credit of the United States government, even under Roosevelt, that it has $21,000,000 of its reserves invested in United States bonds. Mr. Willkie the well known business man probably made that fortunate investment. . . . It is easy to be cynical, not so easy to justify the attitude, young fellows. . . . Short hair and short skirts make a good show, but they do not seem to have done much harm after all. . . . A clear consicence, so we hear, is more to be desired than a clear day in a rainy season. . . . Then, too, there is the man who demands all of the privileges that a gentleman expects, yet lives the life of a bounder and a blatherskite. . . . To drop into verse: An obnoxious drunk in the time called when, and a precocious skunk are brothers under the skin. . . . The committee on arrangement usually forgets water for the speaker, and so committees on arrangement should be born again and baptized. . . . We spec mebbe you too have noticed the difference between Bible readers and Bible heeders. . . . Wiscracks have never conditoned a civilization, nor improved a private conversation. . . . It isn't as much fun to use tobacco as it was in the old days when it was a sin and a shame. . . . But even so it is still a lot of fun. . . . Old goats continue to fascinate us. Today it occurs to us to say that old goats rarely found new families. . . . If you are slipping make your preacher sweat more and talk louder. . . . The German blockade, we hear, still fails to raise the price of imported Scotch and so the last great atrocity seems to have been deferred, or so say our readers. . . . It will take more than the combined influence of John Lewis and Joe Louis to put Our Wen over. . . . As long as people have good coffee to drink they are not likely to start a revolution, especially if a Roosevelt provides them with bread to dunk. And people who are eating fresh eggs daily are not even likely to repudiate the Democratic party. . . . All of the galoots are not on Willkie's side, we own, but we verily believe that most of them are. Some of them are stuffed shirts, some others are hired barkers, others are just gullible nuts. . . . Mr. Roosevelt was most effective in his comment on the sneering, stupid speech of an unnamed Philadelphia lawyer who he said recently asserted that only "paupers" receiving $100 a month or less and not earning that, were for Roosevelt. The Philadelphia blister forgot that Abraham Lincoln was once a pauper who when his personal income increased to $100 a month thought he was relatively affluent. Only a fool for the want of sense would jeer "paupers" in this presidential campaign, as all of us saw by the nature of Mr. Roosevelt's crushing retort. . . . It is a pity that human teeth are not more durable. Actually they perform a very acceptable personal service while they last. . . . It's pretty nice to build a home in the quiet zone of a roaring, noisy city. But in due time, in this age, the heavy traffic always finds a way to your home. Heavy traffic always trees its coon. . . . It is the letters you forget to write that at last make you red in the face. How we do envy the old-fashioned American Indian! He didn't pay any attention to his personal correspondence. He never hired a stenographer. He never made any excuses. He just grunted. We wish that we knew how to grunt like an Indian. . . . De Ol' Souf is still in the carbohydrate belt. . . . All tough guys are softened in the end, and at last all sissies have their day. To the garrulous: Let the other fellow talk a little just to keep his hand in and hold the franchise. . . A colored shirt and collar undoubtedly look pretty nifty, but as an old-timer we believe that nothing outlooks a white linen shirt and collar if they are well laundered. White is always pretty except on the feet. Nothing, we think, is uglier and sloppier than a white sock that is slightly wrinkled and droopy. . . . We are trying to get our circulation manager to agree to accept new subscriptions only on holidays and Sundays. He has not yet capitulated, but we believe we have made an impression upon him, so subscribe now before you are excluded from Alabama's Choicest Circle of Newspaper Readers. . . . In conclusion: The hell with the Republican party!

THE CAPITAL PARADE

By JOSEPH ALSOP AND ROBERT KINTNER.

ON THE HOME FRONT WASHINGTON, Nov. 3.—The relationship is often rather tenuous between the issues really involved in a national campaign and the issues most energetically discussed. In this campaign, the paramount questions before the people are the foreign policy and defense of the United States.

NOV 4 1940

Indeed, catastrophe treads so close upon the heels of the world we live in that worrying about internal problems seems a little bit like starting downstairs after the silver when you are trapped in a third-floor room of a house three-quarters in flames. Judging by the attitudes of their ablest advisers, both Wendell L. Willkie and the President are fully aware of this fact. Yet, politics being what they are, both have devoted much campaign time to debating issues which may be considered purely domestic. This secondary debate will probably influence many votes, particularly among conservatives and middle-of-the-roaders inclined to approve the President's conduct of foreign affairs.

The Constitution

IS AMERICA THROUGH? The Republicans' choice of Wendell Willkie, and the war crisis, made it unnecessary for the administration to defend many sectors of its political front which would have been hotly attacked if such a man as Senator Robert A. Taft had been nominated in times of peace. For Willkie, refusing to follow orthodox Republican practice, has cheerfully indorsed virtually all of the New Deal's social reforms, such as the national labor relations act, and several of its economic experiments, such as the agricultural program. And the war, forcing $12,000,000,000 of defense expenditures with the almost unanimous approval of the electorate, has made it impossible for the Republicans to denounce "New Deal spending" in a really telling way.

Atlanta Day

Thus the comparatively serious debate of domestic issues has been confined to the single question: Is the New Deal economic philosophy right or wrong? As roughly, but reasonably accurately summarized by Willkie, the economic theory behind the New Deal is that capitalism in the United States has reached maturity, can no longer expand under its own power, and in normal times requires such stimulants as government spending to keep going. Willkie indignantly rejects this theory, predicting that, with a president enjoying the confidence of businessmen, another great economic forward march may be expected. As he does not propose to repeal any of the New Deal legislation objected to by business, it may be presumed his promise simply implies an intention to create business confidence by more amiable administration of the statutes.

Unfortunately, the President has not squarely locked horns with his adversary in defense of his economic philosophy, preferring merely to rehearse the great improvements in the country's internal affairs since he took office. Moreover, neither Willkie nor the President has chosen to give the people his picture of the future of American free capitalism after the war, when the world at worst will be enslaved and at best in ruins, when the country will be saddled with a public debt larger than the greatest sum mentioned by conservatives as sure to cause bankruptcy, and when the defense program will inevitably have brought large areas of business directly under government control. Even the more serious domestic debate has therefore seemed a trifle unreal.

STUFF AND GUFF As for the stuff to feed the boobs, always handed out in any political campaign, it has the dreadful sound of strange shouts heard in a dream. Both sides have been equally guilty of handing it out.

The more extreme Republican talk of the President's dictatorial ambitions has been neatly matched by the Democrats' babble about Willkie's desire to appease Hitler, when his every speech contains a re-assertion of his desire to aid Britain. The Democrats' dissemination of poison-pen stuff about Willkie's German ancestry is on a par with the Republicans' busy circulation of cards bearing a picture of the President smiling for the photographers while signing the draft bill, with the inscription, "He even laughs when he calls the boys to war."

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There has been a lot of such stuff in the campaign, and some of it, such as the behind-the-scenes Republican appeals to the Irish, German and Italian votes, may prove pretty effective. The quality of it all is nicely summed up in the great current excitement over the Negro vote. The White House, finding the Negroes straying from the fold, ostentatiously appointed a Negro general. The Republicans, staggering from this dreadful blow, were suddenly rescued from their despair when the President's secretary, Stephen Early, irritably kicked a Negro policeman who was trying to keep him off the Presidential train at New York's Pennsylvania station.

At the present writing, both parties are screaming their appeals to the unhappy Negroes in a high state of political abandon, the Democrats pointing to their general, the Republicans calling the Democrats habitual kickers of the colored race. Some Democrats, and not a few Republicans, say that the Harlem districts, and therefore New York, may be swung over by Early's contretemps.

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Montgomery Advertiser

new families. If you are slipping make your preacher sweat more and talk louder

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

SOUTH STIRRED BY JOHN L. LEWIS' 3RD PARTY THREAT

C. I. O. Chieftain Blasts Poll Tax Disfranchisemnt Of Negroes In Eight States

MONONGAH, W. Va., April 11—(ANP)—Citizens of the South, of both races and of both high and low estate, last Monday were gravely impressed by the threat of CIO Chief John L. Lewis to organize Negroes, youth, labor, old age and farmers' groups into a third party unless the Democratic party adopts a platform and selects a platform "acceptable to labor and the common people."

Lewis did not specifically mention a third party, but insisted that unless the conditions he laid down were met, he would issue the call for the convention before the November election.

Speaking here before the thousands assembled for the annual miners meeting called to celebrate winning of the 8-hour and the 7-hour days, the CIO chief declared:

"We'll see whether mere machine politics in this country are going to be more powerful than the voice of the people of this land! It is an outrage and a shame that 8 million Negroes in America are prevented from voting in eight Southern States because they do not have enough money to pay their poll tax."

Among the various organizations mentioned by the labor chieftain as potent influences for the public good were: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, American Youth Congress, the Townsend old-age pension group and "liberal agricultural" organizations.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
April 29, 1940

THE DAILY WASHINGTON

Merry-Go-Round

Third Termers Figure Roosevelt Will Run After Sampling Popular Acclaim on Tour

By ROBERT ALLEN and DREW PEARSON

Washington, April 29.

THERE was a significant glint in the eyes of inner circle third termers when the news came over the wires that the President planned a transcontinental trip in June. The boys had the proverbial look of the cat that swallowed the canary.

They consider the tour one of their biggest breaks to dissolve any reluctance Roosevelt may have against running again. Reason for this belief is the conviction that once he gets out into the country, away from the fierce partisanship of Washington, and scents the plaudits of the multitude, there will be a decisive psychological effect.

Lending color to this theory is an episode that occurred in 1938, when administration strategists were laboring strenuously to persuade Herbert Lehman to run for a fourth term as Governor of New York in order to head off up-and-coming Tom Dewey.

Lehman wasn't eager to make the race and withheld his decision right up to the night of the nominating convention. When he entered the hall he was greeted with a tremendous demonstration, and Roosevelt who was following the tense situation over the radio, turned to the little group of intimates around him and said:

"You hear that! Everything is going to be all right now. Herbert will accept. No man who has been in public life can resist the lure of public acclamation. It always gets them."

Jackson or Hull

There is no question that around Christmas time Roosevelt definitely discussed the idea of making Cordell Hull the Democratic nominee for President. More recently however, he has been equally definite regarding the superior merits of Attorney General Bob Jackson.

This will surprise most political observers, especially conservative Democrats and those who saw the recent Roosevelt-Hull popularity chart prepared by the Gallup poll.

Nevertheless, Roosevelt is firmly convinced that Bob Jackson, if nominated, would be a better vote-getter than the secretary of state. And he bases this upon the following factors:

1. Jackson would get the Negro vote, whereas Hull wouldn't.

2. Jackson would have a bigger hold on labor, whereas Hull could not carry John L. Lewis and much of the C. I. O. with him.

3. Jackson probably would be more popular with the farmers in view of the Hull trade treaties.

On the other hand, Jackson would not lose the conservative and Solid South, even though Southern party leaders were unenthusiastic about him.

In view of this Jackson talk, some of Roosevelt's close friends are beginning to think that the President plans to throw all of his now potent delegation support to his attorney general. But most of them are still betting that in the final showdown, F. D. R. will run for a third term.

Note—Biggest IF in the above is whether Jackson could be nominated even with Roosevelt's support. There are many Democrats who doubt this.

The Hamilton-Wilkie Dare

Speaking spiritedly at the conclusion of a meeting of the Republican National Committee some months ago, John Hamilton dared the President to run for a third term. His nomination by the Democratic convention would make the third term and the New Deal questions which the nation is likely to answer in November with death-dealing decision. Hamilton's challenge was uttered in jocular vein, but underlying his words, whether "he planned it that way" or not, is the bitter truth which third termites must reckon with. Roosevelt is the one Democrat who, if nominated, must run on his record of seven years in the White House. Not even Herbert Hoover, as the Republican nominee, would be faced with the task of explaining his failure to provide the abundant life or to reduce unemployment. Hoover struggled for four years against an unsympathetic and recalcitrant legislature. In all but a few instances the Democratic-controlled Congress has done the White House's bidding since March, 1933. The President has spent more money than any peace-time President. He has exercised greater power for a longer period than any other Chief Executive in peace or war. Failure of his program is the failure of a Chief Executive.

Hamilton's challenge was predicated upon that failure and upon the increasing determination of American citizens to be heard on the third-term issue in November.

This week, Wendell Wilkie has echoed the earlier Republican dare. He urges the renomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt to afford the nation an opportunity to perpetuate the American two-term tradition and to render a decisive verdict against the New Deal business creed. That Wilkie endorses the President's foreign policy, makes his disagreement on vital national issues the more significant.

Today the European crisis has brought to light the gravest failure of these seven destructive years. New Dealers and third termites will try in vain to compare the national defense of Hoover days with the present state of affairs of the American army and navy. But again, the record will be recalled to plague them. Taft turned to that record Wednesday night to remind his radio audience that the Hitler regime began shortly after the Roosevelt inauguration. Failure to rearm in the face of increasing danger to democracy abroad can in no way be charged to a Republican administration.

After the 1932 election President-elect Roosevelt was invited by President Hoover to confer with him about the state of the nation. The Roosevelt retort that it wasn't "his baby" was widely quoted. And the problems of those trying days were left entirely in Hoover's "lap." The tide has turned. Hoover could certainly not have nurtured an infant whose birth post-dated his administration. National defense and rearmament are Roosevelt's "babies." If he has treated them like "red-headed stepchildren" while he coddled boondoggling, he cannot complain of his predecessor.

His satellites would convince the country that Roosevelt and Roosevelt alone can preserve American democracy and restore prosperity. They hail him as unsurpassed in his knowledge of foreign affairs. In the light of this latter, it becomes only harder to explain our present state of unpreparedness. If it is a Roosevelt gift to understand and foresee foreign developments, why didn't the New Deal prophet reduce the staggering unemployment figures by the legitimate business of putting money and men to work at the gigantic task of building up the national defense? Men and women could have received honest wages for honest labor. The activity would have made for national unity.

So Wilkie joins Hamilton in their challenge to the President. And the latest developments provide weighty argument against returning the New Deal President to the White House for another term.

Negro Leadership At The Crossroads

The Negro is at the cross-roads in the South. A cleavage has developed in the ranks of white people, as expressed in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare last week in Chattanooga. The reading of such journals as the Southern News Almanac published at Birmingham, Alabama, and another publication issued by Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas convinces one that liberalism is at last taking root below the Mason and Dixon line.

The question is with which group will Negro leadership identify itself. Will Negroes cling to the old conservative wing in the south the sponsors of Jim Crow, segregation, disfranchisement and mob violence or will it turn its strength and support to those who are fighting for a type and character of democracy which is all-inclusive and which recognizes black citizens as part and parcel of the community.

Conservatives characterize liberals as radicals, and there is danger that too much of the "safe" leadership among Negroes will be frightened away from the progressive program developing in the South because of the false labels placed on forward movements by the forces of reaction.

With this in mind Negro leadership should give careful study to the types of organization forming in their section. A liberal is one who welcomes new ideas; is willing to indulge in experiments with the thought of improvement. The conservative always seeks to maintain the status quo, and this is the best lead Negroes can take when seeking the identity of those who would proslyte them. Forget the attack such individuals make on liberals and give examination to what social programs such persons have sponsored in the past.

Just at the present time it appears Republicans are taking the conservative position with reference to state rights. Tremendous opposition is developing down in Dixie against poll tax laws, which disfranchises millions of whites along with the blacks. Without discussing the injustices perpetrated under the guise of poll tax regulations reactionary southerners make the blanket charge that it is an invasion of state rights.

Rev. Fred Maxey, writing a column in the Southern News Almanac, April 20th, aptly expresses the viewpoint of Southern liberals, in discussing the poll tax and the opposition to it when he says:

> They charge the advocates with trying to interfere with "state rights." What do these grafters care about state rights? The only right they are interested in is the right to continue as human parasites to suck their living from the people and do their masters' biddings. Their masters are the few special-privileged class who send them to Washington to serve their special selfish interests.

And then the Rev. Maxey plunges right into the middle of his subject with this exposure of the poll tax and its functioning in Virginia:

> Not the least of these destructive forces is the un-democratic system known as the poll tax, a law that prohibits 65 to 85 per cent of the adult population of the eight Southern states from having any voice in the election of our representatives.
>
> We Virginians are proud of the fact that Virginia is known as the "mother of presidents and the cradle of our democracy." Yet Virginia polled only 25 per cent of its citizens of voting age in 1936, as against a remarkable percentage of more than 92 of adult citizens voting the same year in West Virginia, where no poll tax barrier exists. We Virginians do not believe, neither do our brethren in West Virginia believe, that the citizens of Virginia are less capable of governing ourselves than the people of our sister-states.

For fear some of our readers, who are Republicans will think this article is written in a strictly partisan vein, we want to point out that for years the Republican party stood for centralization of authority and uniformity of laws, and the democratic organization sponsored the states rights issue. The situation is just the reverse today. New Deal legislation has definitely drifted towards centralization and the Republicans (not because they believe in state rights) but solely in the spirit of negation, have become gladiators fighting for local self government.

We would not tell a single Negro to get out of the Republican party, but on the other hand, we urge, when in the councils of the organization they fight for the time honored principles of Lincoln, Grant, McKinley and Roosevelt.

Take the matter of federal relief. One of the major issues projected by Republican candidates into the last presidential campaign, was the return of relief to the states. Some day, if the liberal elements developing in the south get into control, minority groups may get justice through local self government. We have high hopes that such a time is not far distant. But where is the black man who believes that under state control and administration of relief the Negroes residing in the eight poll tax states of the south would have been given justice and fair play during these years of the depression?

Incidentally, it should be kept in mind that it is the liberal white South, and such men and women as compose the Southern Conference for Human Welfare who are going to assist most in keeping the Negro loyal and devoted to American institutions. The Black Dispatch for years has been a lone clarion fighting against the reactionary supporters of the state right theory in government, because we do not believe it offers the high type idealism as eminates from central control, and we know that racial chauvanism and the withdrawal of democracy from the Negro will some day develop the seeds of disloyalty among black citizens.

Never before has America needed so much to cement and unite its internal forces. If world balance changes we cannot maintain ourselves with the many divisions and pressure groups we have in American life. Suppose Germany is victorious and England and France are crushed under the heels of Tutonic hordes. Suppose in world shuffle Canada should fall in the hands of the Germans?

It would be in that hour German propaganda seeking to do in this country what it accomplished recently in Norway, would start formenting discord in America. The natural point of attack would be with and among America's largest minority group. The man furtherest down and the most persecuted is always the most vulnerable. That is why many Negroes have listened to the cooing voice of Communism.

It is the spirit of the Southern white liberal, who talks about the abolition of the poll tax, who denounces the incarceration of the Scottsboro Boys, who demands the enactment of anti-lynching legislation and who insists upon the abolition of all of the racial inequalities now existing in the southland, who is going to save the black masses from sedition and treason.

The Black Dispatch wants to address itself at this moment to our "safe" leaders, who are afraid to grasp the hand of the liberal white Southerner and advocate with him the reforms in government extant in present day discussion, that the danger after all to him and his kind is that he may be heading Negroes to a more dangerous precipice in American life.

In the Bible it is written "He who would save his life shall lose it." Negro leadership cannot in this day and hour afford to join conservative groups. The cause of liberalism landed Paul and Silas behind prison bars, and this same fate may await Negro leaders in the South, when they refuse longer to accept dictation from reactionary forces. In truth Negro leadership is at the crossroads.

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POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Spaulding Backs 'F. D.' For Third Term; Sees Ballot As Salvation Of Negroes

Would Rather See Continuation of New Deal Than Return of Lily-Whites.

By TED POSTON
(Staff Correspondent)

DURHAM, N. C., April 25—C. C. Spaulding, America's leading Negro banker and director of several of the race's soundest financial institutions, this week endorsed a third term for President Roosevelt.

Discussing the political situation in an exclusive Courier interview in the six-story home office building of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company here, the 65-year-old financier and chairman of the Committee on Negro Affairs, declared:

"I know there is a lot of sentiment against a third term. But I would rather see a continuation of the New Deal than a return to the rule of the Lily-Whites. The Lily-Whites have practically driven the Negro out of politics.

"The New Deal has not been perfect. Much of its administration has been too expensive. Too many people have been employed in its various bureaus, and there has probably been some graft in the local set-ups.

'CERTAIN THINGS THAT WE CANNOT OVERLOOK'

"But as Negroes, there are certain things that we cannot overlook. More Negroes have held responsible positions under the New Deal than under any previous administration. Of course, the jobs are still out of line, but progress has been made.

"But more important than the matter of jobs is the question of the ballot. The New Deal is responsible for the widespread interest of Negroes in voting in the South. And the ballot is the solution of our problems. Without it, there can be no liberty, no freedom."

Outlining his position as chairman of the North Carolina Committee on Negro Affairs, which is now seeking the registration of 50,000 qualified Negro voters for the 1940 elections, Mr. Spaulding said:

HOPE TO GET 50,000 NEGRO VOTES IN STATE

"Negroes must protect their position in this country, and their protests must be backed up by the ballot. Too long we have been a begging race. We can't beg our way through life; we must vote our way."

Approximately 40,000 Negroes were registered in North Carolina for last year's elections, he stated, and 33,000 of them exercised their franchise. The committee, which will hold a State-wide meeting in Raleigh on April, hopes to lift this total to 50,000 and bring out the complete eligible vote.

"We are going to raise our own money for the campaign," Mr. Spaulding revealed, "and decline to accept a cent from any outside source. We are going to pick our candidates locally, State-wide and nationally and vote as a body. There will be no vote-peddling. And we are going to send a representative into each county to push our drive and keep us together."

JOKE FOR NEGRO TO BE A REPUBLICAN IN N. C.

The registrants are practically all Democrats, he declared, and their vote will be cast in the Democratic primaries as well as in the regular election.

'It's a huge joke for a Negro to be a Republican in North Carolina now," he added.

At least 4,000 of Durham's 20-odd thousand Negroes are registered now, Mr. Spaulding declared, and the number will be boosted past 5,000 this year. They have used this vote on every occasion, he said, to benefit their race.

An anti-Negro judge, now dead, was removed from office through the weight of the Negro vote, and his successor has responded by insisting on a fair break for Negroes in his court. Negroes forced the appointment of a member of their race as manager of the State-owned liquor store in the colored section and he is assisted by an all-Negro staff.

"And it is one of the few stores in the State," Mr. Spaulding added proudly, "where no discreuancies have apeared in the accounts and no shortage has ever been reported."

SPAULDING ADDRESSES DURHAM'S CITY COUNCIL

The Negro Affairs Committee is now fighting for better street lighting and a curb, gutter and paving program in the Negro section.

A few hours after the interview, the financier carried The Courier reporter to a meeting of the Durham City Council where he addressed the legislators on the problem. The councilmen endorsed his program with a unanimous vote and promised relief to the section.

As a banker, Mr. Spaulding had his highest praise for Mr. Roosevelt.

"If he had done nothing else for the country," the banker said, "his action in closing and regulating the banks back in '33 would have justified his term. Had the banks remained open and the failures continued, the people would have lost confidence in the financial structure of our country. His action was worth millions, not only in dollars, but in confidence and trust."

OUTLOOK BRIGHT FOR NEGRO BUSINESS

The white-haired financier, who is president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, the Mutual Building and Loan Association, the North Carolina Mutual Insurance as well as vice-president and director of a half-dozen other successful business enterprises, believes that the outlook has never been better for Negro business.

"Race prejudice and discrimination have made Negroes more race conscious than ever before," he said, "And we are capitalizing on this prejudice instead of sitting down and grumbling. The North Carolina Mutual did more business and got more new policyholders in the last year than ever before. And the same is truwe of our other companies.

"Success, of course, is not a matter of race, I might add. Training, determination, a workable program honesty and an unshakable conviction are all necessary factors."

FIRM BELIVER IN DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH

Mr. Spaulding believes that youth should be given a chance to develop too. In recent years he has turned more of the responsibility of his multiple affairs over to younger members of his staff.

"One of the big faults of Negro business," he said "has been the insistence of its leaders in carrying its responsibilities around in their vest pockets. And when they die, the whole structure collapses.

"Of course, I have no idea of dying soon. I never felt better in my life. And I think I need another 15 years to complete my work. I have relegated much of my responsibility to my employes. Faith in their ability is necessary to our success."

Within the last few years, Mr. Spaulding has cut his working hours in half. He leaves his office daily around 2:30 p. m. Each evening he relaxes with his associates at the Algonquin Tennis Club.

"I've turned out to be quite a pool shark since last October," he said, "And I'm pretty hard to beat at 8-ball and '61'."

NEGRO VOTERS ARE LOOKING FOR SUBSTANCES NOT SHADOWS

Palmetto Leader

Next November will be a political era in the history of the United States of great importance. The contest for the presidency between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie will be brought to a close. The issue will be finally settled by the voters at the polls. Sept 7, 1940

Both candidates are men of world-wide fame and much promise. Roosevelt has been tried and Willkie is asking the people to give him a chance to show just how he can pilot the political ship. To say the least, the campaign between these two men is interesting.

Willkie nor Roosevelt can be elected without the majority vote of Negro voters in sixteen states of the Union. This is a fact to be reckoned with, and it matters not how many Southern States attempt to organize "Lily-white" Republican parties.

CONVENTION SEASON

Convention season for the political parties which will place their platforms and their candidates before the American people is in full bloom.

The Socialist party has had its convention in Milwaukee. The Communist party deliberated for four days of last week in the city of New York. Within a few days the Republican and Democratic parties with great fanfare and hurrahs will come before the people.

There has never been a moment in the history of our country when black men and women needed to give more sober and serious thought to politics than today. For us, politics is a question inseparably related to our lives. When a man or woman cannot go downtown to a hotel or restaurant or theatre without fear of insult because of the color of the skin, then that color has been made a grave political issue. Let us understand this: black is a political question in America.

Where housing, education, health and jobs are concerned, color has become, in the life of our country, a political question of great magnitude. We cannot evade politics. We should, therefore, watch every move of every party. This is a duty and a responsibility to ourselves and our posterity.

In New York the Communist party has again placed before the nation the name of one of our own, James W. Ford of Alabama for consideration as vice president. Certainly the greatest minority group of our country deserves no less an honor than this.

Black America's contributions to the building of our country cannot be over-estimated. We have built the South, but have we been responsible that it has become the No. 1 economic problem of our country? Had the progressive legislation of the Reconstruction Era been followed the South would today not stand in dishonor. Negroes and poor whites together placed those progressive laws upon the statute books. Only their united efforts can bring progress again south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Since both the Democratic and Republican parties will approach this election fairly oozing patriotic and democratic phases, we suggest that for platform material they refer themselves to the platform adopted at a recent convention in New York. We have specifically in mind that plank which reads: "Guarantee the Negro people complete equality, equal rights, to jobs, equal pay for equal work, the full right to organize, serve in juries and hold public office. Pass the anti-lynching bill. Demand the death penalty for lynchers."

The plank is an American and a thoroughly democratic proposal. And since either the Democratic or Republican party has had and will again have the power necessary to enforce this democratic demand the failure to do so is very illuminating.

The election of 1940 holds issues of life and death for millions of Americans. But for none are these issues of greater significance than for Black America. May it think deeply before it goes to the polls, where it is able to go to the polls.

Vicious poll tax laws will keep millions of Negroes and poor whites from the election in the South booths. It is time this kind of disfranchisement was brought to an end.

The political party which gets the vote of Negro America should be that one truly prepared to fight to give us as a people our constitutional right to elect men of our own choice to power. A democracy has come to a dangerous point in its life when such rights are denied because of color, or race, or creed.

Follow the election activities of every party See which lives the democracy it preaches. We must choose wisely and well.

Father Divine Should Run For President

There are those who have criticized Father Divine and condemned his movement, but despite what has been said and written, he stands today as the greatest and most powerful single force in America. There is only one other man in the world who ranks with the little bald man of peace in Harlem and that is Hitler. The difference between the two is: Father Divine believes in right, in peace, and a form of Government in which all enjoy liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Hitler believes in war, bloodshed—uses his power destructively instead of constructively.

Recently newspapers carried an item in which Father Divine wired President Roosevelt that this Government should "purchase of all of the Allies' holdings in and on the Western Hemisphere, subtracting all of their war debts from the purchase price we have to pay the Allies. This is proposed for immediate first aid defense. A letter of explanation follows: That was June 13th. On June 17th the newspapers of the country carried articles to the effect that the United States Government had moved to unite the 22 nations of the Western Hemisphere.

In addition to this Father Divine has called practically all of the Senators on the carpet anent their attitude towards the Anti-lynch bill.

There is another single individual in the United States who has the following which he has, and who operates as many enterprises Because of his recognized ability to organize, to manage, The Journal suggests that he announce himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States either as a Democrat or a Socialist.

There is not the slightest doubt about him giving the other candidates a bitter fight. "Peace" is going to be the issue, and the whole world knows exactly where he stands on that. Again, he has a remedy for the unemployment situation. Not one of his thousands of followers are on relief.

No matter what you think, he would have our support.

SAYS NEGRO LOSING OUT IN U. S. POLITICS

WASHINGTON, July 10—(ANP)—If, as many say, a new party was born in Philadelphia during the week of June 23 when Wendell Willkie was nominated for president on the Republican ticket, what is the position of the Negro in this alignment,

Fearful that the Negro is not being considered as an integral part of the plans and policies of the new political idea, a noted woman political figure from the Middle West warns that they must arouse themselves to a point where they must be considered.

Old Line Politician Passed

"The day of the old line political leader is passed," she said, discussing the actions of well known persons who attended the convention. "And it is equally true in the Democratic party as well as in our own. Too long the Negro has come with his hand out, seeking he knew not what, and taking whatever he could get.

"Even in these days, when readjustments have to be made and new alliances formed, the Negro plays his same old plodding game of politics, each one cutting his brother's throat. There is a chance in this campaign for Negroes to show their true worth, but they are more than likely to fumble the opportunity.

"The old order is passing, just as true as day follows night, but there is the same lack of political acumen among our so-called leaders, as ever."

Not Considered, Says

Negroes, she says, are not even being considered in the new plans being formulated, and whether they stay in the Republican party or flock to the Democratic standard, they, because of their own selfishness and lack of foresight, will be doomed to the same categories they have held in the past.

Pointing out the shortcomings of the New Deal, in which thousands and thousands of whites have been aided and Negroes given the run-around, she wanted to know just which of the Negroes in the multiple appointments Mr. Roosevelt has made, have any voice in deliberations on policy of their organizations. And what would be the sttus of the Negro in the Democratic convention, and in the party after the nomination?

Sees Vote Split

Admitting that the Negro had the balance of power and could sway in certain states, the vote from one party to another, it is this woman's belief that the vote will be split, unless the Negro decides to cast a majority of his votes with either of the two major parties, and by the split, will nullify any effect the strong black vote will have in pivotal states.

A third party is out of the question, she says, for the Negro will be as inconsequential in this party as he is in others.

However, she is asking if the Democrats will match the number of Negro delegates and alternates who sat in the Republican convention and took part in the deliberations of that body during its week's session in Philadelphia.

The outlook for the Negro vote, she believes, depends largely upon a changed attitude of the Negro politicians and a falling in line with the new policies which are bound to folow a liberal nominaton and platform.

Referrng to the plank of the Republican platform regarding Negroes, and that regarding the army and navy, she believed that Negroes could force this issue by a solid support of the Republicans and repeated demands on the beaurocratic administration of the services the Negroes are denied entry.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Attack on C. P. Ballot Rights Is Part of Drive to Maintain Poll Tax Slavery of Negro People, Ford Charges in Radio Talk

WHEELING, W. Va., Sept. 6.—James W. Ford, Communist candidate for Vice-President, tonight addressed the people of this state over station WWVA. Following is the text of his speech:

Daily Worker New York

Friends:

In our country today the rights of minorities are scandalously violated. There are people occupying high places in federal, state and local governments who are tearing up the Constitution and its embodiments of the Declaration of Independence. 9-7-40

As I speak to the people of West Virginia, who carry the pioneer spirit of the American people and the militancy of the workers of the coal mines, I have in mind as most crude, the criminal violation of political freedom exemplified in the sentencing of Oscar O. Wheeler, Communist candidate for Governor of West Virginia, to a term of ten years in the penitentiary.. Mr. Wheeler was convicted on a charge growing out of his activities of securing petitions in behalf of candidates for public office. He was charged with getting names on petitions under false pretension. This charge was a raw excuse—as the facts show—to keep the Communist Party off the ballot in West Virginia.

The charge under which Mr. Wheeler was indicted and convicted was that he misrepresented to prospective petitioners that their signatures would place a Negro in the White House at Washington, D. C. Since when is it a crime for a political party to place Negroes in nomination for high office and work for their election? That is the aspiration of the Communist Party.

Thus in free and democratic America the lowest methods are resorted to in order to stifle regular, legitimate political procedure, and to prevent the placing of properly selected candidates for public office before the electorate.

It is a matter of public knowledge, proclaimed by 22,000 persons at Madison Square Garden on June 2, and broadcast over a nation-wide radio hook-up to the entire country, that the Communist Party in National Convention placed, by acclamation, the names of Earl Browder and James W. Ford, a Negro, as candidate for president and vice president of the United States.

It seems now that some leaders of the American Legion are working with West Virginia authorities and are trying to intimidate many thousands of Negro citizens and others who signed petitions and were quite aware that the vice-presidential candidate of the Communist Party was a Negro. I am an ex-service man and member of the American Legion and it seems to me that the Legion is doing democracy no good by attacking civil rights.

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This effort to void the ballot rights of the Communist Party, not only endangers democratic and constitutional elections, but also threatens the Negro people and their right to hold public office. That is why in these days of war and increasing reaction it is so important that all citizens, non-Communists as well as Communists, must be deeply concerned with preserving the right to cast a vote.

It is an ill omen for the entire American people that attacks are increasing against racial, political, religious and other minority groups. When any minority is deprived of its democratic rights, whether they are racial or political minorities, it is not only a threat to the largest minority group in the country, the twelve million Negro Americans, but as well to other minorities. Already there are four million Negro[illegible] among the nine million people of the South who are denied the right to vote through the poll tax, the "lily white primary" and other restrictions.

Daily Worker

We believe that the American people as a whole are realizing that any real defense of the nation in these crucial times requires equal protection of the liberties of all, including the Negro people and all minorities whose rights are a true test of democracy. New York

Who is responsible for this outrage against the ballot in West Virginia? It has come to the attention of the Communist Party that the order came from circles in Washington, high in the councils of the Democratic Party. This certainly is in keeping with the policy of both the Republican and Democratic parties, which maintain the voteless status of Negro citizens in the poll tax states of the deep South. Does either of the two old parties enforce the vital articles of the Constitution that were won through so much sacrifice in 1776 and in the Civil War?

Let me read you an abbreviated part of Article 12 of the Constitution: Daily Worker

"But when the right to vote . . . is denied . . . to any of the . . . inhabitants of such a state . . . or in any way . . . abridged . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in . . . proportion."

Both the Democratic and Republican parties, are agreed that this right of Negro citizens shall never be enforced, but on the contrary shall be nullified.

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To find a parallel to this reactionary outrage and abuse of power in West Virgina and throughout the country, one can recall the dark days of slavery and the reactionary work of the early tories.

Over one hundred years ago, in the critical days of 1830-1850, when the movement to put an end to slavery reached a high political note and wide scope, on many occasions, the advocates of human bondage were able to deny to the advocates of freedom, both North and South, the right to express their views.

In 1831, one Robinson, a bookseller, was whipped and driven out of Petersburg, Virginia, for saying that "black men have a right to their freedom."

In 1838, Pennsylvania Hall, at Philadelphia, was burned by an organized mob. That hall had been erected so that "the citizens of Philadelphia should possess a room wherein the principles of liberty and equality in civil rights could be freely discussed and the evils of slavery portrayed."

As early as 1798, when our Constitution was only ten years old, the tories carried through Congress a sedition bill. Soon afterwards its companion statute, the alien law was passed. These unjust laws were aimed at Thomas Jefferson, one of the greatest democrats our country has produced. Daily Worker

I draw briefly upon our historic past for these examples of lawlessness to show how the reactionary forces of those days having seized political power, used it against the underprivileged and minorities, in order that the rule of the rich should not be challenged and curbed. New York 9-7-40

If, in the period of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, a reactionary merchant class should seek to go to the extremes which it did, to entrench itself, is it not easy to see to what lengths the Weirs, Girdlers and the powers on Wall Street, represented in the Republican and Democratic parties, will go today to retain what they have acquired through greed and selfishness? **What is more they aim to plunge this country into an adventurous war of conquest and imperialism against the overwhelming opposition of the people to involvement in war.**

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Citizens of West Virginia, your rights are being crushed. You are being outraged. This vicious attack against the Communist Party and Oscar O. Wheeler puts in jeopardy the rights of all. The Bill of Rights is a guarantee for all or it is valid for none.

When the founders set up this nation, they did it to justify the rights and equality of man.

They named no differences of race; they created no barriers against any particular people.

They denounced all persecution of people by high-handed methods, when these persons protested injustices or when they exercised their rights as free citizens. Daily Worker

They proclaimed that the people should have the full right of political expression, and that when this right was violated, the constitution stood in danger. New York

Thomas Jefferson, who was born in the State of Virginia out of which the State of West Virginia was carved, declared to the American people in 1801:

"Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, political or religious; . . . freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial of juries impartially selected." 9-7-40

Jefferson went on to say that "these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through the age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainments. They should be the creed of our political faith . . . the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and prosperity."

The founders of this country wrote these principles into the Declaration of Independence and secured them by the Bill of Rights. They declared that in the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence lay "democratic tranquility, common defense and the general welfare of the people."

They equally stressed that violation of this great demand and these principles would result in disorder, and death for civil liberties, peace and prosperity.

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Let us make a final appeal to my people, the Negro people of West Virginia — you who have contributed so much to the building of this country, who have worked and struggled side by side with your white brothers in the coal fields: do not allow the corrupt Democratic Party machine get away with its high-handed abuse of power and attacks on your rights. Daily Worker One very obvious reason for this attack is because the Democratic Party whose rule in West Virginia has been marked by scandal and graft and abuse of the working people, fears that their chance of retaining power is slim. They fear that the Communist vote will spoil their chances. The Communist Party has been determined to run its own ticket with no support to Roosevelt and the Democratic Party any more than to Willkie and the Republicans. New York 9-7-40

In the 75 years of so-called freedom, neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party has sought to end the blight of lynching, segregation or jim-crowism.

I appeal to you to study the

election platform of the Communist Party, and its entire program for the future of the country.

Daily Worker 9-2-40

The Communist Party demands jobs for the unemployed. The Communist Party demands that the future of the old age shall be protected with old age insurance; that the youth shall be guaranteed an education and assured lasting employment when that education has been finished. It dedemands that the farmers shall have assurance that the mortgage holders in the big banks and insurance companies shall not rob them of their holdings; that America be kept out of the imperialist world war.

It demands that the Negro people shall have full and complete equality of opportunity in every phase of our economic, political and social life.

One-Party Government

If you cannot cross the water,
If you cannot cross the sea,
You can find the heathen nearer,
You can find him at your door.

We thought of this old hymn the old folk used to sing in our childhood when we picked up the Daily Oklahoman Saturday morning finding an editorial in that publication condemning the growing tendency all over the world towards one-party government.

Says the Oklahoman:

Black Dispatch Oklahoma City Okla 8-31-40

"With the disappearance of the last competing party, the war party in Japan now has a monopoly.

"Stalin has a one-party government. Mussolini has a one-party government. Hitler has a one-party government. France, with Hitler pulling the puppet-strings, has established a one-party government.

"The United States, in 1936, unwittingly established a one-party government except for two states. It is now beginning to realize the mistake. There is still a chance to head off a complete one-party government in this nation. The third strike will tell the story of the game."

But why should we condemn one-party government in Japan, Germany, Italy and France and yet consider it a fine thing for sections of the United States? Is this a case of seeing the mote in the other fellow's eye, without observing the beam in our own?

Right here in Oklahoma we have had one-party government since statehood, and in the southern section of the United States one-party government has dominated and controlled since the day that the Ku Klux Klan shot Negroes away from polling places during the Reconstruction period. Why is one party government wrong behind the moon yet excellent and proper for our own balliwick?

Down in Texas and several other sections of the South, in order to perpetuate a Hitlerized form of one-party government, public sanction is today given to a white primary which completely ousts and bars the largest minority group in the Lone Star state from participation in suffrage rights. Is the Oklahoman prepared to argue that this is wrong and that any plan devised to keep citizens from voting is a step towards dictatorship, the system by which one-party government implements itself?

And right here we might add that the Oklahoman is fighting the New Deal program of the present administration. All of the readers of the Black Dispatch realize that the Roosevelt administration has done more to break up the one-party system in the South than any other drift in American politics. As one observes scores of old reactionaries of the one-party system leaping overboard and throwing their support behind the Republican candidate for president, realization surely must come to those having discourse to reason that Roosevelt is tearing the one-party system into bits.

In joining the crowd which includes Carter Glass, Bill Murray, Ellender, Bilbo and "Cotton Ed" Smith, we wonder whether the Daily Oklahoman can in truth say it is with the proponents of the one-party system or the believers in actual democracy.

In November there is going to be more Democrats voting the Republican ticket and more Republicans voting the Democratic ticket than ever before. In November for the first time in seventy-five years there is going to be a two-party system down in Dixie. Consistency, thou art a jewel! The editor of the Oklahoman should adjust his glasses. Do you remember that passage of Scripture that speaks of folk who entertain angels unaware?

The Great American Game

SEP 26 1940

Despite the war and the consequent feeling on the part of the President and in many other quarters that politics should be adjourned, interest in the national election grows apace. When Mr. Willkie challenged President Roosevelt to a debate on the issues of the campaign he evidently had in mind a discussion of the very issues which he has made the central points of his campaign addresses thus far.

Star of Zion

The "third term," foreign policy, and national defense, with their many ramifications, seem to be the three main points upon which the election will be decided. President Roosevelt very wisely insists that the importance of the social legislation passed during the New Deal regime outweighs any other consideration of national concern, except, of course, that of National Defense. To what extent the benefits of the permanent improvements of social and economic security have been lessened by the continuation of certain phases of relief remains to be seen. Candidate Willkie seems determined to make the most of this apparent weakness, and bolster his position by the charges of inefficiency in the handling of the defense program as well as that of foreign affairs.

As the campaign progresses the heat will be turned on more and more and in the good old American style we may expect to see and hear the "fur fly." The Democrats, because they are in, and with the added advantage of governmental expenditures—notwithstanding the Hatch law, will spend less money than the Republicans. This is true not only because they have more to spend, but because unquestionably the Republican party is the party of great financial interests.

Charlotte

So we have the situation admirably suited to a good old-fashioned national election, with plenty of excitement, such as thrills the heart of all Americans, and in the final analysis will make little difference whoever is elected.

Other Papers Say

New Deal Democrats Have Failed the Negro

It is reported from authentic sources that the trend of the Negro voters is back to the Republican party which they deserted in 1932 and 1936 for the New Deal.

The most significant indication that Negroes are dissatisfied with the New Deal is in the statement by Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., when he said, speaking of the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill:

"A filibuster can be broken by the folks back home. If Southern Senators want to play politics with this bill, all right. We can play politics, too. The New Deal and the Democratic Party will be fighting for their lives in election year. The Negro voters in the eastern and middle western states hold the answer . . . Negroes will answer a filibuster by turning from the party of the filibuster."

The Democratic administration has not only failed to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill but has conducted successful filibuster to keep it from coming to a vote in the Senate. President Roosevelt has never put the bill on his "must" program or spoken openly for the measure. Vice-President John Nance Garner has consistently opposed the measure.

The main reason for Negroes turning against the New Deal is the same as that which lured them to it, that is, hoping to better their economic condition. After seven years of the New Deal the masses still remain "reliefers" or "dolees." It has been pointed out that relief administrators in several states are preventing Negroes from getting equal benefits from relief programs.

It is admitted that the economic and labor conditions of Negroes is worse fundamentally than at any time since Emancipation.

The Government crop control policy has thrown millions out of work on the farms in the South and has forced decent citizens on relief where they can hardly get food enough to hold soul and body together.

No credit rating bureau will recommend a WPA worker for credit regardless of his standing before losing his job.

The Labor laws passed under the New Deal seem to be used as license for the Anti-Negro Labor Unions to get control of work and replace Negroes who have been employed for years.

The 51 per cent rule for collective bargaining provided in the Wagner Labor Law, which has forced closed shop agreements with employers, is responsible for the wholesale replacement of Negroes on worthwhile jobs on railroads in cotton industries, building trades, hotels, etc.

Even the Government jobs that were held by Negroes in Washington and other Government centers are fast slipping to other workers.

The Negro race can no longer be satisfied with the Government furnishing WPA jobs and the hiring of some few Negroes in strategic positions to travel over the country and picture Utopias to the working classes.

What Negro Americans need and really desire is steady jobs with decent pay. If these fail them practically everything else fails. The Negro is resenting acceptance of temporary relief for unemployment.

Editorial in The Negro Labor News, Houston, Tex.

South Not Likely Soon To Get Delegate Reapportionment

1936 Bargain Probably Will Be Forgotten In Bigger Fights At Democratic Convention

BY W. B. RAGSDALE

WASHINGTON —(AP)— The new method of dividing up delegates to Democratic national conventions, which the party's national committee was instructed to submit to the 1940 convention, is not likely to emerge this year.

So far, the committee has made no move toward working out such a plan. Insiders have a feeling that by the time the convention meets in Chicago in July, the delegates will have so many bigger things to fight about that they will forget the 1936 bargain.

For the proposal to work out a new way of dividing delegates among the states was a part of the agreement by which 1936 Southern delegates withdrew their united demand to retain the 104-year-old two-thirds rule. The 1936 convention was the first in which Democratic nominees have been chosen by a majority vote. Hitherto, the party had required a two-thirds vote of the delegates to nominate.

The solidly Democratic Southern states had relied on this rule to give them a veto power over candidates they did not like.

Naturally they were opposed to its abandonment. Senator Clark, of Missouri, finally offered the solution that whittled away Southern opposition. His father, the late Speaker Champ Clark, had been licked by the two-thirds rule in the Baltimore convention of 1912. The speaker got a majority, but never quite got two-thirds. Woodrow Wilson finally captured the nomination.

Senator Clark's plan instructed the committee to submit to the 1940 convention a new method which the delegates would thresh over and adopt for use in the 1944 convention. The instruction specified that after 1940 delegates would be apportioned according to the Democratic strength in each state.

"Strength" was specified instead of the vote in general elections—which is the basis of the Republican plan for giving delegate bonuses to stout Republican areas—because the real fights that turn out votes in the solid South are in the primaries instead of the general elections.

Such a plan would go a long way toward restoring vigor to the Southern voice in Democratic conventions. Those states could depend on getting enlarged delegations, offsetting in large measure the power they lost by surrendering the two-thirds rule. But they aren't likely to get it in 1944.

Of course, if they could muster a majority vote, they could force adoption of the two-thirds rule. Convention rules require only a majority vote for adoption. Once adopted, it would take two-thirds of the delegates to nominate.

* * *

PICKING PRESIDENTS—Aaron Burr and his adventures in political treachery enlivened the prenomination campaign of 1804.

He was Thomas Jefferson's vice president, elected by the Democratic-Republicans. But they did not trust him. The Federalists had tried to elect him president in the long-drawn House runoff of the electoral tie. And they did not have too much faith in him. He hadn't said "yes" to the Federalist plan to substitute him for Jefferson and he hadn't said "no" loudly enough to please the Jeffersonians.

New England senators who toyed with disunion, thought they would get help from Burr, particularly if the New York Federalists helped him to the governorship of New York; after which New York would become a part of a New England confederation and Burr might ascend to supreme command. But Alexander Hamilton, still a potent Federalist, broke up this play.

Burr got neither Federalist help nor the governorship. Nor did he get a single Republican-Democrat vote in the caucus which renominated Jefferson in 1804. George Clinton got the vice presidential nomination. The Federalists turned in half-hearted befuddlement to a ticket of Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York, so confused they put the better man at the bottom of the ticket.

The Hatch Law

OCT 13 1940

POLITICAL leaders of the two major parties are trying to avoid the violations by Federal employees of local government who are drawing a part of their pay from the Federal treasury of the Hatch Law which was passed to prevent pernicious political activities.

Chicago Bee

One of the most interesting sections of the law has gone almost unnoticed. Section 1 of the Hatch Act should be of particular interest to Negroes for it makes it unlawful for any person to interfere with the right of any other person to exercise his right of suffrage as he may choose in the selection of a President, Vice President or a member of Congress by threats, intimidation or coercion. It should be noticed that this section applies to anyone who may interfere with the right of any other person to exercise his right of suffrage. Section 8 of the law provide for punishment for violation of the Act by fines up to $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

Chicago Ill.

The Negroes in the South during the last few years have had campaigns to stimulate political activities. In a good many instances their attempts to vote have been met with unreasonable restraint, intimidation, threats, coercion and even lynchings. The Federal government had no authority to intervene in those local matters, it has been pointed out. With the enactment of the Hatch act the Federal government can now intervene in any national election to see that the Negroes in the South are not prevented by threats or intimidation from voting.

The Hatch Act should be broadened to include any election. Of course, the opponents of such an amendment which would be legion, would raise the cry that it would be unconstitutional. The answer to that is, when states deny to the citizens the right to vote they are not acting in accord with the principles of our republic. Congress, according to the constitution, must guarantee to this nation a republican form of government.

It is hoped that in the coming election next month any violations of the Hatch Act with respect to the privileges of Negroes to vote will be promptly reported to the Federal government asking immediate action to punish those guilty of such conduct.

The Gallup Poll

Tests in Oklahoma and Texas Indicate Democrats Holding the 'Solid South'

By Dr. George Gallup,

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Princeton, N. J., April 4.—While the Democratic party has lost ground in many Northern and Eastern States since the 1936 Presidential election, the surveys of the American Institute of Public Opinion show that two Southern States—Oklahoma and Texas—are now even more solidly Democratic in party sentiment than they were four years ago.

Whether the trends apparent there today are representative of the South as a whole will be indicated in further studies during the next few weeks. Texas and Oklahoma are the first Southern States to be studied in the institute's current State-by-State preview of the 1940 campaign.

GALLUP

At the present time Democratic Party sentiment in Texas is five points greater than it was in the Roosevelt-Landon election four years ago and in Oklahoma one point greater than it was, the institute's tests show.

Cross-sections of the voters in the two States were asked:

"Which party would you like to see win the Presidential election this year?

The trend is shown in the following figures:

	Today	1936 Election
Texas Voters		
Favoring Democrats	93%	88%
Favoring Republicans	7	12
Oklahoma Voters		
Favoring Democrats	68	67
Favoring Republicans	32	33

Approximately one person in nine (11 per cent) said he was undecided on his party choice at this time.

Will South Remain Solid?

Whether these two States will as solidly Democratic next November as they are today obviously will depend on the choice of Presidential candidates which will be made this summer, and on the course of the campaign.

As the institute's preview of the race continues, however, it appears that the Democratic Party will once more be counting heavily upon the Solid South while attempting to rally its strength with voters in the industrial North and the farming West.

Institute tests thus far in eight Northern and Western States—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota and California—show drops in Democratic strength since 1936 ranging from 7 to 16 points. While the Democrats are ahead in the most populous of these States, their lead at the present time is far from secure.

Cool to Third Term

The above figures for Texas and Oklahoma are, of course, measurements of basic party strength and have nothing to do with the demand for a third term.

To see how these Southern voters regard a third term at the present time, the institute asked:

"If President Roosevelt runs for a third term, will you vote for him?"

Even though Texas is the home State of Vice President Garner, himself a candidate for the Demicratic nomination, 72 per cent said they would vote for Mr. Roosevelt if he runs for a third term. Oklahomans, considerably cooler, were only 49 per cent for a third term.

Political Box Score

The Gallup Poll is asking voters in each State: "Which party would you like to see win the Presidential election?" Following are the results for 10 States reported thus far:

Leaning Democratic	Electoral Votes
New York	47
Pennsylvania	36
California	22
Minnesota	11
Texas	23
Oklahoma	11
	150

Leaning Republican	Electoral Votes
New Jersey	16
Massachusetts	17
Iowa	11
Michigan	19
	63

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
May 3, 1940

In Memory of Tillman

To describe the late Senator Tillman, to whom the monument was unveiled in Columbia last Wednesday, as the "first New Dealer" was scarcely an original compliment.

"New Deals" have characterized states and countries from the earliest recorded times. Lenin gave Russia a New Deal, Hitler presented a brand New Deal to the Germans, as did Mussolini to the Italians.

The American Revolution was a New Deal, so was the French Revolution, and the political turnover under the leadership of Andrew Jackson was surely a New Deal.

One has no doubt that the Carpetbaggers, the Scalawags and Negroes thought of the election of R. K. Scott to the governorship of this state as a New Deal—which it certainly was.

When Captain Tillman was launching his New Deal in South Carolina, Tom Watson was launching one of much the same order in Georgia, and in Kansas "Sockless Jerry Simpson of Medicine lodge" and Mary Yellin Lease were New Dealing to set the prairies afire. William Jennings Bryan was the New Dealer from Nebraska, and Theodore Roosevelt was later a most interesting New Dealer. When all is said, "New Deal" is no more than a fine old poker term, and was known to other card games long before poker was invented.

Captain Tillman was an extraordinary person and, remembering him well as we do, the diminutiveness of the South Carolinian politicians of these machine-made days are what most strike us in the moment that his memory is honored by the state. Twenty-eight years we opposed his political courses, we never voted for him in a primary—which we do not regret—but we have lived to wish that he were here again in his prime to "arouse the masses" though again he might crush us and those of our way of thinking. When the monument to Mr. Calhoun was unveiled there was a Lamar to deliver the oration, which remains a classic. There was no Lamar present at the unveiling of the Tillman monument, though Mr. Byrnes did right well, considering.

Captain Tillman did "arouse the masses." He was a great, a flaming public speaker, a great actor, one can never forget him. He aroused the masses in respect of the affairs of the republic—as when he was denouncing the Cleveland policies and crying aloud for silver at sixteen to one.

What of the masses now? They are "tamed, so to speak." (The phrase lives, as does no phrase of our "moderns.") A few days ago the Democrats of South Carolina held their precinct meetings. It was their one chance to be heard in national affairs. How many persons, of 343,000 that voted in the last primaries, were present at the 1,500 little gatherings? Perhaps an average of 30 or 40 attended them, a total of 60,000 at most, and the county and state conventions will represent them. Four hundred thousand white adults in South Carolina will have no more weight or voice in the nomination of a president than if they were Senegambians—unless a leader shall come upon the scene to "arouse the masses."

At the time that the state honors the memory of Tillman as the man who stirred the people to political action, Machine Politics is supreme in South Carolina. In combination with the federal government, with federal money and offices the cement, the mere people are feebler than they have been in the fifty years since Tillman was elected governor.

Would the gentlemen engineering the Machine allow the people to vote in a primary for delegates to the national convention? Not on your life.

It might bring back "Tillmanism."

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

THE CAPITAL PARADE

By JOSEPH ALSOP AND ROBERT KINTNER.

NOV 9 1940

THE ADMEN CREEP IN WASHINGTON, Nov. 8.—In the post-election lull, it is every citizen's duty to pray that four years from now the presidential candidates will not croon, appear in blackface, or do tumbling turns between orations. The trend is that way, and probably nothing except the united prayers of a united people can put a stop to it.

During the campaign just ended, to be sure, there was a great national debate. But there was also a continuous side show, the quality of which was aptly summed up in a remarkable election day head line in the Washington Post—"Welles and Joe Louis Wind Up Hot Maryland Election Drive" Except that there are not two deader pans in the United States, the undersecretary of state and the brown bomber hardly seem to have been well matched, and their appearance as the inheritors of the Lincoln-Douglas tradition seems superficially puzzling.

The Constitution

The explanation is that the advertising agencies have crept into politics. The part played in the Republican campaign by Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne and Young & Rubicam has been much mentioned. It is not so generally known, but it is the fact that the the Democrats also used younger advertising executives with pro-Roosevelt sympathies—one group secretly recruited from Young & Rubicam's own offices. The advertising experts were apparently responsible for the effort to sell the contending candidates as it is customary to sell complexion soaps, cigarets and deodorants, by signed testimonials, snappy advertising patter in the newspapers, and elaborate radio entertainment.

Atlanta, Ga.

MRS. VAN RENSSELAER SMITH Considering the gravity of the issues involved, and the terrifying circumstances in which the election was held, the introduction of the common techniques of advertising salesmanship into the campaign was not pleasant to any thinking man. But, it must be admitted, often extremely funny and extremely entertaining.

The competition for names was as hot as when two nationally-sold competing products, managed by the most high-pressure admen, get into a battle for testimonials. Of course, there were no pictures in the papers of the lovely Mrs. Van Rensselaer Smith, with captions, "Mrs. Smith, descendant of New York's patrons, always votes for Roosevelt. She finds it makes her guests far angrier after dinner." But it went almost as far. The Republicans got up a writers-for-Willkie committee with an imposing roster of the literary great. The Democrats countered with an even more striking list of Roosevelt-minded litterateurs.

As the Republican writers, generally speaking, were elder statesmen of literature, Robert Emmet Sherwood proposed that the Democratic group be called "contemporary writers for Roosevelt." The Democrats were first in the Hollywood field, and were so anxious to do well in it that the President himself personally requested more than one shining star to place his name on the Roosevelt list. The Republicans, although troubled with the same difficulty in finding really up-to-date names, met the Democratic challenge with a complete list of stars and near-stars of their own.

PUTTING CANDIDATES IN THEIR PLACES The Democrats thought they had Joe Louis nailed down, but some quick work behind the scenes brought the brown bomber out on the Republican side. Thus the Democrats were forced to answer, rather hastily, with Marian Anderson. Bill Robinson, tap dancer, and Walter Huston sang for the third term, and George M. Cohan even wrote a new song for the occasion. On the other side, Miss Edna Saint Vincent Millay composed an ode on Willkie, and Walter O'Keefe chanted Walt Disney's little masterpiece, "Heigh-Ho, It's Off to Work We Go," in the same noble cause.

What is commonly called the "woman's angle" was added to the campaign by the magnificent contest between Miss Dorothy Thompson and Miss Clare Boothe. The two ladies went at it hot and heavy, making it almost a major issue that Miss Boothe had her hair done by Charles of the Ritz, and that Miss Thompson had once been permitted to fire a cannon in the Maginot line. Nor were singers, writers, dancers, fighters and champions of womanhood the only novel recruits in the great vote chase. The Republicans put on an unemployed actor in the role of a youth, just turned 21, in need of a job to get married on, and voting for Willkie in hope of the job. And the Democrats offered hot swing, by Maestro Benny Goodman, as their special, final contribution to the electoral controversy.

Most of their above-named features were to be heard on the air on the last night of the campaign in long radio shows so elaborately planned for entertainment that the speeches of the candidates and their more serious supporters sounded as out of place as the commercial plugs in the middle of the popular air vaudevilles. If this kind of thing goes on, four years from now the national committees will be using before and after pictures of doubting voters, who suffered from sour stomachs, falling hair and social unpopularity until they saw or heard or shook hands with the Democratic or Republican nominee.

Preachers and Politics

NOV 16 1940

As usual Negroes offer a pointless argument regarding the death of L. K. Williams, renowned Baptist leader, killed in an air-plane crash, while on his way to deliver a political address. Most of those who discuss the matter seem to follow the thought that the hand of God reached out to rebuke Rev. Williams because of his activity in politics.

The Black Dispatch

The Black Dispatch thinks just as much of such foolish argument or viewpoint as we did of the theory of many ministers over the nation who felt the conflagration in a dance hall at Natchez, Mississippi several months ago was also the act of an angry God.

Our position is that if more ministers would take a healthy and enlightened position in politics the black race would be better off here in America. One has only to observe the path Jesus trod to realize that ministers should be interested in the material welfare of the populace as well as pointing to celestial bliss. It was when Christ was feeding the multitude and curing the halt and the blind that thousands gathered about him. Politics is a science dealing in the welfare of people.

All of us know that during the past ten years prostitution has developed in an alarming way among young Negro women. Lack of opportunity to work has brought about this sort of moral decline. Should ministers be interested in jobs for their members? Can ministers make intelligent headway in that direction without attempting to regulate the government which control their membership?

Oklahoma City

Rev. Williams supported the Republican candidate Willkie which he had a perfect right to do. From his viewpoint and angle Negroes may secure more benefits under Republican rule. Whether he was right or wrong is beside the point. We argue this, that Rev. Williams had the right to lead Negroes and all humanity in whatever direction his vision indicated would promote the greatest good.

The truth is we wish Negroes like Jews were completely controlled by theocratic leadership. We wish there was some method to get rid of so many religious denominations and that when trouble approached black folk our ministers could act like the Rabbi when he calls the Jews into the synagogue. Jews have come down through the centuries like ocean currents, cohesive, united and cemented together because of theocratic leadership.

Of course there can be bad eggs in every basket. Ministers have within their ranks undesirable individuals who could not be trusted, but the general experience Negroes have had in America with black clergy warrants complete confidence and faith in the integrity and clarity of vision of our spiritual leadership. If Negro ministers, who formed our first leadership, had not been worthy and far seeing the black man in America today would be following in the path of the American Indian, who all of us know is rapidly passing from the scene of life.

There was much in Christ's parable of the rich man clothed in purple and gold and the beggar Lazarus which could have been incorporated with good effect into the recent campaign, and the man from Nazareth pounded continually upon issues relating to the rich and the poor. This was the outstanding issue in the present campaign. Who is it that could have presented this subject more effectively to the masses than ministers both black and white?

Men like Bishops R. R. Wright, J. A. Hamlett, Walls and others, who take an active part in politics, and who get out every day in the year to fight for job opportunities for Negro youth and for more liberal interpretations of the constitution are worth a thousand times more than men of the cloth who confine their efforts to talking about the pearly gates and Jordan's stormy banks. The Black Dispatch is strong for the minister who helps to find Caanan right down here on terra firma.

It is to be regretted that a great, strong virile religionist had to come to an untimely end as did Rev. Lacy Kirk Wiilliams, but here's hoping that a thousand fold there will rise up men and women all over this broad land to emulate his example, realizing that Christianity is something to be lived rather than something about which to dream.

Cuthbert, Ga., Leader
November 7, 1940

Recently Willkie thanked profusely Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis, a Negro, for his support. Also recently Mr. Roosevelt made a Negro colonel a brigadier general. Reason for both actions: Black votes count just as much as white votes.

POLITICAL - 1940
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GENERAL

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
November 1, 1940

THE WAY of ALL THINGS

By JOHN H. SENGSTACKE

NOV 16 1940

There is no doubt in the minds of Americans that this is a great country. Tuesday, Nov. 5, more than 50 million people went to the polls to vote for their choice of Chief Executive. There were no "Storm Troopers" around to peep over shoulders to ascertain if we were casting our ballot according to their desire.

This was a very significant election and will go down in history as the most memorable of all. It was democracy in action. In spite of Wall street and the monied interest, who were backing Willkie, shouting that the Republicans were for peace and the re-election of Roosevelt meant war—that we were headed toward dictatorship — the majority of Americans refused to take fear. The people knew what they wanted and went to express their choice. They felt that Roosevelt represented democracy and they registered their feeling in no uncertain terms.

They forgot the Third Term tradition, for it was not an important factor. What the masses were concerned with was the future of this country and the best man for the job. Everyone realizes that our national defense program is in full swing. Our army and navy are being strengthened and our industries are going full blast. All recognize the fact that we are preparing to defend ourselves. By their vote the people approved this action. They believed Mr. Roosevelt when he said that he had only accepted the candidacy because of the dangers that threatened America.

The Presidency of the United States carries with it gigantic responsibilities, a tremendous drain and taxation of physical strength. In prior years, it was felt that two terms were as much as a president could withstand, but President Roosevelt felt that he would be derelict in his duty to the citizens of this country were he not to attempt to carry us through these perilous days ahead.

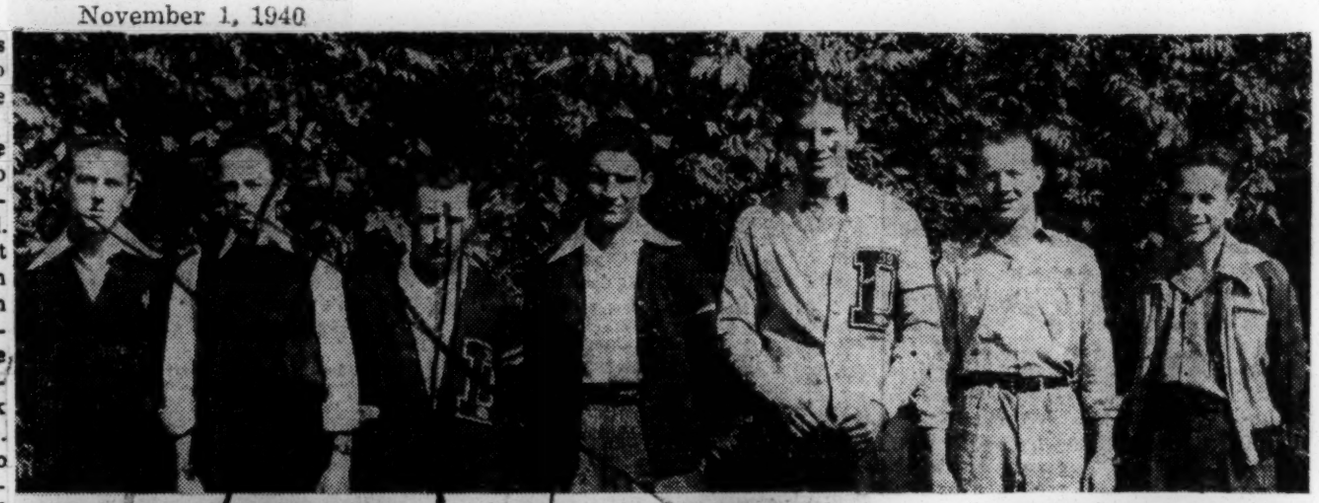
Democracy is at stake. Free speech, free press, the right to worship—equal rights and opportunity for all men, are challenged. Democracy is facing its greatest test and the vote of confidence given our ablest American, Franklin Delano Roosevelt proves conclusively that the people do not desire to change the present administration and that democracy can work even in times of emotional hysteria.

Millions of dollars were spent to sway the people; advertising propaganda was spread from one end of the country to the other. The radio was utilized extensively and newspapers used their columns to propagandize the masses. But the people were not deceived, they could not forget what Roosevelt had done for them in the past eight years.

The Republicans made a great fight and no man campaigned more vigorously than did Mr. Willkie, but the voters could see no fundamental reason for a change at this time, and certainly since Mr. Willkie had endorsed and supported the policy initiated by the President, they felt that Mr. Roosevelt was more capable of continuing his own policy of social advancement than anyone else.

It is not unreasonable to expect that during the next four years, we will make further progress toward cultural, economic and racial objectives, and that the Negro can play a most important role in this advancement, but he must continue his crusade against those forces that would seek to separate him from the pattern of American life. He must condemn segregation and separation, eradicate prejudices and stand firm on his rights as an American citizen and not as a Negro. When we recognize this fact and do not countenance the schemes to the contrary of the few, democracy will be at work for all people, regardless of race, creed or color.

The results of this election have without a doubt, been heard around the world. Dictators will take heed. They will know that we desire to be free in a free world opposing dictatorship and that it will be difficult to sway genuine American opinion. They will know that America is not afraid and that Americans are united for one common purpose—militant democracy.



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EDITORIAL

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In campaigns in which no moral or religious questions are at stake, high church officials demean themselves by stump speaking for any political party. In the back of the public mind is the feeling that they do not regard religion as sufficiently important and dignified a work in itself to demand their full time and energies.

Dr. Williams, for example, was not only pastor of one of the country's largest churches, president of the largest national Baptist body in the country, but he was also president of an insurance company and member of a national political campaign committee.

National Baptist convention leaders in choosing a new president can advance their claims for public dignity and reverence, if in electing a new president, they consider two reforms:

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Chicago

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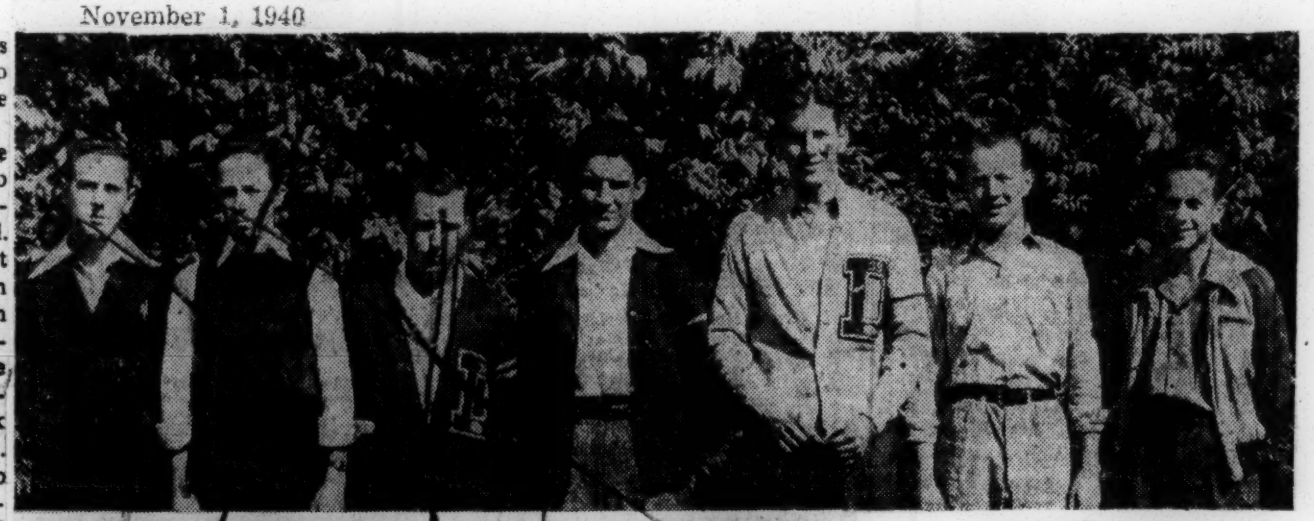

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Republican and Democratic Leaders Ask Negroes To Present United Front

Pittsburgh Courier
Oklahoma City
Okla.

Believes More Political Gains Will Be Made Under President Roosevelt

Throw Aside Partisanship In Effort

NOV 23 1940

CHICAGO.—(ANP)—Outstanding leaders of the race, both Democratic and Republican, hurled aside the masks of partisanship this week to ask that Negroes present a united front in fighting for further integration into national life, according to a survey conducted by the Associated Negro Press. At the same time they said results of the recent election showed the race's strategic political importance, while some pointed to general Aframerican satisfaction with the policies of Roosevelt as expressed by the vote and foresee ever greater benefits.

According to Atty. Julian D. Rainey of Boston, head of the colored Democratic eastern division, "The reelection of Roosevelt will affect the Negro as it will affect a great majority of the people in the Negro's economic group. It means uninterrupted progress for underprivileged people. I am sure we have made enormous political gains and under the President will make further economic and social gains."

Somewhat similar sentiments were expressed by Dr. C. B. Powell of New York, eastern Democratic publicity director, who declared, "In New York and the East, the new Democratic victory strengthens the Negro's hands and presages hope for the future. It points to many lessons the first of which is the need for political organization which really represents the people. Such an organization will supersede the welfare workers who frequently usurp its position and will be in independent position to present to the administration the authoritative views of the Negro voter without reference to any individual's personal future."

Calling for an end to the bitterness of the recent campaign, Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, assistant district attorney of New York City, said, "It is my sincere hope that the Negro, like all other good American citizens, will unite in an effort to achieve that national harmony without which we shall not be a nation strong enough to withstand the enemies boring from within and battering from without. On the other hand all democratic governments need strong minorities to keep those in power aware of their ultimate responsibility to the people of the country. It is to be hoped Republican Negroes will, the next four years, continue to work for and be articulate concerning the defects in the policies of the Democratic party in regard to the Negro. The New Deal must be kept aware of the fact that the Negroes of the country gave it no such sweeping mandate as it did in 1936."

Atty. S. R. Redmond of St. Louis, Republican western director, asserted, "The Negro in America thinks and acts very similarly to his white follow man which explains in part our vote. It is encouraging to note that in most states in the western division the Republican candidates got at least 50 per cent of the Negro vote. The future course should be to keep up the educational fight. In the central west alone we captured states with one third the nation's votes. With Mr. Roosevelt's plurality cut down 7,000,000 the Democrats are on their way out."

A Democratic editor, J. E. Mitchell of the St. Louis Argus, thinks "The election of Roosevelt assures Negroes a more substantial place in the body politic. The President's election for a third term also gives assurance of the continuation of his social legislation which has meant so much the poor, especially to the Negro. However, it is a sign of progress to see Negroes divided politically just as other races and groups are."

In a letter written to the White House, Dean William Pickens, of the N. A. A. C. P., said he was opposed to the third term but congratulated Roosevelt on his reelection with Wallace as running mate and added, "With most of your domestic policies we of the masses agree—and are enthusiastic about your foreign policy, as we understand it." He also mentioned dismay at "the hold which undemocratic southern oligarchs have had on the administration for the last eight years or so. This condition begins its self remedy by your new vice president and we hope will be further remedied when the new department heads are selected."

Atty. Homer Brown of Pittsburgh, Democrat, reelected to the state legislature, proclaimed, "Negroes must not now be misled, for although they have benefitted greatly from the laws enacted by the New Deal, they still have ahead the fight against discrimination in public offices, the right to participate equally in moneys appropriated for public use, segregation of all discriptions, and the right to work, particularly in private employment, especially in the public utility fields."

Pointing out that Negro voters could have changed the results in certain key states where Roosevelt received small majorities, Atty. T. Gillis Nutter of Charleston, W. Va., stated, "From now on the Negro is going to be a factor in the political setup and his vote will be eagerly sought by both of the major political parties as it was in the recent election. He should look well to the interest of his group."

After reminding that Willkie carried his native state and as head of the party he must continue his crusade, Atty. Cornelius Richardson of Richmond, Ind., went on, "The fight for American ideals has just begun. It is well that both branches of congress and the chief executive are of the same political faith. However, regardless as to politics, race, creed or color, we shall all strive for national unity. We must make a fight for our people to have a place in the building of a strong national defense. We shall all have to sacrifice. Taxes are bound to rise higher and higher. The national debt will continue to increase. All groups in America must share in bearing the burden. But the American way must prevail."

In Louisville, according to I. Willis Cole, editor of the Leader, there is no bitterness after elections. Negroes there were impressed with two housing projects and relief. But Tuesday's vote showed the race is part and parcel of the two-party system. However, if the Negro is going to reap full benefits from the two-party system he "should become practical where the race is concerned, must be more wisely and strongly led, and his economic, political and moral foundation more soundly and strongly built."

The Negro group still remains the test of a "strong, determined, confident, united democracy," opined Dr. Emmett J. Scott, of Washington, Republican publicity director, who pointed out the race must still fight against discrimination and for full citizenship rights. "It was for these things Wendell Willkie was willing to pledge himself," he asserted, "and it is for these things all true friends of democracy must contend."

Virginians, sharing in the New Deal's social gains, have been heartened by Roosevelt's reelection, according to P. B. Young sr., editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, who added, "There are no indications in this area that the outcome of the election will have other than a stabilizing effect upon business, industry and agriculture, if the people unite in their support of the President in his efforts to continue recovery and keep the nation at peace."

More Negro Texans voted in this election than ever before with between 60 and 65 per cent for Roosevelt, said Carter Wesley of the Houston Informer, who asserted, "I believe that the Negroes nationally have grown in status politically by their work in the election. I think that the future course of the Negro should be along the same lines that it took in this election, namely to support both parties according to the whims of the respective leaders."

Negroes in that section are jubilant over four more years of the New Deal, according to C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World, and are showing a tremendous interest in the franchise. "It seems to be the consensus of racial opinion that President Roosevelt now has no further political ambitions and will show less restraint in tackling questions that are vital, not only to the 9,000,000 Negroes in the South, but to this section as a whole. They are hoping the President will now see through the anti-lynching bill and will make more secure the political and economic position of the race in the South where his party is in power."

Most cynical was C. A. Franklin of the Kansas City Call, who said Kansas City, Mo., Negroes were so interested in electing white Democrats they did not cast their full vote for the two colored Republicans on the ballot.

"Election results hereabouts are past comprehension anyway," he opined. "To the west of the state line, in Kansas, the voters went strongly Republican for president and then chose a Democrat for governor. In Missouri, to the east of the state line it was the reverse, their vote going to the Democratic nominee for president, yet they favored the Republican for governor. Maybe Negroes have the same right to be illogical as the average voter. Evidently, this section needs a campaign on educating Negroes how to get the most out of their ballot."

POLITICAL * 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

May I Cut In?

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

OCT 26 1940

Roosevelt or Willkie?

Here is an unprecedented campaign in which a candidate for the Presidency puts his chief supporters in such a situation that they accuse him of "trickery."

* * * * *

Democrats who have supported President Roosevelt for two terms and should like to see him elected for a third term find themselves halting between their loyalty to the President and their duty to their own people.

There is, for example, Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher of New York's leading newspaper and publicity director of the Colored National Democratic Campaign Committee. He is a successful physician and business man, aggressive, intelligent and high-minded, an acknowledged leader in the councils of his city and his party.

We asked Dr. Powell what he thought of President Roosevelt's jim crow army and navy program, and by telegram came this straightforward reply:

Afro American

"I am against segregation in principle and strenuously oppose the policy instituting segregation where it has not previously existed. The policy of the War Department of not appointing colored reserve officers to existent Negro combat units of the regular army should be changed immediately."

Thus does President Roosevelt put in an indefensible position even his own colored leader whom he has delegated to go out and get votes for him.

Baltimore, Md.

Again, there are Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP; T. Arnold Hill, secretary of the Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the union which takes in the Pullman car porters. All three are important national figures, and all three are regarded by their friends as supporters of Mr. Roosevelt for a third term.

OCT 26 1940

But what happens?

They went to the White House with a proposal that the President, in calling men to defend our country, eliminate the color line in the army and navy.

A few days later they were horrified by the President's announcement implying that they had approved his policy of jim crow army units, exclusion of colored officers from units of the draft and the regular army, and a navy program which rejects colored applicants except as cooks and waiters.

There followed something which we have not seen before in our lifetime. Mr. White sent a telegram to the press and to 600 branches of his association accusing the President of the United States of "trickery." The White telegram accused Mr. Roosevelt of stabbing democracy in the back and urged the association members to take action before election day to make their protests effective.

Even though this denunciation of the President's "trick" was sent by wire to the press it was not received by the Chicago Defender in time to prevent that newspaper from headlining the President's jim crow defense program.

Like Messrs. White, Powell, Hill and Randolph, the Chicago Defender has been a supporter of President Roosevelt.

Why is it that Mr. Roosevelt, who has more power than any previous President, repudiates these leaders and spokesmen of the colored people and puts them in a difficult position where they cannot support him for re-election?

There is only one answer to that question as we see it.

President Roosevelt wants the colored vote. He knows it may win for him in New York, Illinois, Ohio,

Indiana, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, Maryland and Missouri.

But he thinks he can get it without the aid of the colored leaders. He believes he knows us better than our own spokesmen, and therefore he can afford to offend them.

His advisors have told him there is no need of concessions to bring about national unity. They have said that the administration's program of housing, of relief, WPA and CCC is far more appealing to the rank and file of colored people than abolishing of jim crow in the army and navy, and they would rather have a full stomach than an antilynching bill or a fair chance at Civil Service examinations in which fingerprints are substituted for photographs.

He has been urged to dangle the promise of bread in front of the voters so that they will forsake their leaders who are concerned about freedom, equality, democracy and common sense.

That is the policy of Mr. Roosevelt, and it sends leaders like White, Hill and Randolph and the Chicago Defender down the same trail made smooth by John L. Lewis, Jim Farley, Vice President Garner, General Hugh Johnson and many another one-time thick and thin supporter of the President.

* * * * *

The next question is: Can Mr. Roosevelt get away with it? Of the three men "tricked" at the White House conference, one, Walter White, has hit back; what the other two will do has not been made public. What Dr. Powell and the Defender will do, we have not heard.

The important thing is, what will the voters do? and we can only put down here what we hope they will do in the November election.

* * * * *

Mr. Roosevelt has already reneged on the Democratic platform pledge "against discrimination in government service and benefits and in the national defense forces." Those who wish four more years of such racial discrimination and jim crow may safely vote for him and for it.

They can be certain that if there is no improvement in their condition during the war period, there will be none afterwards.

* * * * *

On the other hand, the Republican platform declares that "discrimination in the Civil Service, the army and navy and all branches of government service shall cease."

Wendell Willkie in his campaign for the Presidency has taken the time to address exclusively colored audiences in New York and Chicago.

Face to face, publicly and freely, he promised them and us:

1. To give bread and shelter to the needy as long as they need it.
2. To give them jobs so that they shall not need to stay on relief.
3. To stand by the platform pledges to make no distinction between them and any other citizen in the army, navy, the defense forces and the Civil Service.
4. To consult the leaders of colored people before any action is taken with regard to their welfare.

Roosevelt offers relief.
Willkie offers relief plus a job.
Roosevelt offers jim crow.
Willkie offers citizenship.
Roosevelt slights, evades and offends the leaders of colored people.
Willkie considers, respects and commands them to function as their people's spokesmen.

* * * * *

Will the colored voters repudiate their leaders as the President has done? Well, November 5 is the day of test. We shall see. We do not believe they will.

Welles and ~~Joe Louis~~ Wind Up Hot Maryland Election Drive

Campaign Ends in Blaze of Oratory With Both Sides Predicting Victory; Close Race Seen for Some House Seats

NOV 5 1940

By the Assoc

Baltimore, Nov. 4. — Maryland's general election campaign wound up tonight in a blaze of oratory and sharply conflicting claims by Democratic and Republican leaders.

Leading off the "climax" speeches were Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State, for the Democrats, and Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis for the Republicans, both speaking in Baltimore.

Throughout the State, congressional candidates and county leaders delivered broadcast pleas and appeared at final rallies.

W. David Tilgman, jr., Republican State chairman, announced flatly: Washington

"From the reports I have received I am completely confident that we will carry every county for Mr. Willkie, and, with him, our senatorial and congressional candidates."

Truman B. Cash, Democratic chairman: Post

"We'll bring Mr. Roosevelt into Baltimore with a Nice majority and carry Baltimore by a big majority." Washington

Congressional Contests

On the ballots tomorrow, voters must decide Presidential, senatorial and six congressional contests and vote for or against six constitutional amendments and two acts of the 1939 Legislature. D.C.

Best available reports from the counties tonight indicated a hot Congressional fight in the First District, and close contests in the Fourth and Sixth Districts.

Political observers regarded as significant Democratic Chairman Cash's statement that President Roosevelt would poll a "nice" majority in the counties and a "big" majority in Baltimore.

Chief objective of Republican leaders has been a big county vote for Willkie—particularly on the Eastern Shore—on the theory that, given a large enough county majority, Willkie could overcome the conceded Roosevelt margin in Baltimore.

Aside from the Roosevelt-Willkie Presidential race, the Democratic and Republican State tickets lined up this way:

For United States Senate—Senator George L. Radcliffe (Democrat); Harry W. Nice (Republican).

Congressional—First, Representative David J. Ward (Democrat), Robert F. Duer (Republican); Second, Representative William P. Cole (Democrat), Theodore Brown (Republican); Third, Representative Thomas D'Alesandro (Democrat), John Janetzke (Republican); Fourth, John A. Meyer (Democrat), Daniel Ellison (Republican); Fifth, Representative Lansdale G. Sasscer (Democrat), John M. Torvestad (Republican).

Sixth: Representative William D. Byron (Democrat); Walter Johnson (Republican).

Amendments Listed

These constitutional amendments appear on the ballot:

Providing for appointment, instead of election, of the clerk of the State Court of Appeals.

Providing for changes in procedure of the Baltimore Peoples Court.

Providing for additional judge in Seventh Circuit.

Increasing the salary of the Legislature from $450 to $750 a year.

Providing for new apportionment of Third Circuit judges.

Providing that a Governor may not succeed himself.

Providing that salaries of State judges may be taxed.

The acts of the Legislature up for approval or rejection by the voters are one establishing a fisheries commission to replace the present conservation commission and another revising the setup of the State industrial accident commission.

Election officials throughout the State predicted the vote would be heavy. The Weather Bureau predicted the weather would be cloudy, warm and dry.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Negro Leaders Protest 3rd Term Nomination Of Pres. Roosevelt

The Plaindealer
8-2-40

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Colored leaders throughout the country are deeply stirred by the Third Term Issue that has been precipitated by the renomination of President Roosevelt, by the Democratic National oCnvention at Chicago. Kansas City, Kansas.

These outstanding leaders of the Colored people of the United States make very plain their well-founded fears that Mr. Roosevelt's reelection in November will mean the continuance of every New Deal POLICY, every New Deal EXCESS, and every New Deal THREAT to the continued existence of Constitutional Government in the United States.

Also they seen in a third term added harshness in connection with the administration of New Deal agencies as they afect the Negro group. They resent the apparent persistence of the effort o fthe Democratic administration make colored citizens permanent "wards of the nation" by placing them on direct and work-relief rolls instead of opening the doors of opportunity for employment at regular jobs in industry.

Extracts at this time from a few of the dozens of letters which have come to Republican National Committee Headquarters, which follow indicate the present state of feeling among colored citizens as the Third Term Issue becomes almost the paramount controversy in the struggle which lies ahead:

Pillars of Democra cyEndangered

JAMES A. COBB, Washington, D. C., former special assistant U. S. District Attorney, and former municipal judge of the District of Columbia: "While it is not a technical violation of the Constitution of the United States for a person to be nominated and elected for a third term, it certainly is in violation of the spirit and the custom that has existed ever since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States . . . To say that the present President of the United States is the only one capable of heading the government in an emergency is to admit that democracy is a failure . . . I do not believe that American people are ready to sacrifice this great unwritten principal of the Constitution of the United States. If so, one of the strongest pillars of American democracy has fallen.

Expansion of New Idealism Threatened

KARL F. PHILLIPS, Baltimore, Maryland, former Director of Conciliation, Department of Labor: "In hi 'sacrificial' acceptance of the Presidential nomination for a third term President Roosevelt has unforgettingly established himself of the superpreidential egoist of all times. Thus if elected, he flatly promises the American people a general expansion of New Dealism in the continued and graver forms of futile social and economic experimentation, increased taxation, heavier public debt, the increased stifling of free enterprise new threats to the Masters of Industry ,scorn for constitutional government, and lat, but by no means least, larger beads of sweat on the brow of every laborer. It is good, indeed, that we have adequate defense defense against Mr. Roosevelt's offense."

A Threat to Constitutional Government

PERRY W. HOWARD, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, and former Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States: "I regard the third term issue precipitated by the President's renomination the greates: threat that constitutional government has had since the effort to pack the Supreme Court. It is even a greater threat to the safety of the American Negro because of its near approach to tampering with the constitution. Next to this,we shall be further chained to the iniquities of the New Deal."

Democracy on the Way Out

CHESTER K. GILLESPIE, member Ohio House of Representatives, Columbus, Ohio: "If the President can be elected for a third term, it clearly means that our democracy is ended Negroes in this country should cooperate fully with the people who have built the United States and who have something the Negro must have, to-wit, employment. The President apparently hates the people in the United States who can help us advance properly."

Speaks as a Citizen, Voter and Tax-Payer

HENRY A. BOYD, Nashville, Tennessee, president, Nashville Globe Publishing Company: "As an American citizen, taxpayer and voter, I believe in the principle of our Grand Republican party. I consider it unprecedented, un-American in principle and out of harmony with our procedures, to submit a thirdtermer to the presidency of our republic. It would be setting a precedent as well as shattering a tradition that would border on to a calamity, as I see it I travel constantly, and I have yet to find any public-spirited business man, profesional or even the sane layman, but who shares this view. I further believe that it is a threat to the continuation of our free American republic."

Virginia's Democracy

Journal & Herald

DISCUSSING the insignificant role played by Virginia's delegation at the National Convention the Petersburg Progress-Index said editorially: 6-3-40

Has Virginia statesmanship gone into eclipse, and if so, why? If her Democracy has lost prestige, what forces have been at work to lower it? Is it traceable to the appalling apathy of the electorate, of which only about 25 per cent cast a ballot in important elections? Out of a total of approximately 1,250,000 persons eligible to register and vote, only 334,316 exercised that privilege in 1936. Since then the number has dropped to about 250,000. Norfolk, Va.

Is it because our leaders in Congress, in State and local governments are elected by and represent only a small minority of the people that Virginia Democracy is no longer powerful in the councils of the party? We flatter ourselves into believing that the intelligence ratio in Virginia is higher today than a hundred years or even twenty-five years ago. Yet the rest of the country refuses to draw on this vast intellectual reservoir.

An "appalling apathy of the electorate" is due in part to the poll tax and in part to the fact that voting in Virginia is discouraged in numerous other ways, not the least of which is the absence of an opposition party. The Republicans are talking about carrying Virginia for Willkie in the November election, although they do not think that they have sufficient strength to warrant them in placing in the field a candidate for the United States Senate, or to oppose eight of the nine representatives in the House. Yet, the Republicans know that they are not speaking without some authority when they talk about delivering the Virginia electoral vote to Mr. Willkie. They expect to do it with normally Democratic votes.

In that the Petersburg editor will find another reason for the apparent "eclipse" of Virginia's Democracy. What does it stand for? Certainly not for any modern concept of representative government. The Democratic leaders in none of the states have approved in toto the New Deal philosophy. But in no state has it been rejected with so much determination and apparent finality as is true of Virginia.

Virginia's Democracy still clings to the 1900 concept of government. The Old Dominion Democracy was happy under the 12 years of Harding-Coolidge-Hoover encumbency of the White House. It has never been so unhappy as it is under the Roosevelt regime. If it does not embrace Mr. Willkie no one can ascribe the failure to do so to a paucity of Democrat prayers in his behalf.

Getting More Alike Every Day

Call
7-26-40

It is a refreshing experience for Negro voters to have the names of some of their own on the primary ballot to be voted in August. Their experience is voting for all white candidates who for the most part are unknown to them. As this election shows, there is a growing tendency for Negroes to aspire to office just like other men do.

Kansas City, Mo.

The Negro plank in both major party platforms is evidence of the importance of the group's vote. It is Negroes themselves who have not realized their power. That some of them run for office means that they begin to think themselves worthy, a great big gain for their own morale and at the same time a bid for respect which is bound to come in time.

Only some of the Negro candidates can win. Here's hoping the losers will be good sports and work heartily for the victors. Here's hoping also that the voters of color will show good sense. They have been voting without protest at the polls. Negroes must not for white candidates, some of whom demand one standard of Negro candidates must have been lacking in merit. Negroes must not know that because the aspirants. All in all it is good for the race and groes did not know from knowing color line keeps the races from each other intimately. It is good for the community for Negroes to with the Negro candidates whom voters know in church, in lodge, in social circles. Inevitably some where in these activities the candidates have done something with which one could disa-

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Read Them---Compare Them

Courier 7-27-40

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Pittsburgh Pa.

Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitaton of low-income farm families. We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in Government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

Our President, has not said one thing, concerning the Negro citizens during his seven years in office.

We now await a statement from him, since he has secured the nomination for a third term.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the Army, Navy and all other branches of the Government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted.

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

There is no reason why Negroes should be denied employment by utilities. I'm against all that kind of bunk. You are citizens like everybody else. If I am elected President, I will seek to remove all kinds of discrimination from all groups. Look at my record. I fought the Ku Klux Klan in Ohio in 1924 when all of the judges were Klansmen. I have stood up for civil liberties of all minorities at times when I was notoriously unpopular.

I want your support. I need it. But irrespective of whether Negroes go down the line for me or not, they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair representation on policy-making bodies. They'll get the same consideration as other citizens.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM
REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Planks On The Negro, 1940

Tribune 7-25-40

Philadelphia, Pa

REPUBLICAN:

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a Square Deal in the economic and political life of this nation.

"Discrimination in the Civil Service, the Army, Navy, and all other branches of the Government must cease.

"To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen.

"Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil must be enacted."

DEMOCRAT:

"Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitation of low-income farm families.

"We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color."

Racial Hatred

Roosevelt and Willkie In Same Boat on This

OCT 20 1940

Proper Handling By Chairman Flynn

* * *

No Time for Bitterness

– By W. T. Anderson

RACIAL hatred seems to be the most natural weakness of human-kind. This is probably due to apparent plan of the Creator to make each race stand on its own feet, to make progress within itself, and thus advance on basis of the law of survival of the fittest—fittest of individuals in each race and fittest of race as a whole.

Macon

A few days ago we commended editorially Edward J. Flynn, chairman of the National Democratic committee, for his repudiation and denunciation of the pamphlet unknown persons had circulated about Wendell Willkie's German ancestry. Mr. Willkie was born in this country, was reared the hardest way, was among the first to volunteer as a private in the American army for the first World war, made a good and outstanding record there, and was a highly-rated citizen in every way—maybe until he announced for president.

BE IT SAID to the credit of Chairman Flynn's effective work, the pamphlet apparently disappeared from circulation instantly, because despite our natures as to racial hatred, we should be proud to overcome it as much as possible, and to consider every man on his merits.

There is a Washington story [where all the information in the world is supposed to center] that Chairman Flynn was particularly astute in suppressing the racial-hatred pamphlet. This is said for the simple reason that in the matter of racial lines Mr. Roosevelt might come into the picture on basis of his ancestry, and this might lead to extreme unpleasantness, in view of the fact that Hitler has made such a drive against the Jews, subjecting them to horrible persecution, and there have been outcroppings of racial hatred against the Jews in the United States.

Ex-Gov. Chase S. Osborn, of Michigan, and a good deal of the time of Poulan, Ga., was quoted as having said he inquired of President Roosevelt as to his nationality, and that Mr. Roosevelt wrote in reply that his earliest ancestor of record was a Spanish Jew, who left that country under one of the inquisitions, and went to Holland as Rosenfeld or a similar name; that the offspring eventually developed the name into Rosenfeldt, and then Roosevelt—which means or did mean a field of roses both in Spanish and Dutch.

Macon Ga.

Having seen something like the above in print, and it having been credited to Governor Osborn and Mr. Roosevelt, I wrote to Governor Osborn and asked him what he had learned conclusively as to Mr. Roosevelts' ancestry. Governor Osborn wrote that President Roosevelt "is a half Jew, and the greatest humanitarian and public official of modern times. His wife is a full Jewess," continued Governor Osborn.

* * *

Of course, it would have been the natural reaction to answer any attack of Willkie's German ancestry with a like attack on Roosevelt's ancestry, and with a country that needs the united effort of all its citizens in times like these, it would have been nothing less than tragic to open up this source of trouble-making here. Chairman Flynn handled the matter sensibly and effectively.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Oscar DePriest Lambasts Dems As 'Foolcratr'

PHILADELPHIA.—(ANP)—Speaking before a group assembled to hear the praises of Wendell Willkie as expounded for the benefit of the colored delegates and their alternates, former Congressman Oscar DePriest electrified the small audience with his tirade against Democrats and Negroes who vote the Democratic ticket.

"When I see women like Mary Bethune voting the Democratic ticket, I wonder what's become of decent Negroes," said Mr. DePriest.

"Business and professional men make their living off Negroes. When that Negro gets only $55 a month, that means that everybody will be on relief and with four more years of Roosevelt, this will happen.

"There is no hope, no future for the Negroes under their system. No Negro can deep down in his heart vote the Democratic ticket and be true to himself."

Here the colorful Chicagoan coined a word by calling such Negroes as support the Democratic ticket, "Foolcrats." Deploring the departure of the Negro from the former respect he had for Abraham Lincoln, Mr. DePriest declared that Negroes would have to be educated to stop abusing Lincoln.

Just as the whites praise George Washington, Negroes, Mr. DePriest said, should have the same respect for Lincoln, no matter who tells them that Lincoln is dead.

"Whatever I was, am or ever expect to be, Negroes made me," said the former congressman. "There is no hope for the Negro in the Democratic party and if Mr. Roosevelt is reelected, he'll do just the same as Woodrow Wilson did. You will find yourself with a war on your hands. You can't trust a Democrat in season or out."

Coloring his speech with references to the time he served in the house of representatives, Mr. DePriest told of differences he had with Hoover who he claims is the ablest American alive today, and concluded with references to Roosevelt, whom he says, wil not keep his word.

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"Loyal be to loyal friends . . .'

* * *

For long loyalties to the Democratic party, loyalties which Republicans hope to undermine next November and which were certainly never so worth rewarding and preserving, the South is asking at Chicago today for an apportionment system which will give it fair representation. A system equal in democracy to the one adopted long ago by the Republicans. A system which will augment the South's power to serve the nation by helping it to serve its own famously primary problems and opportunities.

* * *

On the committee which Mr. Farley has appointed to consider this matter are gentlemen of scholarship and good will. But they are human enough to consider the effect of reapportionment upon their own states as well as upon the party in all states. And three of them come from states which might lose something to the South if reapportionment were brought about. To impress this committee with the South's great interest and determination, to help it take a party rather than partisan point of view, every expression that can be put before the committee by telegram this morning ought to be delivered. The chairman of the committee is Senator Theodore F. Green, of Rhode Island. He has promised this writer that all material sent him from the South will be carefully considered. The committee meets at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, at 10:30 a.m. We suggest that telegrams be waiting for Chairman Green when he arrives. Here is something as important as freight rates, wage differentials, tariffs.

* * *

What Postmaster General Farley had in mind when he telephoned this column from Chicago Tuesday night we don't know. He said he was calling to let us know that he would do everything he could for the South in the reapportionment matter, even though there were "many difficulties in the way." He said, too, that it was something that "ought to have been done long ago." So we know that whether he means to (or can) put reapportionment over or not, he realizes that the South's demand is just. And we know that he, too, is well worth sending telegrams to in care of the Democratic National Convention. The issue won't be closed until the convention itself is, and Mr. Farley, who is affectionately disposed toward the South, is the key man.

* * *

In this age of political controls the destiny of the South is involved in this effort for reapportionment of representation in national conventions. If the convention is persuaded to see the South's needs and deserts in the matter, the weight of this region in the only political party where it has any weight at all will be appreciably increased. If it does not, then this region will continue to be hopelessly outnumbered in the political game which is the game of life itself in times like these.

* * *

If the convention fails to remedy a situation which lets the nearly always Republican state of Pennsylvania outvote in Democratic conventions the practically always Democratic states of North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama combined, then the South is sunk indeed, for abolition of the two-thirds rule has already robbed it of great power in the party. If there does not come out of Chicago an apportionment system giving additional representation to states in the South for their loyalty to the party, the famous problems and opportunities of this area are going to lack as never before the political influence they need as never before.

* * *

Many believe that the hold of the Democratic party upon the South will be challenged in 1940 as it has not been since 1928. Whether this is true or not, the Republicans think so enough to plan a great effort here. They should not be left in a position to say (as they can now) that power in their party is more democratically distributed than in the Democratic party and that the region which suffers most from Democratic deficiencies in this respect is the South. Senator Green's subcommittee on reapportionment will have this point in mind this morning, we are sure.

* * *

Before he left for the convention yesterday Senator Bankhead advised this column by long distance phone that he considered reapportionment so important that if the national committee or its subcommittee failed to vote a new plan he was prepared to bring the matter up independently before the proper committee of the convention itself, and if, need be take it to the convention floor

Says People Distrustful of Both Political Parties

By Beth McHenry

James W. Ford, Communist Party candidate for vice-president of the United States, said yesterday, upon his return from the first round of a nation-wide election campaign tour, that he found the American people "profoundly disturbed about the war and distructful of both major political parties."

Interviewed by the Daily Worker in his office at the national headquarters of the Communist Party, Ford spoke with pleasure about the response of the people in those cities he visited to the clear message of the Communist Party in the election campaign.

"It is my distinct impression that although people are confused by the war hysteria which is continuously being thrust at them by press and radio, there is a tremendous underlying resentment to all the steps now being taken to drag us into the war," the Communist leader said.

"Furthermore, it is evident that they have a ready ear for our Party and its message and that they will not accept war and destruction if the truth about the national war program is made clear to them."

THEY KNOW ROOSEVELT

The famous Negro leader declared that people have no difficulty whatsoever in understanding that Roosevelt has abandoned all social measures in favor of war measures, when it is pointed out to them that relief and WPA have been thrown overboard and labor measures health, education and other social measures are no longer of interests to the man in the White House.

Ford's six weeks tour carried him from Colorado, through Missouri, Kansas, Kentucky, West Virginia and Ohio. He spoke at dozens of meetings and made five local radio addresses.

"One of the best meetings of the whole tour," he related, "was in St. Louis, Missouri, where unemployment has made a pitiful sight of the city. Nearly a thousand people attended our meeting, two thirds of them Negroes. The enthusiastic response accorded our message, together with the questions put to us after my speech indicated just how deeply the people are suffering AND THINKING."

While there is undoubtedly a degree of "lesser evil" theory confusion regarding Roosevelt, Ford said that on the whole he found a general sentiment of suspicion and disillusion regarding both the Republican and Democratic parties and their candidates.

KNOW WILLKIE, TOO

"An illustration of what I mean is contained in a conversation I had with a railroad man on the train," Ford related. "This man saw very clearly just what Willkie was about. He remembered the Coolidge and Hoover administrations and how the railroad workers had fared then. As for Roosevelt, he expressed alarm over the recent attacks of the president upon labor and his abandonment of all social legislation. The way he put it was 'a worker doesn't have much choice between those two'."

A marked growth in the interest of Negro people in the program of the Communist Party was noted by Ford who mentioned the fine publicity his meetings had received, on

the whole, from the Negro press in those cities he visited.

In Louisville, Ky., he revealed, a group of local Negro leaders attended a luncheon for him organized by Urban League leaders in that city. The purpose of the luncheon was to permit those present to put questions to the Communist leader.

"And of course," he emphasized, "the Negro workers as a rule have real faith in and respect for the Communist Party and its candidates. They proved this by turning out for our meetings despite the most dendly campaigns of slander and intimidation conducted by local reactionaries."

This year's campaign meetings, he observed, had brought out a much broader attendance than during the 1936 election campaign. The response to the radio addresses made in the various centers was excellent, he said.

SPLENDID TURNOUTS

"Wherever our comrades put in real preparation for the campaign meetings," the Party's vice-presidential candidate declared, "we had a splendid turnout and an alert, audience which was already acquainted with the campaign issues because of door-to-door, day-to-day canvassing."

Ford spoke angrily of the attempts of local reactionaries "in collusion with circles in Washington" to reduce such states as West Virginia to the status of "poll tax" states.

"The violent attack upon the Communist Party in West Virginia and the frame-up of Oscar Wheeler, the Party's candidate for governor, is no more nor less than an attempt to deprive the people of their democratic right to petition and vote as they think and desire," said Ford.

Ford emphasized that the character of the campaign against the Party was obviously intended to intimidate and slander the Negro people out of all voting and other rights. He pointed out that the Communists in West Virginia were attacked for "trying to put a Negro in the White House."

CORRUPT ALLIANCE

"There is no doubt about the fact that there is close collusion between the local corrupt machine in West Virginia and circles in Washington to arbitrarily throw the Communist Party off the ballot in that state. One very obvious reason for this is, of course, that the Democrats, whose rule in West Virginia has been marked by scandal, graft and abuse of the working people, fear that the Communist Party vote will spoil the Democrats chances of retaining power."

Ford said not only was the response to his campaign for Vice-President enthusiastically received in the places he spoke, but also the campaign of William Patterson for Congress in Illinois' first congressional district was recognized as being of national significance.

Patterson, who traveled with Ford on the tour just completed, is running against Arthur M. Mitchell, the single Negro Congressman.

"People applauded Patterson for asking that Negro and white workers throughout the country take part in this campaign to see that a true representative of the Negro people replace a man who has 'forgotten' to take up the problems of his own people in Washington," For said.

Ben Davis Jr., Daily Worker editor and Communist candidate for Congress in New York's 21st Congressional District, will accompany Ford on the second lap of his nation-wide tour when he leaves here September 6.

Political Leaders Blamed For Present Day Conditions By Amos Black In Address

Black Dispatch 8-10-40 Oklahoma City, Okla.

Raps Dunjee, Thompkins, Rainey, Ransom as Colleagues of Pat Harrison, Ellender and Bilbo

Wants Negroes Dethroned Who Support Democrats

NEW ORLEANS.—((By Leon Lewis for ANP)—Speaking before the New Orleans Press club, Amos Black, executive staff member of the Graphic Press and Louisiana Representative of the Chicago Defender, rapped the two major political parties of the United States for their general "buck-passing" relative to the Negro and bitterly assailed Negro poliical leaders for selling out the race vote for a "political plum."

Black, a former political organizer and newspaper publisher of Los Angeles, California, charged that "the same clique of Negroes have for many years received the political plums from controlling party factions deeming themselves as influencing a large Negro following without forcing the party in power, whom they support, to do something concrete in behalf of the Negro race generally."

He said all one has to do is to travel through the South for several days and see the adverse conditions under which Negroes have to live, the poor educational facilities to which they are subjected, observe the denial of civic rights and justice, the exclusion of Negroes from federal subsistence, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs and to be convinced that those Negroes who claim high standing within political party setups are not scratching the surface of good intentions for his race.

He cited as a special instance for need of such program the New Orleans situation relative to the slum clearance project for Negroes. "With the claimed political prestige of hundreds of Negroes in other sections of the United States there should be no clause for a bitter fight to have Negroes placed in managerial positions on an all Negro project," Black said. "The project was constructed out of federal funds under the direction of Democratic party control. The national party claims that they can do nothing to alleviate this situation but if pressure was brought to bear upon the party by influencial Negroes in the party, something would be done.

"Negroes in New Orleans should not be barred from vote registration and the entire South should not have to face the embarrassment of ballot denial, court and civic justice when these practices are in violation of the federal constitution.

Black Dispatch 8-10-40

Black stated that time was ripe to dethroned Negro politicians that allowed controlling political parties to football the constitution as it may apply to the Negro and that it was time that the Negro masses arise in revolt against any party that refused to actuae bettering of conditions effecting the Negro in the South.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

He charged that taxation without representation and the other un-American practices applied to millions of Negroes in the South would not be if those Negroes close to the "powers" that be and who work for only big jobs themselves would use their influence and prestige for the uplifting of their southern brothers.

Black went down the line to name some of the Negro political powers in the Democratic party, challenging what they had actually contributed to general racial betterment. After naming several prominent Negro Democrats, Black stated, "these same figures have collected the Democratic dough each election year and scrambled to cover when the actual plight of their constituents were flaunted in their faces."

"By comparison," he said, "If Dunjee, Thompkins, Rainey, Ransom, Mitchell and others are pledged to the Democratic party's platform and program they are pledged to the same practices and ideals as Ellender, Bankhead, Jess Jones, Pat Harrison, Bilbo and Tom Connolley. They are all on the same band wagon with the Democratic party." Black concluded by saying, "birds of a feather flock together."

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GENERAL

ISSUES NOW IN FOCUS

Nominating time is here. Within both major parties, dozens of eager aspirants are giving supreme effort to attempt to convince the convention delegates that they are the logical candidates for the highest office in the land.

Despite this, if reason and statesmanship, as against minor political considerations, are in the ascendent, the delegates will have a comparatively easy time of it, for there are two presidential candidates whose records, prestige and philosophies of life and government bring into focus absolutely clean-cut issues for consideration.

On the Democratic side, the logical candidate is President Roosevelt. The New Deal has been a one-man administration. The President is solely responsible for its achievements and failures. The President alone can speak adequately on behalf of New Deal policies which favor the sweeping extension of government control over our national life.

On the Republican side, the logical candidate is Wendell Willkie. Of all Republican candidates, Mr. Willkie alone has gone straight to the heart of the great issues that confront us today—and has done it strongly and simply and clearly. His rise in public esteem has amazed seasoned politicians. He has dramatized superbly the case for individualism as against collectivism—the case of man against the state. He is a successful business man, a proven executive, and has had wide experience in the affairs of government.

The American people are entitled to an opportunity to choose between candidates of the stature of the President and Mr. Willkie, who represent opposed philosophies of government.

The Race's Political Destiny

The part the Negro is playing in the politics of the country at the present time is encouraging and promises the continuation of democracy as it was planned by the founders of the nation. Not many days ago, representatives of the group wielded their influence at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia. At present, some are playing a vital part at Chicago, where the hordes of the National Democratic convention are in assemblage to adopt a party platform and choose candidates for the presidency and the vice presidency.

Daily Courier 7-18-40

It is important that Negroes be on both sides of the fence, that is be in both political parties, for the ruling of our country. Only several years ago they were not welcomed by the Democrats, but that has changed and now they are voting and holding positions of interest and influence in both parties. Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago was frequently applauded while addressing the present Democratic convention. Since political groups rule the country and decide its destiny, it is therefore necessary that some of the race be in position to lay claim to and demand for a part of the political, economic and social benefits.

Being in both parties in some respects keeps down the threat of a one-party government such as the Nazis in Germany and the Fascists in Italy successfully sponsored, with its accompanying evils for minority groups.

Where There Is No Vision

Black Dispatch 8-10-40

We said in our Chicago speech the Negro laid down in the back door of the Republican party and went to sleep, and it appears from actions of the present breed of guides that our leadership in the Grand Old Party is still in coma and does not realize what is going on.

For instance we have read a lot of gossip about Negro leaders going up to Elwood, Indiana to be present when Wendell Wilkie makes his acceptance address. Up in the Ku Klux state of Indiana the little town of Elwood does not have a single Negro resident and there will have to be a special dispensation arranged in this lillywhite berg of Wendell Wilkie before the colored brethren from over the nation can let the sun go down on them.

But that is not so important. The boys can run in and listen to the acceptance address and be back in Indianapolis or some other town by night, the only reason why we refer to the lillywhite community of Mr. Wilkie rests in the fact that when he now professes so much love for colored America we must remember that he has acquired his interracial brotherhood by remote control. Probably he has listened in on "Wings Over Jordan," and he might have heard Marion Anderson sing after the Daughters of the American Revolution had done the same thing to Marion that the white folk in Elwood, Indiana have as a general proposition done to the Negro race.

We wonder whether it would not be a good proposition for the Negro leaders to dig in on Wendell Wilkie's attitude towards labor. As a great utility magnate this gentleman has had opportunity to divise and adopt many policies regarding labor. We wonder whether that record will stand the light of day. We do not know a thing about the labor record of Wendell Wilkie, but we are going to dig into it. We simply suggest this thought to the Negro Republicans, because when the Republican candidate for president makes his bow to America's largest minority group, that group should be certain that there is sincerity and integrity in the bow.

Almost all of the Negro race, gainfully employed, are to be found in two classifications; namely, domestic service and agriculture. In 1930 18% were employed in industries and manufacturing. Surely Mr. Wilkie has had some contact with that 18% or in another way with the larger group connected with agriculture. Is anybody attempting to look up Wilkie's record in this respect, determining how it squares with what candidate Wilkie says?

We just completed wading through all of the hokum delivered from the lips of Judge Cobb, Chester Gellispie, Perry Howard and Henry Allen Boyd, in which all of these brethren are, or seem to be, greatly disturbed about a third term. It is rediculous to observe men supposed to be leaders going off on a tangent which makes no point in the interest of the group they are supposed to represent.

Take for instance the statement of Perry Howard. He talks like a wild man. He wants to know why the President has not given the Negro employment when if Perry Howard has sense enough to pound sand in a rat hole he ought to know that it is big business, such as is represented by Wendell Wilkie that has denied the black man an impartial opportunity to labor.

But President Roosevelt even though he has had to offer a dole, is the only president of the United States who has insisted upon, and enforced a rule that secured for Negroes in the relief settups of the nation the same opportunity and chance as is given to the white laborer. The Black Dispatch does not like the dole system, but President Roosevelt has done the best he could with the economic chaos bequeathed to him by the Republican Party and Herbert Hoover. There is only one substitute for the dole and that substitute is to be found in the business world. If, as Perry Howard says, the Negro is jobless, he must remember that the WPA is not the cause, but the effect of a cause.

We would not argue for a minute that the administration of federal relief has been perfect, but we do insist that it is the only method possible by which this nation was guided away from revolution, and we also know that when the Republicans met in Philadelphia they all but endorsed the New Deal.

Republican leaders say the New Deal is alright, B U T, but they never explain that "but." The Black Dispatch is tired of negation, and we are tired of high taxes, such as characterized these depression years, but we'll stay with President Roosevelt until some of these negationists offer a new and a better program. We're looking for a constructionist—not a destructionist.

The Republican party in its hypocritical efforts to ham-string the New Deal has completely left its time honored moorings. Surely Perry Howard and his followers should see this. Today when Wendell Wilkie shouts about "Constitutionalism" the dumb Negro followers in the G. O. P. do not recognize the old stage rights slogan which has been the evil in American life.

When the Republicans started fighting the re-organization of the Supreme Court, visionless black men rushed off to harp about the same thing. Evidently the Negroes in the Republican party can not think independently of their white leadership. If the Republicans had had their way about the Supreme Court, that august body would today be without Hugo Black in its membership, and if Abraham Lincoln had not actually casterated the Supreme Court during his administration just as President Roosevelt sought futilly to do, the Emancipation Proclamation would never have been declared constitutional.

Of course all of the Negroes in the Republican party who are seeking jobs or some sort of handout will take any position demanded by their lords and masters, but true leadership demands that regardless of party Negroes in the forefront should attempt to solve group problems and fight always for the constitutional rights of black folk.

Both Sides Decry Willkie 'Smear'; His Backers Call It a 'New Low'

New York Times

Campaign Pamphlet Raising Ancestry Issue Repudiated by Head of Negro Democrats

—Poletti Denounces Such Attacks

Republicans and Democrats here deplored yesterday as "vicious smear campaign tactics" the pamphlet issued Friday to campaign speakers by the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee, which called attention to Wendell L. Willkie's German ancestry.

Bitterly characterized by Willkie campaign officials as "the most despicable campaign propaganda which has yet come into the Presidential campaign," the sections of the pamphlet dealing with the Republican Presidential nominee's ancestry were "repudiated" in Boston, according to the Associated Press, by Julian D. Rainey, Boston lawyer and chairman of the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee.

OCT 13 1940

Earlier in the day, Lieutenant Governor Charles Poletti, Democrat, speaking at the Columbus Day celebration in Columbus Circle, without specifically mentioning the pamphlet, held that "unjust attacks upon any one because of his antecedents should not be tolerated in America."

"Only a few days ago a candidate for the highest office within the gift of our people declared that a whispering campaign against him was being conducted because his ancestry was German," Lieutenant Governor Poletti asserted. "Any such attacks deserve the condemnation of every right-thinking citizen of this country."

Newspaper publication of a facsimile of the pamphlet being distributed by the Negro Democrats resulted in a storm of protest against the document from Willkie campaign leaders.

OCT 13 1940

Alan Valentine, executive director of the National Committee of Democrats-for-Willkie, charged that "accredited leaders of Mr. Roosevelt's third-term campaign have descended to a new low in their attempts to smear Wendell Willkie and tie him up to Adolf Hitler."

Mr. Valentine placed the blame for the pamphlet squarely upon Charles Michelson publicity director of the Democratic National Committee, and Edward J. Flynn Democratic National Chairman and contended that the President himself has made no attempt to condemn such tactics.

FRANKLIN D. WILLKIE TRIES TO KID THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

SEP 17 1940

Wendell Willkie, the Republicrat, uttered these words in his Chicago speech last Friday:

"The Negro people of this country are citizens and are entitled to any right that any other citizens of this country are entitled to."

We will waive the question as to where this simple utilities magnate has been all these years. We'll ask him just about today.

What about the anti-lynching bill? What about the notorious sabotage of this measure by the Republicans in the Senate? What about the Geyer anti-poll tax bill, to prevent the disfranchisement of 4 million Negroes and 3 million poor whites in the South?

Willkie's words are one thing—the deeds of the Republicans another. In fact, the Republicans are just as much a part of the conspiracy to kill these two measures as the Democrats and the Big Father in the White House. While Willkie talks, the war hysteria program—which he and Roosevelt support—is increasing lynch terror (7 persons lynched this year) against the Negro people.

SEP 17 1940

"If we judge correctly America's love of honesty and fair play, these latest drippings from poison pens will splash back at their authors," Mr. Valentine continued.

"These charges and slurs against Wendell Willkie, who enlisted the day of America's entry into the World War of 1917 and fought Germany then, who volunteered his services to defend Negro soldiers before court-martials in France who fought the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, make a new low in efforts to conceal the menace of the third-term 'grab.'"

Samuel F. Pryor Jr., vice chairman of the Republican National Committee and Willkie Eastern campaign manager, held that the issuance of the pamphlet indicated that "panic prevails in New Deal headquarters."

"I do not care to comment on as low a smear as came from the New Deal committee, but I'll wager any odds that no American Negro ever devised such a smear," Mr. Pryor said. "I believe the Negro race will resent such tactics. They already trust Mr. Willkie."

Reports Negroes' Protests

New York Times

Francis E. Rivers, director of the National Planning Board, Negro Division, of the Republican National Committee and former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Colored Elks, bitterly assailed the pamphlet and contended that it was released in an attempt to counteract Mr. Willkie's "great reception" in Harlem last Tuesday night. He held that Negroes could not afford to "demean themselves through this type of vicious, unfair propaganda" and must repudiate it immediately.

German Group Objects

Condemnation was also expressed by Erwin H. Klaus, president of the Roland German-American Democratic Society, with offices at 122 East Forty-second Street.

"The Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee certainly was ill advised in attempting to arouse discriminatory feelings against some Americans because of their national origin, since they, and rightfully so, oppose the discrimination colored people are shamefully subjected to," Mr. Klaus said.

"Roosevelt's re-election to us is of paramount importance to guide this country through the troubles of our time and make it instrumental in restoring world democracy. But we want to elect Roosevelt not because Willkie is a bad man but because Roosevelt is the better man."

Mr. Rainey, when questioned in Boston about the pamphlet issued by his division, said:

"I repudiate it, and please quote me on that. We did submit some material to Michelson for his approval, but none of it contained any reference to Willkie's ancestry."

Colored Division of the Republican National Committee, contended that the pamphlet represented the "last straw insulting and humiliating the colored race" and predicted that Negroes, in protest to such tactics, would overwhelmingly support Mr. Willkie on Election Day.

"I have received hundreds of telephone calls and telegrams from Negroes all over the country," Mr. Rivers said. "They insist that the foulness of this latest New Deal smear be taken off them immediately. The colored citizen has been so convinced by Mr. Willkie's forthright statements regarding his rights that these lying charges are powerless to affect the Negro's confidence in Mr. Willkie's sincerity and devotion to equal rights for all American citizens."

OCT 13 1940

A similar statement was issued by Edwin F. Jaeckle, chairman of the Republican State Committee. Mr. Jaeckle denounced the pamphlet as "contemptible, and thoroughly in keeping with the New Deal's entire philosophy of government."

"Ever since Mr. Roosevelt took office, the entire New Deal machine has sought to array race against race, creed against creed, and color against color," Mr. Jaeckle contended.

George E. Wibecan, member of

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PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

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"Both parties," he asserted, "are now kow-towing to our colored friends in the eight states in which they hold the balance of power. Disgusting! I have no quarrel with the negro race...but we ought not to forget white supremacy."

Congressman Hobbs followed Col. Marion Rushton, chairman of the party fund drive, who announced that $6,104 had been raised in Alabama, while the year preceding it was but $4,200.

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Col. Rushton said he had valid documents to authenticate the ownership of the glassware. When Andrew Jackson used to visit the Huntsville, Ala., race track, he frequented the Green Bottom Inn and gave the bottles to the proprietor. They are to be turned over to the Alabama Department of Archives and History, to be removed once a year for exhibition at Jackson Day dinners.

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Congressman Hobbs's speech was an analysis of the reasons for the superiority of the Democratic Party. He documented his thesis by reciting its 40 signal achievements, administrative and legislative, through the decades.

The burly congressman likewise presented some historical data on the Republican Party in similar fashion but drew a dissimilar conclusion as to the value of its works. For example, he pointed out that the major political scandals occurred exclusively during Republican regimes.

However, he did not commend present-day doings of the party without reservation. For example, he said:

"Centralization of government will absolutely ruin the country if we don't stop it..."

He said he was shortly to return to Washington to do his utmost to kill the anti-lynch bill.

BEWARE OF THE GREEKS

The leaders of the Republican Party can not be warned too often to "beware of the Greeks when they come bearing gifts" with particular reference to Democrats, who continually arrogate to themselves the authority to tell the greatest political party that ever had its being in this country how it should manage its affairs and whom to install in places of leadership.

The advice to give such meddlers should be that given by the illustrious William O. Bradley, former governor of Kentucky, who would always tell Democrats that they were welcome to ride in the Republican band wagon but he did not propose to let them do the driving.

On the eve of every national election, those Democrats who have been unable to direct the affairs of their own party, seek to get into the Republican Party and have the nerve among other things to tell Republicans that it would help them to carry Southern states if they would only change the name of the Grand Old Party. Such advice should be considered an insult. If the name of the Republican party were changed it doubtless would sound the death knell of a party which can boast of a record of achievement which almost parallels the glorious achievements of the nation.

What the Republican Party needs to do is to shove into the background all of the so-called Republican leaders who are cheek by jowl allies of reactionary Democrats. This is especially necessary if the Republicans hope to recapture the very potent vote of Negro citizens in the northern and border states.

As long as reactionary Democrats control that party's affairs in the South it is a certainty that no Southern states are going to be carried by the Republicans. And whenever the national leaders of the Grand Old Party are seen seeking an alignment with reactionaries that will be a warning to Negroes that the Republican Party is not concerned about the welfare of its Negro supporters.

From the standpoint of practical politics it means more to the Republican Party to win the support of Negroes in such great states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio and even in such border states as West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee than to curry favor with a few disgruntled Democrats who think it beneath their dignity to be members of the Republican Party and thereby endorse the principles which gave it fame and glory.

Reactionary Democrats who want to "fight the Civil War all over again" should be encouraged to form among themselves a little batallion of death and to go on standing for their "principles" to the end of their days. The Democratic Party which has, in recent years, come into its own as a national party has done so under leaders who have professed to honor the name of Abraham Lincoln with as much fervor as they honor George Washington. They have embraced the idea that great national problems must receive national treatment; they have even shown a preference for a protective tariff over their own party's discredited free trade ideas.

Still more revolutionary, modern Democratic leaders have shown a disposition to welcome Negroes into high ranking positions in their party's affairs and have boasted that they have given Negroes more consideration in the matter of patronage than Republicans have customarily given them.

The more enlightened leaders of the Democratic Party saw the necessity of clipping the wings of the party's reactionaries and they accomplished that task four years ago when the "two-thirds rule," by which reactionaries had exercised a veto over the nomination of progressive candidates, was repealed.

Republicans should realize that the trend in the South is toward the elimination of reactionaries as leaders of the Democratic Party. These leaders have sinned away their days of grace in their own party and the best service the Republicans can render the South is to help emancipate it from such reactionary control and exploitation. This can not be done by compromising Republican principles or changing the party's name. It is still true, as was said by James Russell Lowell:

"They enslave their children's children
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Senator Robert A. Taft's speech before the Chicago Bar Association challenging President Roosevelt on the national budget is a healthy sign. No administration can go on forever with mounting deficits.

The people of this country are about to realize that we cannot spend our way to prosperity. It is now plain that what lies before us is more work and less spending until the country can pull itself out of the hole.

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MAYBE SOMEONE OUGHT TO CALL OUT THE G-MEN TO LEARN WHAT'S HAPPENED TO THE NEGRO VOTE

By RIENZI B. LEMUS
(Special to The New York Age)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Nearly three-quarters of a million voting Negroes have disappeared from the Negro voting belt since 1930, and are presumably dead inasmuch as all States therein reveal a decline—if figures of an article published in the Philadelphia Tribune of January 25, 1940, by Francis A. Rivers, are accurate.

Mr. Rivers, Harlem Republican politician, ex-New York State Assemblyman, and presently one of the Negro assistants on the staff of New York's District Attorney Thomas E Dewey, "racket-buster" and aspirant for the Republican nomination for President of the United States, was undertaking a thesis on behalf of the Republican party naming colored voting persons in the United States, with this year's Presidential election in view, and attempting to call attention to the prowess of the Negro vote in those states that impose no restrictions on colored citizens at the polls.

As Mr. Rivers wrote it, there are now 240,000 Negroes of voting age in his State of New York and, for example 60,000 in Missouri.

"Mr. Rivers must have gotten hold of the 1920 census," said Charles E. Hall, specialist on Negro statistics in the U. S. Census Bureau, who retired in 1938. "In 1930 there were 280,000 in New York and 154,000 in Missouri, according to that year's census, in which instances," he continued, "Rivers is 40,000 out of the way in his own State and about 150 per cent off in Missouri—on the basis of comparisons of 10 years back.

With the Rivers' figures and the 1930 census volume in front of him, Mr. Hall bent over his desk and went on down the lists. The Rivers' column gave Kentucky 55,000 colored persons of voting age in 1940.

"Gee! What a loss the Blue Grass took", Hall exclaimed. "Why Kentucky had 141,000 in 1930."

According to Mr. Rivers' 1940 tabulations, and those of the 1930 census, losses in colored voters in the decade just ending were: Connecticut, 6,000; about same in Delaware; Illinois, 27,000; Indiana, around 14,000; Kansas, 13,000; Maryland, 118,000—163,000 in 1930 as against Rivers' 45,000 in 1940; Massachusetts, 17,000 or 100 per cent; Michigan, 24,000; New Jersey 31,000; Ohio, 59,000; Oklahoma, 59,000—over 120 per cent; Pennsylvania, 67,000; Rhode Island, over 100 per cent, and West Virginia, 32,000.

The 1930 census totals exceed two million colored persons of voting age in the above enumerated States while Mr. Rivers' total of now is less than 1,400,000 for the same; so that, rather than a gain, there has been a large decrease among the Negro voters of the country.

"No wonder the Republicans have difficulty in persuading Negro voters to return," Mr. Hall observed. "Its colored politicians are just like the statisticians, if this Rivers' contribution to the Philadelphia Tribune affords criteria of leadership".

It will be recalled that Mr. Rivers was one of the head colored men on duty in Republican National headquarters in 1932 and 1936, and was finally eliminated as a factor in the practical political equation on his home front in Harlem in last fall's local elections.

The Gallup Poll

The Institute of Public Opinion which conducts the Gallup Poll on subjects of public interest reported Sunday that Negroes are turning from Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. For months the readers of the WASHINGTON TRIBUNE have been informed of this trend in a series of articles by Dr. Emmett J. Scott. In one instance the writer's analysis included reasons for Negroes "souring" on the New Deal policies.

Nine months before the 1940 Presidential election 66 per cent of all Negro voters polled favor the Democratic party, while 82 per cent approve of the Roosevelt administration. The significance of the figures, however, is that despite the present Democratic majority, Negroes are steadily swinging back into the G.O.P. fold. There are those political commentators who find a similar trend among other groups of American voters. But not even these critics discredit the possible effect of the change among Negroes in those states where they may hold the balance of power.

As time goes on and the political contest narrows down to a comparison of two Presidential aspirants, their party platforms and party records, there is every reason to believe that the Republican gain among Negro voters will continue to show a steady but marked increase.

The Negro in particular echoes the words of the late William E. Borah as he discussed the Roosevelt administration informally one recent Saturday afternoon. He said:

"The President hasn't done a thing to remedy the fundamental economic plight of our people.

"The country is no better off today than when he started. Oh, it may be said he is keeping people alive by paying them benefits, but he hasn't done a thing to give our people an opportunity to make their own livelihoods for themselves."

Democrats Still Have Negro Vote

NEW YORK--(ANP)--Negroes are still on the Democratic side of the fence and 82 out of 100 colored voters approve Roosevelt, according to a survey made by the American Institute of Public Opinion and revealed Saturday by Dr. George Gallup, director.

In releasing the figures the institute pointed out it was still a long way from election day and said the survey showed there was a trend back to the Republican party representing 10 per cent over 1936.

To gather this data, institute representatives approached Negro voters in all of the states where their political sympathies are important and asked a carefully selected cross-section: "Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in November?" and "In general, do you approve or disapprove today of Roosevelt as president?"

Said the institute statement:

"The survey shows that the average Negro voter is still anxious to see the Democrats win in 1940 but if the presidential election were held today the Republican candidate might gather a larger share of the Negro vote than did Gov. Landon in 1936.

"As the following figures show the average Negro voter is more likely to be a democrat and a Roosevelt supporter than the ordinary voter throughout the country. Figures for 'all voters' are from the latest institute surveys.

	Favor Dem.	Favor GOP.
Negro voters	66%	34
All voters	54%	46

	Approve FDR	Disapprove
Negro voters	82	18
All voters	63	37

"In the 1936 election, the institute's present survey shows, approximately 76 per cent of the Negro voters interviewed (who voted at all) voted for Roosevelt, while 24 per cent were for Landon. Obviously there has been a substantial movement on the part of Negro voters toward the Republican party in the last three years, as shown by the number who now say they would like to see the Republican candidate elected in November."

Crispus Attucks Political League

A very interesting meeting of the Crispus Attucks Political League of Massachusetts was held Thursday evening, February 8 at 558 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston.

Among the representatives present from different sections of the state was Mr. George Gordon of Springfield, who emphasized most cogently the impelling necessity of cordinated effort among the group throughout the Commonwealth.

Members are responding readily to the one thousand dollar campaign, by cash and by subscription.

The Women's Committee, appointed to assist in raising funds, will hold its first whist and supper under the auspices of Mrs. Hazel Barrows on Thursday evening, March 14, 1940, at the home of Mrs. Nellie Crichlow, 22 Claremont Park, Boston.

During the year 1940, the League will hold monthly meetings on the second Wednesday at 558 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston. The League has accepted the Governor's invitation to be present at the Governor's Reception in the Hall of Flags, State House, Boston, February 22. All members and friends of the League are requested to go in a body to greet the Governor.

One of the highlights of the meeting was an excellent address by Mr. Joseph Maddox, one of the younger voters. He spoke on the "Recent Political Trends." He received hearty applause.

The League is growing and Republicans are urged to participate in all activities to help it grow.

Remember the Governor's Reception February 22, State House.

Crispus Attucks celebration early part of March, 1940.

Next meeting of the League, Wednesday, March 13, 1940.

Whist and supper, March 14, 1940 22 Claremont Park, Boston.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Birmingham, Ala. News
July 14, 1940

Whoever Is Nominated—

The Democratic National Convention opens in Chicago tomorrow. The belief has been growing that President Roosevelt will accept renomination. That, however, is not yet certain. What the president has in mind remains a mystery to the public. If he chooses not to be drafted, he can throw the nomination to anyone he wants.

Whoever is nominated, he will be the candidate of the Democratic party. That has a special meaning for the South. The South has been Democratic for generations with seldom a break in the ranks. This may not be such a good thing for the South. Many persons, including loyal Southern Democrats, have long thought that it would be a good thing for state and local government in the South, as well as for the South's position in national affairs, if we had a genuine two-party system in this section.

The fact is, however, that we do not have a genuine two-party system in the South. And there are good historical reasons for our not having one. Moreover, there are excellent present-day reasons, as distinguished from historical reasons, why the South remains Democratic. And we do not means the Negro question in this connection, either.

We are thinking of altogether valid political and economic reasons for the South's overwhelming preference for the Democratic party. And what we have in mind has no more to do with the fact that our fathers and grandfathers before us were Democrats than it does with the Negro question. All too often the sound and sensible reasons for the South's remaining Democratic are overlooked, while too much is made of racial problems and inherited political affiliations.

* * *

In a very large degree, the South has always been Democratic for reasons similar to those that made the country as a whole Democratic in such year as 1916, 1932 and 1936. That is to say, the South always regards the spirit, the attitude and the policies of the Democratic party as preferable, and the nation sometimes agrees with the South in this.

There are, however, special reasons why the South does not warm up to the Republican party. The policies of the Republican party, with respect to the tariff, to agricultural problems and to economic questions in general, have historically worked to the disadvantage of the South. It is the Republican party that is chiefly responsible for such economic discriminations against the South as burdensome freight rate differentials. It is the Republican party which, from the days of Reconstruction and the "force" bills up to the pending anti-lynching bill, has attempted to thrust unwelcome and unwise things upon the South—and has often succeeded in doing so.

We should not wish anyone to think that in speaking of such things we are waving the "bloody shirt." Nothing could be farther from the truth. On that point we do not have any strong feeling. More than once this newspaper, in fact, has criticized the South for blaming too much of its troubles on the War Between the States and Reconstruction. For our part, we are quite willing to forget about the "late unpleasantness," so far as present-day affairs are concerned.

But we are not forgetting, and cannot forget, that in our own time, as well as in the times of our fathers and grandfathers, the Republican party has been an enemy of the South. Whether it has meant to be an enemy of the South or not makes no difference; the fact is that the Republican party has always been, and still is, in opposition to this section.

The tariff policy of the Republican party alone would be enough to prove that point. The agricultural South has suffered from the high protectionism of the Republican party of the industrial East and North. So has the agricultural West suffered. The Midwest and the Far West have as much economic reason to be opposed to the Republican party as the South has. The West, just like the South, is discriminated against in tariff legislation, in freight rates and in other ways because of policies foisted upon the nation by the Republican party.

* * *

The South and the West should still be against the Republican party today, as they have both been in the last two elections. The farmers of the West should be just as strongly opposed to the Republican party as are the farmers of the South. If the voters of the states in question want to serve their best interests, and the best interests of the nation as a whole, not a single state west of the Mississippi or south of the Ohio River will go Republican this year.

Whoever the Democratic nominee is, the South should remain Democratic. And we do not believe there is any doubt that it will remain Democratic. Mr. Willkie has boasted that he is going to split the solid South this year; and there is undoubtedly a good deal of sentiment in his favor in this section, though it is far in the minority among the electorate as a whole.

Mr. Willkie is an able man and a man of many attractive qualities. As a man who was a lifelong Democrat up until four years ago, he may appeal to more Southerners than a Republican candidate ordinarily would. But even if Mr. Willkie wanted to be as good a friend to the South as it ever had, he could not do so as a Republican president, as long as he had a Republican Congress in power. No Republican Congress is going to let any president take a broad national view of such economic questions as the tariff and agricultural legislation.

* * *

A Republican victory would not be good for the country as a whole this year. The Republican party has not yet proved its willingness to accept and continue the gains made under the Roosevelt administration—as gains have always been made under Democratic administrations.

The Republican party, if it had been in power the last seven years, would not have done many of the things that the New Deal has done for the good of the country. It would not, for example, have acted vigorously to relieve the farm crisis, because the Republican party is unalterably opposed to farm measures of the kind necessary to provide effective farm relief.

The Republican party would not have eased tariff barriers by adopting the reciprocal trade program—and if the war has largely nullified the value of this program now, it will be greatly needed when sanity returns to the world.

The Republican party would not have strengthened our banking system after the crisis of 1933 by the excellent new banking legislation that has been enacted by the Democrats, including federal insurance of bank deposits.

The Republican party would not have sponsored such enlightened and helpful measures for social betterment as low-cost housing, the farm tenant purchase program and various other things which have greatly helped the country.

There are many other things to the credit of the New Deal, and for the good of the American people, that the Republican party would never have done—just as it would never have created the Federal Reserve System, which was established in Woodrow Wilson's first term.

The Republican party does not do such things. On the contrary, it is horrified whenever the Democrats enact a needed reform or a constructive program for the public welfare.

This year, no doubt, as in 1936, the Republicans, unable to claim credit for any of these things, will try to persuade the country that they can administer these programs better than the Democrats. But this year it will be true again, as President Roosevelt said in 1936, that the Republicans are not just against the way the job is being done; they are against doing the job.

Whoever is nominated at Chicago, the South's welfare requires that the Southern states remain Democratic.

Anderson, S. C., Independent Tri
July 17, 1940

A GREAT TO DO ABOUT NOTHING

The Charleston *News and Courier*, the WILLKIE mouthpiece in South Carolina seeks to make something of a story from Anderson to the effect that many folks hereabouts are wearing WILLKIE buttons.

A reporter for our contemporary *Daily Mail*, noting this story, went out this week to seek the WILLKIE button-wearers. For ten hours he searched street, restaurant, office and business house. Not a WILLKIE button could he find.

Not wishing to place the staid old *News and Courier* in the position of having printed a groundless story, the reporter in desperation finally visited the Negro chairman of the Republican party in this section.

Not only did this Negro not display a WILLKIE button from his lapel but inquiry revealed that he had never seen one!

Thus is another false tale blasted. If the pro-WILLKIE stories from other sections of the country have no more base in facts than the story put out about Anderson, the Democratic presidential candidate will also carry Maine and Vermont this time.

Perry Howard Challenges Congressman to Debate

WASHINGTON.

The political campaign got off to a great start in the Capital this week when Perry W. Howard, Willkie-worker, challenged Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell to debate as Elder Solomon Lightfoot Michaux held an all-night prayer meeting for President Roosevelt.

Mr. Howard challenged Mr. Mitchell's convention speech in which the latter declared that nine out of every ten members of the race would vote for the Democratic ticket. In his letter to Mr. Mitchell, he said in part:

Raps Roosevelt

"My visits to more than thirty-two States convince me that instead of your party polling 80 per cent of the colored vote, the converse will be true, and Mr. Willkie will poll 80 per cent of this vote in November.

"You are entirely in error when you say that Mr. Roosevelt has done more for our group than any other President. He has added more than 500,000 white people to the payrolls of our government, but has added less than 200 colored persons to the payrolls, except the CCC Camps."

Michaux Prays

As a cheering note to President Roosevelt, Elder Michaux sent a telegram to the White House which said in part:

"After attending the Democratic National Convention, I was moved to call the seven churches over which I am overseer in special prayer to God for your health and strength. This week, in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Newport News, and Hampton, Va., and Edenborn, Pa., there are being held all-night prayer meetings."

In Washington with Congressional Appeal

GEORGE MORRIS

Pennsylvania And Negro

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12.—Yesterday's article on the rise of Philadelphia negroes to position and power in the New Deal Party requires further amplification. The part the negroes play in the Democratic Party is not due entirely to agencies of the national Administration. There is more to it than relief, education and a sense of security, enjoyed by more than half of Philadelphia's negro population, whether it works or not.

The state administration under Governor Earle, a Democrat, was the first to give the negroes everything they asked in the way of state jobs and laws assuring social equality. Under Democratic leadership in the Legislature, laws were passed making it a misdemeanor to deny negroes the right to attend white theaters, be served at restaurants, accommodated at hotels, or otherwise discriminated against.

Governor Earle recognized the negroes by giving one a post in his cabinet, the first time in history that such recognition was accorded the race. The State House provided numerous jobs for negroes, dispensed by negro leaders. Most of them naturally came from Philadelphia, where the bulk of the state's negro population resides.

FOR YEARS REPUBLICANS talked about racial discrimination in the South and urged that something be done about it, but when it came to recognizing Pennsylvania negroes, that was something else. The Republican Party in Pennsylvania is not to be confused with the type of Republicans who hold the political offices.

Republican officeholders are a sop to the lower classes. The real Republican leaders are the aristocracy of Eastern Pennsylvania, who trace their ancestry back to the beginning of the republic. In other words, the "best people" are Republicans and Democrats rate about the same as Republicans in South Carolina.

There are, of course, such exceptions as Ambassador and Solicitor General Biddle, who bears the same name of the gentleman made famous by Andrew Jackson's fight against the Bank of the United States, but only remotely connected with the main stem of the celebrated family. What is generally regarded as the "real" Biddles probably would describe them as mavericks. Certainly there is no political relationship between the two branches, one Conservative Republican and the other parlor pink.

DESPITE CLAIMS OF negro Republican leaders that the negro vote left the New Deal and wielded the balance of power in electing Governor James, there is no substantial evidence to that effect.

As a matter of fact, if the Republicans carry Pennsylvania this year it will not be with the negro vote. The negro vote is about as safely Democratic as it was in 1932 and 1936. Like other minority groups, negroes are given to making claims far in excess of performance, and demanding rewards in proportion to their claims.

Governor James is not popular with the negroes. Under the preceding Democratic administration, they were led to believe that they were headed toward power and prestige, and there was no stopping them. Some think that had something to do with the election of Governor James, but more to do with the defeat of the Democrats.

NEGRO REPUBLICAN leaders charge that the Governor has added to their difficulty in bringing the negroes back into the fold, which is difficult enough in the face of relief and fat Federal jobs. He dropped the negro Democrat from his cabinet, naturally enough, but replaced him with a white Republican.

The negroes charge that the administration's program of retrenchment fell more heavily upon negroes than others. They say the Governor has practically cleaned the negroes out of the Capitol, and made comparison between Democratic recognition and Republican nonrecognition odious.

Negro Republican leaders complain that even state relief administration redounds to the credit of the Democrats. Recipients of relief, they claim, feel that except for the pressure of the National Democratic Administration, they would be neglected by the state. Relief clients do not investigate the source of their income, as a rule. They are disposed to give the Democrats credit for its origin and feel that except for pressure by the Federal Government state relief would collapse.

8-13-40

A YEAR AGO WHEN state relief funds were running low, the issue was brought sharply to the attention of relief clients. The cities were demanding that Governor James call the Legislature and appropriate relief funds for unemployables. The Governor insisted that the cities issue bonds to take care of their own problem, without adding to the burden of others. That was the time President Roosevelt threatened to move in and establish Federal soup kitchens. The result was that the President got all the credit.

Significant, also, is the announcement made last Friday that the regional office of the Farm Security Administration will be moved from Washington to Philadelphia. "Six hundred employes of the office will also move, many of them with families," the announcement said. Total FSA appropriation for Pennsylvania for the year is $623,097. Farm families, "on or near relief," will purchase farms by means of a 40-year loan

Newberry, S. C. Observer
July 26, 1940

THE POT CALLS THE KETTLE BLACK

The editor of the Orangeburg Times and Democrat, one of the staunchest Roosevelt papers in the state comments on Willkie's conference with a Negro bishop and the head of the Negro Elks "on problems confronting the Negro in this country with particular reference to charges of discriminatory practices against the Negro." The editor of the Orangeburg paper says it is clear that Willkie is making a desperate effort to get the Negro vote.

That is doubtless true. But even as staunch Democrats as we are, we cannot censure Mr. Willkie for doing what the Democrats have already done, and what heretofore was done only by the Republican party. After all there is little cause for the pot to call the kettle black.

* * * *

Now that the national conventions are over and the European war seems to have hit a lull, one has little to talk about unless it be the hot weather!

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PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

OPINION

350 Meaningless Words

Word is being passed around that Republican aspirants for the Presidency hope to win by an appeal to conservative Democrats of the South and the business men of both parties of the North.

If that is true, it is one explanation why Dr. Glenn Frank's 115-page report on the G.O.P. program for 1940 carries only 350 meaningless words on matters most vital to colored voters.

Dr. Ralph Bunche of Howard University wrote a much longer report, but it has been suppressed and only here and there have been found persons who were permitted to peep at it.

So far as the national committee is concerned, it seems that the G.O.P. plan is: lie low, say nothing and do nothing that will offend Dixie.

If our memories are correct, that is exactly what Hoover did in 1932 and Landon repeated in 1936. Everybody knows what happened to them.

New Deal Democrats Have Failed The Negro

It is reported from authentic sources that the trend of the Negro voters is back to the Republican party which they deserted in 1932 and 1936 for the New Deal.

The most significant indication that Negroes are dissatisfied with the New Deal is in the statement made by Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people, when he said, speaking of the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill: "A filibuster can be broken by the folks back home. If Southern Senators want to play politics with this bill, all right. We can play politics, too. The New Deal and the Democratic Party will be fighting for their lives in election year. The Negro voters in the eastern and middle western states hold the answer . . .Negroes will answer a filibuster by turning from the party of the filibuster."

3-22-40 Seattle Wash.

The Democratic administration has not only failed to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill but has conducted successful filibusters to keep it from coming to a vote in the Senate. President Roosevelt has never put the Bill on his "must" program or spoken openly for the measure. Vice-President John Nance Garner has consistently opposed the measure.

No credit rating bureau will recommend a WPA worker for credit regardless of his standing before losing his job.

The Labor laws passed under the New Deal seem to be used as license for the Anti-Negro Labor Unions to get control of work and replace Negroes who have been employed for years.

The 51 per cent rule for collective bargaining provided in the Wagner Labor Law, which has forced closed shop agreemennts with employers, is responsible for the wholesale replacement of Negroes on worthwhile jobs on railroads, in cotton industries, building trades, hotels, etc.

Even the Government jobs that were held by Negroes in Washington and other Government centers are fast slipping to other workers.

The Negro race can no longer be satisfied with the Government furnishing WPA jobs and the hiring of some few Negroes in strategic positions to travel over the country and picture Utopias to the working classes.

What Negro Americans need and really desire is steady jobs with decent pay. If these fail them practically everything else fails. The Negro is resenting acceptance of temporary relief for unemplavment.

WHAT REWARD FOR LOYALTY?

Just for your information:

Alabama will have 22 votes in the Democratic national convention. The Republican party, which, unlike the Democratic, rewards those states which have been loyal to the party, will allow Alabama only 13 delegates.

The Democratic party allows Alaska, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands six votes each, although none of these has any voice in the Electoral College. The Republican party allows them only three votes each.

Minnesota will have 22 votes in the Republican convention. It will have 22 in the Democratic convention even though it has gone Democratic only twice since the turn of the century—just as many as Alabama, which has gone Democratic in every election since the turn of the century.

In no shape, form or fashion does the Democratic party reward those states which have been loyal to it. How much longer will this last? The Eastern leaders, when they abrogated the two-thirds rule in 1936, promised that in the future the representation would be based on party loyalty, as is the Republican representation. When will this future arrive? Is it not already overdue?—Tuscaloosa News.

TOWARD TWO PARTIES

Every true believer in the two-party system for the nation and for all of the states, must concede that considerable progress toward perfecting that system will accrue from the bitter strife that is now going on within the Democratic party, with every indication that the New Deal element of that party will triumph over the "Old Guard."

Whether President Roosevelt runs for re-election or not, it is plain that he will dominate the next Democratic convention and will have the supreme voice in naming the party standard bearers and writing the party platform. This simply means that the "Old Guard" will either consent to go along and pretend to like the way Mr. Roosevelt has wrecked the old Democratic party and discarded its ideology, or they can make a last stand for their "principles" by nominating a "third party ticket."

It is doubtful if President Roosevelt, since he became the leader of the Democratic party, has had a single "social reform" he has fought for with more zeal than he has fought for a reform of the Democratic party, with the intention of making it a militant, national party, which it has not been since the close of the Civil War.

A political realist, President Roosevelt and his immediate followers have known that the terriffic migration of Southern Negroes to Northern states following the World War brought on a condition which made it necessary for Northern Democrats to give concern to getting their share of these new voters. Northern Democrats did this persistently and successfully and thereby became dominant in many Northern cities and states. This dominance was what caused hitherto strong Republican states to show up in the Democratic column from 1930 to 1936.

But the Democratic party began to experience a big loss in its Negro supporters with the election of 1938. That year and since the trend of colored voters in the North has been toward the Republican party. That remarkable gain in new congressmen and Republican governors scored by the Republicans in 1938, and which so terribly upset the pre-election predictions of Mr. James A. Farley came about largely as a result of Negro voters returning to the Republican party.

Any attempt to figure why Negroes deserted the Democratic party in such large numbers in 1938, and are continuing to do so, must begin with a realization of the fact that the "Old Guard" Democrats, always inimical to Negroes held too big a sway in the New Deal

They dominated Congress and saw to i that all of the beneficial legislation, pro posed by the New Deal to benefit th masses, contained sufficient loop holes t permit Old Guard administrators to prac tice racial discrimination in carrying ou the legislation.

This will always be the case with th Democratic party as long as the Olc Guard controls congress and can nam those who are to administer the libera laws that are passed. The remedy fo his situation, plainly, is to unhorse th Old Guard dominance of Congress. Any hope the Democratic party may have o getting its share of Negro voters in th North will rest upon proof that the New Deal is getting rid of its "unreconstruct ed" minority, which although being a minority and kept in power by a minority n the states they represent, are neverthe ess the ruling class of the Senate and the House.

This Old Guard proved terribly embar rassing to the New Dealers by the vicious fight and filibuster they waged to defeat the Anti-Lynching Bill in 1938. The bitter attacks these Old Guard senators made on the Negro race could be answer ed in only one way. That way was to vote against the Democratic Party in every state where Negroes were permitted to vote. That was done very effectively in 1938 and has been done in most elec tions since.

Negroes know that there are as fine a group of white men and women in th Democratic party of the South as in any other section. But they know that th Negro-baiting crowd controls the party and keeps the liberal men and womer from having any voice in its affairs President Roosevelt and his immediate followers know this also. The attemptec purge of these reactionaries, which th President instituted in 1938, though abortive, can nevertheless be believed a settled policy of the Roosevelt leadership.

Under Old Guard leadership the Demo cratic party can continue a sectional party, continually "on the outside look ing in" as far as having a hand in run ning the national government is concern ed. Rooseveltians, however, have the courage to create a new party, if it is necessary, to break the dominance of Democracy's Old Guard in national af fairs.

To Offer Plank at Meetings

Resolutions Drawn Up By Committee

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Both the Republican and the Democratic parties will be asked to insert planks in their party platforms endorsing participation of colored people in the civil and military national defense programs in proportion to their numerical strength in the population of this country.

The committee on participation of Negroes in the national defense program at its meeting last Saturday approved a resolution to be adopted by both major political parties.

It authorized Dr. Rayford W. Logan, its chairman, to go to Philadelphia and present the resolution to the resolution committee of the Republican National Convention this week.

RESOULTION

The resolution is as follows:

"Negroes represent approximately one-tenth of the manpower of this nation. They have fought in every war in which this country has been engaged.

"With the motorization and mechanization of troops in modern warfare, training is even more essential, and there must be no bar to service in time of peace on account of race, creed, or color.

"We, therefore, urge that provision be made for participation by Negroes in all civil and military national defense programs in proportion to their numerical strength in the population of this country and that they be inducted and trained in all branches of the military and naval establishments."

TO NAACP MEETING

Dr. Logan was also directed to appear before the annual conference of the NAACP in Philadelphia this week and present the objectives of the committee in its fight for full participation by colored people in the national defense program.

As defined at the meeting last Saturday those objectives are:

OBJECTIVES

The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the 24th Infantry put on a combat status.

A fair share in the enlargement of the Regular Army.

Colored officers assigned to duty with troops.

A fair share of colored reserve officers called to active duty with troops.

Colored reserve officers called to duty fo rtraining and maneuvers.

A fair share of enrollees in the Citizens' Military Training Corps.

A fair share of flying cadets and aviation mechanics.

A fair share of appoints of the United States Military and Naval Academies.

Senior units of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps established in all colored land-grant colleges.

Appointment of colored doctors, dentists and nurses in the Army Medical Corps.

Federalization of all colored state units of the National Guard.

All ratings in the Navy opened to colored persons.

Enlistment in the Marine Corps.

It was decided to present these objectives to the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Secretary of War, the Chief of Naval Operations and the President.

SEEK SAFEGUARDS

With respect to the civil national defense program safeguards will be sought in federal appropriations which are to be allocated to the states and local communities to cover the costs of a program of vocational training to prepare workers for employment in war industries.

To this end a conference is being sought with Dr. John W. Studebaker, the commissioner of education, and representatives of the committee are likely to appear before congressional committees to the incorporation of a provision requiring an equitable division of such appropriations on the basis colored and white children of vocational school age.

NEW MEMBERS

Both President John W. Davis of West Virginia State College, who chairman of the executive committee of the Conference of Negro Land-Grant College Presidents, and President H. Council Trenholm of State Teachers' College, Montgomery, Ala., who is the executive secretary of the American Teachers' Association, have accepted membership on the committee.

If Mr. Trenholm finds it impossible to attend any conferences arranged with government officials in connection with the vocational training program under the civil national defense program, Carrington Davis, of Baltimore, the president of the American Teachers' Association, will represent that organization.

The South's Voice

If the Democratic South captures a reapportionment regulation in the Democratic party which will compensate this loyal section for loss of the two-thirds majority rule at the national conventions, Alabama Democrats will deserve a good bit of the credit. For, spurred on by John Temple Graves, II, *Age-Herald* columnist, who has been one of the most consistent crusaders for increasing the effectiveness of the South's voice in national party affairs, Alabama Democrats are playing an important role in seeking reapportionment.

No Democratic state would suffer more by continuation of the present apportionment system than Alabama. And no state would benefit more by increasing the South's voice in the Democratic party than Alabama. And every Alabama Democrat, whether he be an ardent New Dealer or a bitter anti-New Dealer, whether he be a warm-weather Democrat or a rainy-day Democrat, whether he be an old-line Democrat or a new convert to Democracy, should attempt to promote a more equitable reapportionment.

The South should receive some compensation for its unswerving loyalty and consistent majorities for the Democratic party. A loyal Democratic state should have a greater voice in the party affairs than a state of the same population that votes Republican or that gives only a small majority to the Democratic cause on rare occasions.

Some progress should be made at the convention in Chicago, opening July 15. Every Alabama delegate to the convention should attempt to make this state's Democratic strength felt in the cause.

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HATCH BILL

FILIBUSTER CONTINUES AGAINST HATCH BILL

Amendments By Foes Beaten Down, But Final Vote Is Still Blocked

By The United Press

WASHINGTON, March 12.—The Senate today repulsed another attempt by filibusters to emasculate the Hatch "Clean Politics" Act after President Roosevelt had been criticized sharply for attempting his ill-fated "purge" of conservative Democrats in the 1938 elections.

3-13-40

The latest hurdle cleared by the legislation was an amendment by Senator Johnson (D., Colo.), which would have made the proposed ban on political activities by local government officials paid wholly or in part by Federal funds effective only in states which had imposed similar restrictions on their own workers.

Move Is Rejected

It was rejected, 47 to 34, after Senator Hatch (D., N. M.), author of the pending legislation, protested that it would kill the entire program. But another obstacle was raised immediately by Senator Bankhead (D., Ala.), in the form of an amendment which would define individual political contributions in excess of $1000 as pernicious activity and subject such contributors to a fine of $5000, five years imprisonment or both.

Senator Bankhead said frankly that his measure was intended to "test the good faith" of Republicans who have been voting solidly against all amendments which would weaken the Hatch legislation.

Threats of more trouble for the New Mexican and his supporters were revealed by Senator Miller (D., Ark.), who said the Anti-Lynch Bill might be offered as a rider to the pending amendments as a last desperate effort of the filibusters to triumph. He pleaded that amendments not germane be withheld.

Bilbo Objects

But a moment later, when Senate Majority Leader Barkley (D. Ky.) sought to include such a restriction in one of four futile efforts to obtain a limitation of debate agreement, Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.), objected and the filibuster continued.

It was impossible tonight to forecast when a final vote would come. Senator Minton (D., Ind.), floor manager of the fight against the amendments, said his group might require another fortnight to debate the issue. The talkfest is delaying consideration of important "must" legislation such as the Farm Appropriation Bill and the bill to extend the Reciprocal Trade Treaty Act for three years, and pressure from this situation may hasten a decision.

Debate was enlivened by the attack on the President led by Senator (Cotton Ed) Smith of South Carolina and Senator Tydings of Maryland, two conservative Democrats who beat the 1938 "purge." Reiterating the contention of Hatch foes that the proposed restrictions would handcuff the small salaried Government worker while leaving higher paid officials free of political prohibitions, Senator Smith shouted:

Assails President

"If we are going to be men and have clean politics, let's have a clean President and a clean Cabinet. Let's clean house where the cleaning should be done. Let's go to the throne and say: 'You can't do this!'"

Looking at Senator George (D., Ga.), who also beat the "purge," Senator Smith referred by indirection to the President's speech in Georgia in which he questioned Senator George's democracy, and said:

"Why don't we condemn this man who rides ruthless and roughshod over a lesser one politically. Get my meaning—I said a lesser one in office. The President used the tremendous power of his office to visit several states and try to influence elections. What's the use of trying to curb the little man and leave out the greatest office we could give a man?"

Senator Hatch agreed with Senator Smith that no Government official, including the President, should be allowed to enter any state and use his political influence for or against any candidate.

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LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

Birmingham Ala. Age-Herald
April 27, 1940

JOIN CIO MOVE, NEGROES URGED

Appeal Is Sounded By John L. Lewis Before Congress Of Race

WASHINGTON, April 26—(AP)—John L. Lewis urged the Negroes of America Friday night to make "common cause" with his forces in political action to improve the economic status of the nation's masses.

His appeal, delivered at the third national Negro Congress, was linked immediately with his previous announced intention to weld labor, "Liberal" farm organizations, youth and old-age groups, the Negroes and others into a powerful 1940 political unit, if the Democratic nominee and platform should prove unsatisfactory.

Taken in conjunction with his sharp break with President Roosevelt, his program was broadly interpreted as a scarcely veiled threat to enter the 1940 campaigns with a third party unless his demands are met.

Since then he has addressed the American Youth Congress and a working agreement, the details of which were not made public, between that organization and Labor's Non-Partisan League, political affiliate of the CIO, was effected. Further, he has an engagement to address the Townsend Plan convention in St. Louis on a date between the two national conventions.

So, his speech of Friday night was naturally construed as a part of his general campaign plan. It took one slap at the administration—charging it had abandoned the 1936 platform pledge on unemployment and relief—emphasized a vigorous keep-out-of-the-war plea, called for adequate housing and health programs and proposed old-age security payments of at least $60 monthly to individuals and $90 to married couples.

Lewis' speech dwelt at length upon the question of full civil rights for Negroes, which he said were "not yet a fact in our nation."

"Let there be no mistake about it, labor will not rest until the right to vote becomes the right of every citizen, unhampered by such devices as the poll tax.

"Last week the chief of our national police force frightened a hall-full of elderly ladies with immoderate and fantastic stories of plots against our country by foreign powers. (The reference obviously was to an address by J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the Daughters of the American Revolution).

"Let him turn his face to cabins where American people are being lashed by white-robed riders. Let him look to cities where American workers who seek their rights to organize are cruelly maimed and killed. Let him seek the dark night trails of lynching parties, who thrust aside the fundamental principles of American justice."

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
April 29, 1940

Negro Group To Join CIO; Hits FDR's Policies

WASHINGTON, Apr. 28.—(AP)—The National Negro congress condemned policies of the Roosevelt administration tonight and accepted an invitation from John L. Lewis to join forces with labor's Non-Partisan league.

The action was taken against the advice of A. Philip Randolph of New York, president of the congress since it was organized in Chicago in 1936, who refused to stand for reelection as a result. Max Yergan of New York, who had been vice president, was elected to succeed him.

Randolph warned against a tieup with any political organization and said the congress had accepted contributions from the Communist party and CIO organizations. He termed this an unhealthy condition because "wherever you get your money, you get your ideas and control."

With only scattered "noes," the congress adopted a resolution criticizing government policies in foreign affairs and social fields and accusing the Roosevelt administration of abandoning a policy of "welfare of the people" in favor of "mobilization of America's resources of war."

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
April 4, 1940

MALLON

Asks Who Is Going to Be Party of the Second, Third and Ensuing Parts of Lewis' Third Party?

By PAUL MALLON

Washington, April 4.

WHAT puzzles the politicos about John Lewis' third party is who is going to be the party of the second, third and ensuing parts.

It is not going to be his vice-president, Mr. Sidney Hillman, or his C. I. O. associate, Emil Rievy, of the Hosiery Workers. They are both for Mr. Roosevelt and a third term. It is not going to be the Illinois C. I. O. organization, or the other C. I. O. state groups which have pledged themselves to Mr. Roosevelt. It is not going to be Mr. Lewis' avowed candidate, Senator Wheeler, who has publicly proclaimed his fill of third party movements.

According to the prospectus Mr. Lewis offered, it might be the National Youth Administration most of whom have not yet reached voting age. It might be the Negro political organizations, but Mr. Lewis said they can't pay the $1.00 poll tax to vote. It could be the Townsendites. The last C. I. O. convention came out for $100 a month pension. But it won't be. One hundred dollars a month is not very much and anyway the Townsendites are stalking bigger game.

This leaves Mr. Lewis' threatened third party not only lacking a candidate but devoid of voters. In fact, it even lacks an adequate explanation as to why Mr. Lewis wanted to threaten it.

In competent political quarters it is understood the cyclone of the C. I. O. is bent on frightening Democrats into nominating someone acceptable to him. But he can't frighten very many people here until he gets a hole card higher than the deuce.

The Lewis third party is, therefore, very likely to become a fitting climax to a highly unsuccessful political career. Father John started in politics in Pennsylvania, you will recall with pain, when his gubernatorial candidate lost in the primaries, and then when he switched to the Democratic nominee in the election, the Democrat also lost. His venture into Detroit with a slate for the City Council ended without a recount when the slate finished at the bottom of the list. Not long ago he ran a lawyer for Governor in Kentucky with equally sensational lack of success. But perhaps his greatest feat was his publication of a black list against 40 entries in the last congressional election, 39 of whom won.

The House Labor Committee apparenty thought so, too. Mr. Lewis and his National Labor Relations Board were frozen out completely in the committee voting on amendments to the Wagner act.

Some committeemen thought they saw the frosty hands of the A. F. of L. and White House joined in the freezeout. It looked to them as if a deal had been made whereby Mr. Roosevelt won his point for a two-man enlargement of the board and the A. F. of L. was paid off for relaxing its demand for a fresh new five-man board, with the amendment requiring craft union (A. F. of L. type) elections on demand.

The appearances of the deal were certainly present, although A. F. of L. spokesmen say it just happened that way. Apparently the White House did not work with exceptional ardor in behalf of the A. F. of L. amendment.

Whatever Ambassador Bullitt did or did not whisper to the Polish ambassador, as contended in Mr. Hitler's publication of the White Book, he has been making some equally interesting current observations behind his hand to congressmen.

They quote him as taking a very pessimistic view of the war. . . . While the new French Premier, Reynaud, is committed to energetic belligerency, there is no opening through which he can strike successfully at Germany, and when the French people discover this their discouragement is apt to make itself felt. . . . There will be no direct assault on the Siegfried Line and there is not much else Reynaud can do. . . . British public opinion already is becoming increasingly discouraged. An inconceivable increase in air armament would be necessary for an attack on Germany. . . . Germany is in the same stalemated situation, which, therefore, seems likely to lead to steady and perhaps disastrous attrition on both sides.

John L. Lewis, CIO Leader, To Extend NAACP Third Party Bid During 31st Convention

Unionist To Urge Cooperation In Phila. Speech; Politics To Hold Conference Spotlight

NEW YORK—A speech by John L. Lewis, chairman of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, will be a feature of the opening mass meeting of the 31st annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Philadelphia, Pa., Tuesday night, June 18.

On the same program with the CIO chief will be Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP, who will deliver the keynote address of the conference outlining the policy of the association. President Spingarn, who for twenty-seven years was chairman of the national legal committee of the association, will be making his first appearance at a conference as president.

The head of the CIO is expected to invite the NAACP to cooperate with his group in a third party movement.

In the event the anti-lynching bill is side-racked in the Senate, the issue is expected to be carried to the voters of the country with the NAACP sounding the battle cry.

Conference sessions will be held in Tindley Temple, Broad street near Fitzwater.

Political discussion is expected to hold the spotlight during the conference, since the meeting will take place just before the GOP national convention which meets in Philadelphia beginning June 24.

One of the main speeches of the conference will be made Wednesday night, June 19, by Alderman Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, whose subject will be "The Negro and the Franchise." The political significance of the conference will be heightened by the fact that the NAACP will have ready at that time a new court case challenging he "white primary" in Texas. It will be filed as a test case early in July when the Texas primaries are held

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REPUBLICAN

Missouri Elects Sidney R. Redmon as Delegate to The Philadelphia G. O. P. Meet

Fight Won After Considerable Agitation In White Press Of St. Louis

Unity Achieved For First Time

ST, LOUIS.—(ANP)—For the first time in Republican history in St. Louis, Negro Republican committeemen and committeewomen showed unanimity behind a candidate for delegate to the National Republican convention in Philadelphia when on Friday. Attorney Sidney Revels Redmond was elected delegates from the 11th Congressional district.

Redmond won the delegateship after a fight that had attracted considerable attention in the white press. It was the only major contest to be carried out in the entire city. Redmond defeated attorney N. B. Young 72 to 37 in an interesting battle.

Also named to the national convention as alternate delegates were Mrs. Maude Oswald, 20th ward committeewoman from the 11th Congressional district, and George W. Fields, who, in 1939 made a surprisingly good race for the board of aldermen from the fourth ward. Fields made interesting history when he became the first member of the racial group to become an alternate to the national convention from the new 13th Congressional district.

The election was more significant in that all of the colored Republican committeemen and committeemomen rallied to the support of Redmond in the face of the race made by Young, son of the late nationally known educator ,who had the backing of Harry Presnell, white 23rd ward committeeman. It was the first time that such unanimity had been displayed.

"Cactus Jack" Said To Be Disappointed and Plans To Retire From Public Service

Fadeout Means That Postmaster General Will Step To The Fore As Standard Bearer

Dewey Running Away With G. O. P.

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Political experts are of the opinion that some of his friends fooled Cactus Jack Garner and now that the first guns of the campaign have spoken it is "Good-bye, Jack, take keer of yourself."

Mr. Garner himself has announced that he is going to retire from politics now and devote his time to hunting and fishing down in good old Uvalde. Having devoted the major portion of his life to politics and "public service," Mr. Garner has little now to look forward to and will retire to his home.

Believing his friends, who told him he had a good chance to win the Democratic nomination for president, Mr. Garner openly declared a war of some kind on the president and as a result, his entry in the primaries brought him a token of disaster which he could not fail to heed.

Astute politician that he is, Mr. Garner realizes that the poor showing he made bodes no good; therefore, his announcement that he is retiring. For no man would step down from the vice presidency to the house of representatives —that is no man of today.

With Garner's fade-out of the picture, Mr. Farley steps to the fore and declares his intention of running for the highest office in the country. Mr. Farley has the advantage of knowing most of the folk with whom he has to deal and will therefore have it over his other Catholic predecessor, Al Smith.

And yet another Democratic hopeful arises to show himself to the country at large. Paul V. McNutt, administrator of the Federal Security agency, rises now and asks leave of his office to go through the country on an exhibition tour. Can it be that Mr. McNutt is going to commit political suicide, too?

Those who know Mr. Roosevelt feel that he will not seek a third term, but will accept if he is unanimously drafted—and in the event he doesn't get such a nomination, favors his young attorney general Robert Jackson.

On the other side of the fence, Mr. Dewey of New York is running away with all of the preliminary honors and is making himself popular with the people. His recent successes in Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Illinois in the primaries, however, are not to be taken too seriously. In order to win the nomination, Mr. Dewey will have to have delegates. And at the present there is a strong indication that a man from Ohio who answers to the name of Taft has a large number of these tucked away in his vest pocket.

Mr. Taft has worked along entirely different lines from Mr. Dewey. Instead of going out into the country seeking preferential primary nominations, Mr. Taft has quietly assembled a number of delegates.

To impress the colored voters of the country, Mr. Dewey's proponents have sent out pictures of two assistants, Messrs. Rivers and Yergin. Rivers is well known, having unsuccessfully sought office by election in New York for the past decade. Yergin is a newcomer, with the Horatio Alger background. Mr. Dewey's sponsors omitted Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter from the photograph, although Mrs. Carter, also an assistant D. A., assembled masses of information which led to the smashing of the numbers ring whose alleged head was Jimmy Hines, the Democratic power behind the throne in Harlem.

Now Mr. Dewey has got to go out and get himself some delegates, at which job Mr. Vandenberg is also an astute worker.

The gannett campaign is confined chiefly to Gannett's dislike of Roosevelt and Dewey and is aimed, say those who have followed the political wars, to stop Dewey who, like Mr. Gannett, is a New Yorker, but Gannett comes from upper New York, which is as strongly Republican as Manhattan and Greater New York are Democratic.

Others in the field will be heard from, no doubt, but there is a suspicion abroad that the Republican nominee, has not yet been brought to the public attention. June in Philadelphia will be far different from April in the midwest.

THE NEGRO IN AND OUT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Kansas City Kansan

The necessity, the genius, the formation and early history of the Republican party cannot be very well understood and analysed without including the Negro. It is not necessary at this time to go into the part of the history of the party and the Negro's place in it. But up until a few years ago the great bulk of the voting Negro population was found in the Republican party and some how felt a right to be there and looked with distrust upon individual members of the race here and there who would depart from party tradition, loyalty and support of the Republican party. For years a Negro who claimed to be a Democrat was almost laughed at if not scorned and ostracized, not only by white people but by Negro people themselves. There is an advantage sometimes in taking things for granted. Such an attitude can go to unusual lengths and not only fix the status of a group but set up new conditions in the midst of which that group may act and be expected to be contented. It is not strange that in the course of time leaders of the Republican party in the various communities began to make out their party attitude and program without much thought of the Negro but just assuming that he was a permanent party element who had so well embibed the principles and doctrines of the party that he could never depart therefrom. The next step was easy—simply to neglect the Negro group in political matters. Attention might be paid to him at voting time but not very many days after the election until the next election time should roll around. If the Negro made contentions, if he laid bare the deplorable conditions resulting from this neglect on the part of the party to which he had always shown fealty—all that could be handled by pleasant smiles, hearty handshakes, ready made explanations and sometimes vague and indefinite promises. This condition of affairs through the years grew worse instead of better. And finally the time came when the Negro began to be a little more realistic about the matter and raised questions as to the wisdom, as to the advantage of remaining loyal to the party that cared nothing for him except to exploit, neglect and even abuse him. Meantime other changes were taking place. Not only the nation but the whole world seemed to have had a spell of changes, political, social, economic and otherwise. These changes bore heavily upon minority groups who could always be looked upon as helpless. It was this combination of changes that forced the Negro to do a little thinking as to his political status and fortune. He had tried loyalty, he had tried patience, he had tried everything that had been suggested, but to no avail. Any group can eventually reach the conclusion that it is worth while to make a change and if that change is not for the better it certainly cannot make matters worse. And so it may be rightly said that during the last decade Negroes in large numbers—astonishingly large—have been PUSHED OUT of the Republican party. They had no desire to leave. Many of them had no high hopes of achieving anything better but they just felt that they could not remain at home. In fact they were pushed out of the party of their choice, and the party to which they had been loyal almost to a fault.

When the matter of Negroes leaving the Republican party is brought up for discussion today in many groups there are those who grow impatient with the argument contrary to what these Negroes have done—they take the position that they were driven out, that they had no option in the matter. What happened when they were driven out? The Democratic party took them in. The post war boom, economic and social conditions had led thousands of Negroes from the South into the North, East and West. Thousands of them took up their abode in pivotal states in the political struggles between the parties Indeed, in some states the Negro vote became and still remains the balance of power, and certainly the Democrats were mighty glad to take them in.

The Negroes were glad to be taken in by somebody. They had suffered neglect and exploitation at home in the Republican party. They had been driven out because the leaders of the party felt that they could well dispense with the Negro vote and still maintain itself in power. This was a snare and a delusion to the party. Whether it was a blessing to the Negro is an open question. Thousands think it has been a blessing to the race. Others wonder. Meantime thousands are becoming adjusted to the Democratic fold.

How is the Negro faring in the Democratic party? At present, pretty well. He is needed. The party senses that need. The party leaders know that the organization is helpless out of power. If a few thousand votes can get them in power and keep them in power the entire party is better off. Naturally they can see the value—the great value— in giving the Negro some consideration as long as they realize how valuable it is to have the race vote or a large part of it. It is a period of experiment and it will turn out to the Negro's advantage as long as his vote is a necessity. What might happen when he is no longer needed to keep the Democrats in power is a question. But one thing is well known by both the leaders of the Democratic party and many leaders of the Negro race and that is that in many states the Negro vote is the balance of power today. As long as that is the case there are those who feel that it is time to employ political wisdom. It will be difficult to change many Negroes from the Democratic party as long as he is treated well by that party.

How can he be gotten back into the Republican fold? That is the question. It is a question that is giving concern to some of the leaders of the Republican party today, not necessarily in the interest of the Negro but in the interest of the white people who make up the majority element of the party. As long as Negroes feel that they do just as well or better under Democratic rule as under Republican rule it hardly matters with them what party is in power. But is does matter greatly with the party itself. It remains to be seen whether that concern has been pushed deep enough into the thinking of sufficient numbers to make the necessary effort and offer the kind of inducement to get the Negro back into the party. One thing is certain, they are not going back voluntarily. Another thing that may be put down as fairly definite at least for the present, the Democratic party is not going out of its way to push Negroes out of its fold as long as they are needed to keep the party in power. That is true whether in county, state or nation. If, therefore, Negroes are not going back into the Republican party voluntarily,

SOUTH CAROLINA HAS TWO FACTIONS SEEKING SEATING

Negro Labor News

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—The Republican National convention will have a new problem confronting them when it comes to seating the South Carolina delegation. At the two pre-convention conventions the credentials committee had to choose between a lily white delegation and a black and tan group. In 1932 the lily white group was in the saddle, in 1936, the black and tan or Tolbert faction was seated.

At the two Republican conventions held here last week both factions went black and tan. Both conventions found Negroes taking an active part and both delegations are mixed.

The objection of a colored delegate at the Tolbert convention to the use of he word "darky" by a white speaker will undoubtedly be capitalized upon by the opposing faction the "strong and respectable" Republican party of South Carolina headed by J. Bates Gerald.

The "darky" episode came about when M. O. Dunning, former collector of the port at Savannah, Ga., now with laws offices in Washington, told an anecdote and used the epithet. An apology was demanded by R. A. Brooks, a member of the Aiken county delegation. Dunning's first reply, instead of apologizing, was, "You may call yourselves what you please and it is all right with me." This statement Brooks refused to accept and only when he threatened to lead all the Negroes from the hall did Dunning apologize.

There is some merit in both groups from the standpoint of the colored voter.

Tireless Joe Tolbert, long a prominent figure in national Republican circles, heads the older Republican group. Tireless Joe has always kept the faith with his colored constituents, his delegates are plentifully supplied with badges, some expense money, and when the Republicans were in power, a good faitful colored Republican appointment of any note for a Negro in South Carolina dates back to 1902.

Profiting by their experience in 1936, when they were unseated by Tireless Joe and his black and tans, the younger Republican party, headed by J. Bates Gerald, took the colored brother to his bosom and stressed his presence at its convention.

Several important offices in this former lily white crowd have been given to Negroes. The Gerald group is making an honest effort to force the state legislation to adopt the secret ballot for general election. They also made some recommendations as to state improvements. The Tolbert crowd is concerned solely with national issues.

When it is all over, no matter which faction is designated by the national body, the Palmetto state will poll its usual 1200 votes for the Republican candidates.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

NEGROES IN LIMELIGHT AT CONFAB

Clyde Barrie Sings 'America' at Opening; Bishop Gregg Prays

PHILADELPHIA.—(ANP)—This city put on its best manners for the Republican National convention which opened here officially Monday morning. Negro delegates and visitors are welcome everywhere and many are guests at the Quaker City's leading hotel. Restaurants, theaters and policemen are exercising the utmost courtesy.

However, Philadelphia is proving to be a poor convention site because of the lack of sufficient hotel accomodations and taxicabs for the huge throngs present. The convention hall is not large enough to hold the multitude and a poor public address system adds to difficulties experienced by delegates and the press Monday.

Clergy Represented

The clergy was well represented, with no fewer than nine bishops sitting upon the platform at various times through arrangements made by Perry Howard and Dr. Emmett J. Scott. Bishops Sims, Gregg and Green of the A.M.E. church; M. E. Bishops Jones, Shaw and King; and Bishops Kyle, Wallace and Brown of the A.M.E. Zion were those present.

The Republican committee experienced some difficulty in finding Bishop Gregg. Frantic wires had been sent to six cities in an effort to locate the prelate. One went to Shorter college at Little Rock where his brother, who was president, lay dead. The telegraph company reported back:

"Message undeliverable. Bishop Gregg deceased."

However, the matter was happily cleared up and the distinguished churchman located in time to be present.

Barrie Sings

In addition to the bishops, others on the platform were Col. B. O. Davis, highest ranking Negro army officer, and President James E. Shepard of North Carolina college, Durham.

Clyde Barrie, famous radio and concert singer whose programs over CBS have attracted wide attention, was the first colored American on the convention program. He sang "America" immediately after Chairman John Hamilton called the meeting to order, and was heartily applauded.

A spirit, cooperative and hopeful, pervaded the colored delegates: nearly everyone seemed satisfied with the consideration being given and the attention showered upon them. Even the contests went off amicably for the most part. The Perry Howard faction in Mississippi won out after a hearing in which pathos, humor and the usual contest charges flew.

The two colored alternates at large from South Carolina were given the proxies of the white delegates at large and sat proudly with their white brethren; Louisianans lily-white contestants did not show up and Georgia for once had little friction. Florida seated two delegates and two alternates.

Dewey's headquarters in the Walton hotel, presided over by Francis Ellis Rivers and Eunice Hunton Carter with many assistants and plenty of refreshments, was a rendezvous downtown. Sara Pelham Speaks, Mrs. Hays, Norman Johnson and Harry Webber were among the welcoming committee. While visitors came from everywhere.

Taft Headquarters in the Bellevue Stratford where everyone was welcome and also headquarters out in the Douglass hotel where Perry Howard, Col. E. L. Patton and Dr. Redmond were in evidence, attracted many persons. Headquarters sprang up over night in the colored district for Gannett and Wilkie with unknowns manning them and George Harris boosting for Wilkie.

Bob Church, formerly of Memphis, is associated with Joe Pew, Philadelphia boss. Mr. Church is working for Governor James with Mr. Hoover in the background.

Negro Delegates

Accredited Negro delegates and alternates seated were: S. A. Jones, Arkansas; J. Leonard Lewis, Florida; Sam B. Solomon, Ben J. Davis, Georgia; F. C. Gassett, Clarence S. Wigfall, William E. King, Illinois; George R. Tipper, G. W. Saffell, Kentucky; James Lewis Jr., Louisiana; Dr. J. H. Lowery, Dr. J. A. Hardin, Dr. J. Leslie Jones, Maryland; Chas. A. Roxborough, Michigan; Perry W. Howard, Miss.; S. D. Redmond, E. L. Patton, H. M. Daily, W. J. Box, Fred H. Miller, C. T. Butler, J. B. Woods, Mississippi; Sidney R. Redmond, William A. Morant, Missouri; Rev. Lorenzo H. King, New York; Lawrence O. Payne, Ohio; Perry Brooks Jackson, J. Harvey Battis, Pennsylvania; Robert R. Church, Tennessee; J. Franklin Wilson, District of Columbia; I.M.A. Myers, South Carolina; James Brier, South Carolina.

Alternates were: Bishop S. L. Green, Arkansas; John L. Webb, S. A. Hibbler, Fred Roberts, California; Mrs. Carie M. Pipes, Delaware; David S. Dwight, Florida; C. T. Williams, B. F. Cofer, Georgia; Dr. H. Van Buren, W. L. Hughes, Adolphus N. Gordon, Illinois; Mrs. Grace Evans, Indiana; Mrs. Beatrice Childs, Kansas; Dr. W. P. Offutt, Kentucky; Dr. R. P. Creuzot, Louisiana; J. L. Hatcher, Herbert S. Wilson, Maryland; Calvin Anderson, William Randall, Mrs. Mary C. Booze, Mississippi; Mrs. Carl Crome, Missouri; Mrs. Gladys Stewart; Mrs. Maude T. Oswald, George W. Fields; Dr. Marcus Wheatland, New Jersey; Mrs. Sarah S. Washington, Malvin B. Johnson, George E. Bibecan, New York; A.W.G. Sango, Oklahoma; Charles Chandler, John R. Logan, Pennsylvania; Price Edwoods, R. C. Grant, Tennessee; Dr. J. T. Walson, Texas; G. E. Ferguson, West Virginia; William Sanders, Dr. John R. Francis, District of Columbia.

A special plank was recommended by colored members of the Republican Program committee and the conference of 100 Negro Republicans representing all the states, for inclusion in the party platform to be adopted officially by the National Republican convention.

The plank follows:

"We pledge ourselves that the letter and spirit of every protection and guarantee which our constitution and institutions promise each citizen shall be made equally effective and real for our colored citizens, lest his continued exclusion from a fair share in our economic, political and military life shall make false and insincere America's claim as the world's chief citadel of true democracy."

HOWARD BEATS MHOON

Mississippi's Perry Defeats Lily-Whites, Mixed Group for G.O.P. Seat

By TED POSTON
(Staff Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, June 27.—Withstanding a bitter assault launched by a lily-white delegation, and by a mixed group led by Atty. W. H. Mhoon of his own home town, Perry W. Howard, veteran Mississippi G.O.P. leader, was seated with his own delegation by the Republican National Committee, Friday.

Leading the attack on the only Negro national committeeman, Atty Mhoon charged that Mississippi's Republican vote had fallen from more than 25,000 to less than 1,000 under the leadership of Mr. Howard, who lives in far off Washington, D.C.

"Perry Howard is a second Hitler," he charged. "He is using the Republican party for his own personal gain. He is reported to be getting money from Senator Taft, and his sidekick, S. D. Redmond, is taking sides with Dewey. Give us some relief from Perry Howard and my slate will give you 75,000 Republican votes in Mississippi by 1944."

Both Howard and Redmond bitterly assailed Mhoon before the national committee and accused him of holding his "State Convention" in a telephone booth. Only two persons were present at his meeting, they said, and the third was contacted by telephone. They also proved that Mhoon had seconded Howard's nomination at the regular convention.

Atty. Raymond Pace Alexander attempted to secure an adjournment so that he could represent the Mhoon forces, but the request was denied and the Mhoon slate thrown out.

The Howard ticket made even shorter shift of the lily-white delegation led by ex-Nebraska Gov. George L. Sheldon. After this group had denied that a racial issue was involved and had accused Howard of ruining the party in Mississippi, the veteran political leader denounced the white group as "a bunch of fifth columnists and parachutists."

"I dare any one of them to run against me for anything in Mississippi, even for dog catcher," he thundered. "I'd snow them under in a minute."

The national committee flatly denied the lily-white plea and seated the Howard delegation after warning the whites that they must stage their fight against the Negro leader in the Mississippi convention.

THERE IS NO INDISPENSABLE MAN!

The Union

By EMMETT J. SCOTT
(An Excerpt)

8-1-40

Washington, D. C.—"Only one man can save the country," the Doctrine of Indispensability, is the New Deal slogan for the Presidential Campaign of 1940.

Cincinnati Ohio

Why New Dealers should put President Roosevelt forward as the indispensable man is hard to understand in view of his own statement upon this subject in delivering a campaign address before the Roosevelt-for-President-League in New York City, November 3, 1932. Upon that occasion Mr. Roosevelt said:

"In speaking for the common purposes of all of these forward looking men and women I have, I believe, avoided the delusion that this is a campaign of persons or personalities. To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to betray the common hope and the common cause that has brought us all together this year. A great man left a watchword that we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man'."

The effort to establish plausibility has cloaked every step of the "build-up" program of the New Deal Palace Guard which brought about Mr. Roosevelt's nomination for a Third Term at Chicago in response to a manufactured draft.

It is known to all men and women who read newspapers during the past year that the President intended to be a candidate for a Third Term.

The Globe Trotter • By Cliff Mackay

Daily world 6/30/40 Atlanta Ga.

The Republicans Hedge

THE REPUBLICANS, which still, despite serious inroads of the New Deal, claim many of us as ardent supporters, have met, written a platform, nominated a candidate, and adjourned to carry on the pre-election battle from their respective states and districts.

Eighty-five Negroes were seated on the floor of the convention either as delegates or alternates. Many others sat in the gallery. Black men were being button-holed on every side by the various candidates, while the nominee, astute Wendell Willkie, according to one on-the-scene observer, sought to curry the favor of these dark-skinned delegates by proffering them a "fried chicken" supper in Philadelphia's leading Negro hotel.

DEPRIEST SPEAKS

Former Congressman Oscar DePriest of Illinois spoke, putting in a good word here and there for Mr. Willkie, the benefactor, who did not think it necessary to attend. The "chicken" apparently from the public utilities magnate's viewpoint was a much better vote-getter than his own personal appearance would be.

That Mr. Willkie was nominated, certainly with the aid of some of these colored brethren might be sufficient proof to some that this old-time beer-barrell style of vote-getting has not lost its appeal in trapping the backing of some of our pocketbook politicians, far too many of whom still remain on the scene awaiting the call of the highest bidder. Their interests are still purely personal, just as they have always been.

The urgent demand of the day that their vote be given only for some guarantees that will bring added political and economic advantage to those they pretend to represent falls on deaf ears. Alas many of our black Republicans, just like their fairer brothers, have buried their heads in sand, and refuse to see or heed the revolutionary changes that are going on about them.

CHEERFUL SIGNS

But enough on the "hat-in-hands." More cheerful signs were shown at the convention, due not to the politicians, but to the persistent and very effective efforts of the true guardian of your rights, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Those who read the newspapers know that the NAACP which closed its national convention at Philadelphia, just as the Republicans were moving in, outlined eight straight-forward and plainly-worded planks on the Negro issue, which were handed to the Platform Committee of the GOP.

This has been done before, and with very little result. It was done in 1932 and 1936. Back then pleas were lost in a labyrinth of attacks on the New Deal, while the New Deal was busily occupied feeding the hungry and clothing the naked left destitute by four years of Republican do-thingness under Mr. Herbert Hoover.

YOU GET A SECTION

But in 1940 a different reaction appears. The NAACP set out eight things as its premise for the Negro in the coming presidential election. The Republican party, after ignoring you almost entirely for seventy-odd years, suddenly becomes interested once again in the black men, and actually gives you a section in the platform. In this section they weakly concede five of the demands made by the NAACP.

The NAACP had asked assurances on (1) removal of discrimination in every branch of the armed service; (2) immediate passage of the Federal antilynching bill; (3) removal of ballot restrictions in all sections of the country; (4) abolition of the color line in employment; (5) guarantees of no discrimination in federal air projects; (6) extension of Social Security to cover agricultural and domestic workers; (7) abolition of the color bar in federal appointments; and (8) rigid enforcement of the Civil Rights provisions of the Constitution.

The Republicans, whose respect for the demands of black Americans has increased correspondingly with the increase of your political power in the pivotal states, hedgingly grants five of these in the platform's plank dealing with Negroes in the following manner:

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the Army and Navy and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

FINE SOUNDING WORDS

These are fine sounding words, but words will often fool you. Many reading the second sentence would gather that the Republicans will fight discrimination in the Army and Navy. They might and again they might not. Their platform though it condemns the practice, makes NO PLEDGE that a GOP administration will wipe out this disgrace.

The same thing could be said for the third sentence, which loosely attacks the poll tax, educational requirements and other tricks of Southern states to keep Negroes from voting, but it makes no pledge, offers no solution, only states a fact. Negro newspapers for years have been pointing out that to enjoy life in a democracy, we must vote, but the problem is how to get rid of these restrictions. The Republicans here certainly make no pledge that they will help you in your battle.

And the fourth sentence as as cleverly written an evasion as these eyes have seen in a long time. Read it again, "Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

WHY NOT THIS?

One wonders why the fence-straddling platform writers could not just as easily have forthwith came out and inserted the two words that would give this provision some teeth. Why could not they have written, "....and FEDERAL legislation to curb this evil SHALL be enacted."

That would have at least hushed up those, whose memories are not so short; who vividly recall how it was the Republican senators voting as a man with Southern democrats, who have persistently refused to allow antilynching legislation to become federal law. Now the Republicans facing a fight-to-death campaign must have those Negro votes in Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Indiana to win. And even in the face of this necessity, they, in true wishful thinking Republican style, would straddle on the one thing that would bring them those votes.

NO PLEDGE FROM WILLKIE

It must also be borne in mind too that Mr. Willkie, the GOP candidate, has not thus far pledged anything to anybody, including you. Whether or not he feels himself bound by even the weasel-worded provisions of the platform dealing with your problems remains to be seen.

So also does the Democratic reaction to the eight NAACP points which are to be presented to that party in its Chicago convention.

These are indeed important days for you. You stand in the middle of two great forces and a nod of your head either way will determine the winner. For that nod, the NAACP as your spokesman, must certainly be credited for bending every effort to see that you are amply compensated.

WIN CONVENTION SEATS

Pittsburgh Pa.

Mrs. Mary C. Booze of Mound Bayou, Miss., and Perry Howard of Jackson, Miss., are pictured here. They are national committee members from Mississippi who defeated rival claimants for Republican national convention seats.—INS photo.

Mr. Roosevelt In 1932 Campaign Said 'There Is No "Indispensable Man'

The Plaindealer
8-2-40

BY EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C. — "Only one man can save the country", the Doctrine of Indispensability, is the New Deal slogan for the Presidential Campaign of 1940.

Kansas City, Kansas

Why New Dealers should put President Roosevelt forward as the indispensable man is hard to understand in view of his own statement upon this subject in delivering a campaign address before the Roosevelt for President League in New York City, November 3, 1932. Upon this occasion Roosevelt said:

"In speaking for the common purposes of all of these forward looking men and women I have, I believe, avoided the delusion that this is a campaign of persons or personalities. To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to betray the common hope and the common cause that has brought us all together this year. A great man left a watchword that we can well repeat: "THERE IS NO INDISPENSABLE MAN'."

Determined to be Third Term Candidate

The effort to establish plausibility has cloaked every step of the 'build-up' program of the New Deal Palace Guard which brought about Mr. Roosevelt's nomination for a Third Term at Chicago in response to a manufactured draft.

It is known to all men and women who read newspapers during the past year that the President intended to be a candidate for a Third Term.

As The Chicago Tribune states, in describing the various steps begun ten months ago, to bring about this New Deal nomination: "Mr. Roosevelt's predecessor's when their intentions were asked had been quick to say that they would under no circumtances accept a Third Term. Only Mr. Roosevelt refused to answer that question. He not only refused but he created the conviction in the minds of all the people that he would take the Third Term, that he would use all the powers of his office to get it, and that the firmest determination of his life was to break tradition and to stay in the White House, becoming historically notable as the President who did what no other President had done."

So much then for the hypocrisy of a so-called spontaneous uprising of the people, demanding that the President be a sacrificial offering for the good of the country!

A condition, and not a theory, confronts the citizenship of America. That citizenship is called upon to decide, once and for all, the most momentous question ever presented to the electorate during the more than 150 years of our history.

A drift away from that basic Americanism as we we have known it is evident in the flagrant and bold challenge to a tradition which scrupulously has been observed by every President of the United States excepting only the present incumbent of that office.

True Democracy On Trial

If ever true Democracy were on trial it is now in this hour of crisis. The interests of minority groups in the United State are more definitely in peril than ever before. We, the Negro group, are included in this peril to the freedom and liberties of the American people.

When the fundamental American principle of indicual choice, initiative and opportunity shall be destroyed, a Government, centralized and powerful and ruthless, will regulate and control Industry, Agriculture, Labor and all of the details and normal activities of our every day life.

Against this we protest. We do not willingly accept present-day regimentations as invented and practiced by the New Deal. We wish no extension of it, with all the great powers which have been surrendered to it by Congress, and which have led to experimentations which, by and large have failed; the fearful waste of Billions of Dollars during seven and one-half years of futility; the ever increasing burden of taxation, and a crushing public debt—all of these are burdens which bear down upon us and crush us— and, it is well to remark: the conditions here described were brought about long before the huge appropriations for National Defense to which no one is objecting!

Suppression of Colored Votes

The suppression of the vote of Colored citizens in the South on a wholesale scale by leaders of the Democratic party who have sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and all of its Amendments is a scandal which has persisted for many years, providing large Congressional representation for the South, based on our numerical population, while thwarting our every effort to participate in the functions of government. A Third Term administration will tighten these political shackles.

Economically, also, we are bound by shackles which have reduced the great masses of our race to levels of subsistence far below that of their fellow citizens. Many of our Colored citizens have been forced out of employment which has been taken by whites. They are jobless and discouraged and in despair. For years and years, regular employment has been denied them and even when relief has been granted they have suffered discriminations of the most humiliating character.

Employment Opportunities Restricted

More and more employment in industry has been closed to them and only fugitive, unskilled labor opportunities granted. They are compelled to work at the lowest wages under conditions unbelievably harsh and discouraging.

Democratic administration of New Deal Agencies in the South has subjected members of the Negro group to every form of discrimination, along with the deprivation of their citizenship rights; their civil liberties have been accounted as being non-existent.

These are some of the things that the Negro group if face to face with as we approach the Presidential Campaign of 1940.

The "Indispensable" man, the present occupant of the White House has dismally failed to change these conditions. The whirligig of time has brought us face to face with an opportunity to get rid of these conditions, that once more the sunlight of prosperity may shine in our country, and its destiny assured by a return to the democratic processes of our American way of life.

DELEGATES IN ACCORD, BUT NOT ON CANDIDATE

Commercial Appeal
6-24-40

Tennesseans Unable To Pick Their G. O. P. Choice

Memphis, Tenn.

CONFER WITH 'HOPEFULS'

State Group Meets Willkie, Dewey And Taft—Elect Supporter Of Utility Executive As Their Chairman

By ERNEST B. VACCARO
Associated Press Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, June 23. — Tennessee's delegates to the Republican National Convention agreed Sunday on about everything except presidential candidates, three of whom they met.

The delegation elected Paul Kreusi, Chattanooga supporter of Wendell L. Willkie, delegation chairman and re-elected Representative Reece and Mrs. A. V. McClane, Nashville, as national committeeman and committeewoman by acclamation.

Visit Candidates

The delegates sidestepped a "secret ballot" on presidential aspirants at a caucus, but visited candidates Willkie, Robert Taft of Ohio and Thomas Dewey of New York.

Willkie told the Tennesseans he would take the stump for the party "regardless of who wins the nomination."

Dewey, expected to get at least half of the state's votes on the first ballot, shook hands with the delegates, alternates and other Tennessee Republicans and talked "off the record."

Taft predicted a victory for the party in November.

Willkie said that "no people know me any better than the people of Tennessee," referring apparently to the long struggle which preceded sale of Tennessee Electric Power Co. properties to the TVA.

The president of Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, parent company of TEPCO, said that "even the editors who opposed me have vouched for my honesty and integrity." He added he would do "everything in my power to break down the one-party system of control in the South."

Criticizing President Roosevelt's methods in the sponsorship of TVA as "ruthless and wrong," Willkie said "now that we have TVA there's nothing to do but carry it on."

Church Leaves Caucus

The utility executive said he would support the use of TVA in national defense "on the recommendation of Army engineers or of people who absolutely know what they are talking about."

Bob Church, Memphis negro, attended the caucus as a delegate but left before the meeting was over.

The delegates agreed off the record to give at least one first ballot vote to Governor James of Pennsylvania, one or two to Willkie and the remainder to Taft and Dewey.

The delegation selected Howard Baker, Huntsville, as vice chairman and Tom Taylor as secretary.

The following were named to convention committees:

Harley Fowler, Knoxville, Platform; James Moore, Lawrenceburg, Credentials; Harry Luck, Nashville, Rules and Walter White, Dayton, Permanent Organization.

HOWARD FACTION WINS

Commercial Appeal

Seating of Mississippi G. O. P. Group Aid Taft's Candidacy

PHILADELPHIA, June 25.—(INS)—The Republican Credentials Committee Monday night voted 42 to 2 to seat the Mississippi delegation of 11, headed by Perry Howard, negro political leader.

6-26-40

Memphis, Tenn.

This was a victory for Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, G. O. P. presidential candidate. Howard's delegation is on record for the Ohioan.

In the group denied recognition was George Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, now living at Clinton, Miss. George Forbes prominent Jackson, Miss., business leader. headed this group.

Invite Negroes to Willkie Notification in Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS.—(ANP)—Committees arranging for the notification ceremonies for Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for president, in his native city of Elwood early in August are preparing to welcome numerous colored visitors from all parts of the United States and already have made great progress in providing desirable accommodations for these guests as well as for the thousands of others who will attend the celebration.

Directing the preparations for the accommodation of Negroes at the Elwood festivities is Cornelius Richardson, Richmond, Ind., attorney, appointed by Arch N. Bobbitt, State Republican chairman, as a committee of Indiana colored citizens, other members of which will be designated within the next week.

Ray Gibbons, Madison county G. O. P. chairman, has chosen Harry E. Beckham, of Anderson, member of the Madison county Republican committee, as his personal representative to attend the housing of the hundreds of colored people who will witness the Willkie notification.

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A particularly low feature of this obscene farce is the party leaders' treatment of Negro members. The press speaks openly of the "buying up" of Negro delegates in the South, which reached such heights this year that the National Committee has formulated a rule designed to thwart this practice. A "lily white" delegation from Florida, committed to Dewey, has contested the seating of an uninstructed Negro delegation from that state. And the party which tries to entice Negro votes in the name of Abraham Lincoln will not let a Negro, Paul Robeson, sing at its convention. It selected a white man instead to sing Earl Robinson's great "Ballad for Americans" which Robeson helped make famous. Under such circumstances the party's choice of the song is a form of insolence.

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Invite Negroes to Willkie Notification in Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS.—(ANP)—Committees arranging for the notification ceremonies for Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for president, in his native city, Elwood early in August are preparing to welcome numerous colored visitors from all parts of the United States and already have made great progress in providing desirable accommodations for these guests as well as for the thousands of others who will attend the celebration.

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POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

MR. WILLKIE AND THE G.O.P. PLANK

Wendell L. Willkie, a New Yorker out of Indiana and the head of a great utilities empire, has been nominated for President by the Republican Party.

Much interest therefore attaches to his actions and statements on the Negro, since he may enter the White House next January.

When Mr. Willkie recently conferred with Negro delegates at Philadelphia he said, "I do not care whether the Negro delegates go down the line for me or not. The Negroes will get a fair share of appointments if I'm elected President. Furthermore, if all the Negro delegates vote aganist me that still stands."

This indicates that Mr. Willkie has independence and courage, but a great deal of courage is required in any prominently placed white man to be absolutely fair and square with colored Americans.

When asked by a Negro delegates what Negroes could expect if he is elected President, Mr. Willkie replied: "Check my record. I stood up for civil liberties in this country when it was extremely unpopular to do so. I led the fight against the Ku Klux Klan in Akron, Ohio, in 1924, when every judge on the bench in that city was a member of the Klan."

If true, this indicates even greater independence and courage, and challenges comparison with the record of Mr. Roosevelt on this same issue.

But Mr. Willkie was not so impressive in answering a question relative to color discrimination in employment by large utility companies.

While he stated that a "large number" of Negroes were employed by his Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, he went into no details as to what kind of employment they had. The statement might be true and the Negroes all be day laborers.

It is evident, however, that Mr. Willkie is an able and forceful man, and if his campaign for the Republican nomination is any criterion, the Democrats are in for a serious fight.

It is axiomatic that political party platforms are traditionally honored in the breach, and that after election day they are promptly forgotten in the general scramble for political spoils.

Nevertheless, and allowing for the enthusiasm of partisanship, the Republican Negro leaders are to be commended for having secured the plank in the G.O.P. platform which reads:

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the Army, Navy and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen, Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be neacted."

This appears to be most far-reaching plank on the Negro that has been adopted in many years by any major political party, but it is still not quite as specific and definite as it might have been.

It is stated that discrimination in governmental departments "must cease", but not that it "Shall cease", which is something quite different: the former being a statement of conviction; the latter a statement of intention.

The statement on universal suffrage is, as it stands, a mere platitude which even Negrophobes might accept in principle.

The statement would have really meant something had the Party pledged itself to so impliment the 2nd paragraph of the 14th Amendment and the 1st paragraph of the 15th Amendment as to make universal suffrage effective.

It is noticeable, for instance, that in the plank on Agroculture, the platform makers were very definite and specific in their statements.

The statement against mob violence would have been much stronger had it simply pledged the G.O.P. to enact effective anti-lynching legislation.

Courier
7-6-40
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Negroes In Republican Platforms, 1884-1940

and exercise of all civil and political rights." James G. Blaine was candidate for President.

Chicago, June 21, 1888: "Free Suffrage—We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the states; to the attorney reserved to the states under the Constitution to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all states and territories in the union, especially to the supreme and sovereign right of lawful citizens, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all our people to be the foundation of government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections which are the foundation of all public authority." Benjamin Harrison, candidate for President.

For Free Ballot

Minneapolis, Minn., June 9, 1892: "The Ballot—We demand that every citizen of the United States be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution." Benjamin Harrison, candidate for President.

St. Louis, June 18, 1896: "Lynching — "We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice, well known as lynching or killing human beings, suspected or charged with crime, without process of law." William McKinley, candidate for President.

Forty Years Ago

Philadelphia, June 20, 1900: "Franchise in South—It was the plain purpose of the Fifteenth Amendcent to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of state governments whether statutory or constitutional enactment to avoid the purposes of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned." William McKinley, candidate for President.

Chicago, June 22, 1904: "Negro Disfranchisement — We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discrimination the elective franchise in any state has been constitutionally limited, and if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral college shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States. Theodore Roosevelt, candidate for President.

Consistent Friendship Claimed

Chicago, June 18, 1908: "The Negro—The Republican Party has been for more than 50 years the consistent friend of the Negro. It gave him freedom and citizenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights and it believes today that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men without regard to race or color. We declare once more, and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution, which were designed for the protection and advancement of the Negro; and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone as unfair, unAmerican and repugnant to the supreme law of the land." William H. Taft, candidate for Pesident.

Chicago, June 18, 1912: "The Republican Party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both state and federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate." William H. Taft, candidate for President.

No Reference in 1916

Chicago, June 8, 1916: No direct reference to the Negro. Charles Evans Hughes, candidate for President.

Chicago, June 8, 1920: "We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization." Warren G. Harding, candidate for President.

Cleveland, Ohio, June 12, 1924: "The Negro—We urge Congress to enact at the earliest possible date federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime." We believe that much of the misunderstanding which now exists can be eliminated by humane and sympathetic study of its causes. The President has recommended the creation of a commission for the investigations and the promotion of mutual understanding and confidence." Calvin Coolidge, candidate for President.

For Anti-Lynching Bill

Kansas City, June 13, 1928: "We renew our recommendation that Congress enact at the earliest possible date a federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime." Herbert Hoover, candidate for President.

Chicago, June 11, 1932: "The Negro—For 70 years, the Republican party has been the friend of the American Negro. Vindication of the right of the Negro citizens to enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is traditional in the Republican party and our party stands pledged to maintain equal opportunity and rights for our Negro citizens. We do not propose to depart from the tradition nor to alter the spirit of letter of that pledge." Herbert Hoover, candidate for President.

Pledge of New Deal Era

Cleveland, Ohio, June 13, 1936: "We favor equal opportunity for our colored citizens We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies and the civil service. We condemn the present New Deal policies which would regiment and ultimately eliminate the colored citizen from the country's production life, and make them solely a ward of the government." Alfred M. Landon, candidate for President.

Philadelphia, June 24, 1940: "The Negro—We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of the Nation. Discrimination in the Civil Service, Army, Navy, and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the Nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted." Wendell Willkie, candidate for President.

Winnsboro, S. C. News & Herald
September 19, 1940

MR. WILLKIE TO NEGROES

(The Columbia State)

On a hundred mornings, more or less, within the past several years The News and Courier of Charleston has slammed at the national Democratic party because of what The News and Courier considers its pro-Negro attitude; and one may assume, with reason, that The News and Courier's present support of the national Republican ticket is due in part to its rejection of the national Democratic party's attitude toward Negroes.

This being true—if it is true—The State wonders what The News and Courier will say about Mr. Willkie's speeches in Chicago. Addressing several thousand Negroes, the Republican candidate, according to The New York Times (and there is no more reliable source of current information) "stressed equality within the law for all Americans and declared that there should be no discrimination in appointments to public office because of race and religion."

That means, assuming Mr. Willkie is the honorable man The State believes him to be, that he, as president, would not discriminate in making appointments to the public service; and that, in turn, would mean Negro postmasters, district attorneys, and federal judges in the South. Naturally where Negroes are most numerous, Negro appointees also would be most numerous under the declared Willkie plan of no discrimination whatever.

In addition to its thrusts at the national Democratic party because of what it believes to be its political attitude toward Negroes, The News and Courier in many editorials has spoken caustically of the large numbers of Negroes on relief in Northern cities. Well, let's see what The News and Courier's Candidate Willkie says about that. This is quoting him directly:

"Now the Negro people of this country are citizens and entitled to every right that any other citizen is entitled to. And those who are so unfortunate as to be on relief are entitled to the same treatment on relief as everybody else. If you elect me president I shall see to it that relief is continued."

The State does not present these quotations based on and from Mr. Willkie's Chicago talks with any purpose of creating hot feelings. The State has not shared and does not now share The News and Courier's apprehension that something of disagreeable and dangerous nature may happen to white Americans because of advances and changes in the status of Negro Americans. The State believes in progress at maximum practicable specds for both races. However, The State thinks that in such serious times the public needs more entertainment; therefore the respectful request that The News and Courier express itself on the Willkie attitudes and statements with the same peppery vigor it would use if President and Candidate Roosevelt had said exactly what Candidate Willkie said.

Barton Campaigns With Joe Louis; Early 'Incident' Is Cited

OCT 31 1940

NEW YORK—(AP)—Representative Bruce Barton, Republican candidate for United States senator, and Joe Louis, world's heavyweight boxing champion, will campaign together in Harlem Thursday night.

Wednesday night in speaking of Louis, who has endorsed Wendell L. Willkie, Barton said at a rally in Manhattan Center:

"I am going to campaign tomorrow night on the same platform with Joe Louis. If Steve Early wants to try any more knee exercise, I hope he will catch up with us."

Barton was referring to an incident at Pennsylvania Station on Monday night. There, while attempting to board the presidential special, Stephen Early, a secretary to Mr. Roosevelt, was stopped by a New York City policeman.

Officer James Sloane, a Negro, was injured at the time. The police record only says that he was hurt in the groin by an unidentified man. Early, however, said at the White House the next day that he had "given the knee" to an officer.

The incident also was mentioned by Samuel Pryor, who is Eastern Republican campaign manager.

Pryor's comment follows:

"I find that Edward J. Flynn, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is so alarmed over the latest evidence of New Deal impatience with the people that he has asked the White House to make a political gesture in an attempt to stem the rising tide of indignation on the part of clergymen and educators throughout the country.

"The plan, I am reliably informed, is to have Mr. Roosevelt suspend Mr. Early as his secretary until after the election. As a citizen, I earnestly hope the president will agree to Mr. Flynn's suggestion."

It was said at Democratic headquarters in Mr. Flynn's behalf that the statement was untrue.

The Police Department's investigation meanwhile is continuing, although it probably will be several days before it is complete. Officer Sloane still is at his home.

POLITICAL - 1940
PART AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Non Partisan, Not Political—But Racial

NOV 1 1940

By Emmet J. Scott

The time for plain speaking has come. We have heard much during the past 7½ years of the overwhelming sympathy of the New Deal-Democratic Party for the welfare of the Colored people of the United States. We have heard much, and there has been paraded through the Negro Press, from time, to time, by New Deal publicity experts, reports of alleged evidences of the New Deal-Democrats' alleged sympathies and "deep concern."

Whenever a test has come, however, the New Deal-Democrat majority in Congress has shown its insincerity and hyporisy. In the Congress of the United States this week—in the U. S. Senate and the U. S. House of Representatives—two striking incidents occurred:

In the Senate last Tuesday Senator W. Warren Barbour, Republican of New Jersey, "smoked out" Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democrat of Kentucky, and Senate Majority Leader, on the Anti-Lynching Bill. Senator Barbour forthrightly asked what is to be expected in relation to the present status of the Anti-Lynching Bill. A disingenuous reply was made by Mr. Barkley, Democratic leader, the crux of it all being, after the mountain had labored for nearly a year—that no statement can now be made as to "when the measure can be taken up with any prospect of obtaining a vote. I hope it can be done at an early date, either when we come back in November, or at an early date in the next session." Always,—"MANANA."

Senator Barbour had stated that he felt compelled most strongly and emphatically to point out that "this Anti-Lynching Bill legislation has been obviously passed over too often and altogether too long," and that "it should have immediate consideration." Senator Barbour also stated that he was whole-heartedly and sincerely in favor of it,—"not only because of the premise that it stands for, but because it represents even more than merely preventing lynching; it has become a symbol of tolerance as representing the true American attitude in relation to real equality, without prejudice, as regards race, creed or color."

New Deal Action Dooms Measure

Senator Barbour also stated that, despite Senator Barkley's rigamarole statement, "Something should be done to bring the Anti-Lynching Bill up at this session of Congress.' Shortly afterward the Democratic Majority Leader moved that Senate go into Executive Session And so died the hope of the Anti-Lynching Bill being passed at this session of Congress, after being pigeon-holed in the Senate for more than a year.

It will be remembered that on August 30, 1939, when the New Deal-Democratic controlled **Rules Committee of the House of Representatives** sought to kill the Anti-Lynching Bill, it required the votes of 116 Republicans as against 99 Democrates to take the petition from the Speaker's Desk and bring the Bill to the floor of the House of Representatives.

The Democrats have a membership of 259 in the House of Representatives, with a clear majority over all of 90. Except for the support of 116 Republicans as against 99 Democrats, the effort to mislead the Colored people as to Democratic sincerity and willingness to have the Bill passed was shown to be hypocritical pretense.

Republicans In House Passed Anti-Lynch Bill

When the Anti-Lynching Bill came up for consideration in the House of Representatives on January 8, 1940, it was vigorously opposed by Democratic-New Dealers. It was passed, nevertheless, by a vote of 252 to 131. A tabulation of the vote shows that 140 Republicans and 109 Democrats voted for the Bill—note the disparity—while 123 Democrats and only 8 Republicans opposed it. Democratic insincerity was again exposed.

The New Deal-Democratic Party in the Senate has filibustered to death the Bill after many trials and tribulations in getting it through the tortuous machinery of the House of Representatives.

No intelligent Colored voter in the North is now left in doubt as to what the attitude of the New Deal-Democratic Party is with respect to the Anti-Lynching Bill. with the recital here set forth.

False New Deal Publicity

There was sent out to the Colored press of the country last week through New Deal-Democratic channels reams of publicity to the effect that photographs of Civil Service applicants being attached had been abolished. It has always been thoroughly understood that these photographs were required for the purpose of discriminating against Colord applicants.

Recognition of this fact was given by Representative Ed. Gossett, Democrat of Texas, who told the House of Representatives that—"a Department Head would not know whether he was getting a White or Negro employee under the proposed finger-print system." In an attempt to be funny, he said the use of photographs was "race distinction," not "race discrimination."

Negroes are still supposed to be so gullible as not to clearly understand that the whole New Deal-Democratic Government is geared to prevent Colored citizens who meet exacting requirements from receiving fair treatment and consideration under Civil Service administration.

Photographs of Applicants Still Desired

In a discussion of a Conference report it became clear that the Amendment to substitute finger-printing for photographs as identification of Civil Service applicants had the support of that great Southern group of New Deal-Democrats who have thrown off all pretense, and are lined up once again against the aspirations of Negroes who wish to serve their Government as Federal employees.

The Southern contingent of the New Deal-Democratic Party, which constitute the back-bone of the organization, does not seek to masquerade or disguise its feelings with regard to the Negro. It is determined to thwart every laudible ambition to achieve citizen-rewards freely granted other elements of the population.

The Democratic Representative from Texas, Ed. Gossett, to whom reference has already been made, added his little word in the House debate on the Conference report containing the Finger-printing Bill Amendment. He said—"I rise now to call your attention to the 'sight unseen' or 'catch as catch can' Amendment to this bill—that is Amendment No. 7. This amendment will set up an entirely new policy within the Civil Service Commission.

Called "Sop" to Negro Voters

"This Amendment eliminates the attaching of pictures to Civil Service job applications.. If this Amendment is adopted, there is no way of knowing whether the prospective employee is black or white. If this Amendment becomes law, employees must be chosen with no idea of their appearance or physical characteristics. These facts are not disclosed by the Civil Service papers except through photographs, which some persons now want to eiminate,—primarily as a sop to Negro voters.

"I want to call your attention," he said, "to the fact that there is a vast difference between racial distinction and racial discrimination. Under this Amendment, the employer who wanted to secure a Colored stenographer might secure a white one instead (sic), and vice versa.

"I have in mind," he remarked, "the experience of a friend of mine who has charge of an office in this city which is under the Civil Service. Some time ago he was authorized to employ a badly needed stenographer in his own office.. He sent or an eligible list, which was delivered to him by the Civil Service Commission. All three eligibles on this list were Negro girls."

The fact that these three young Colored women had met the exacting requirements of the Civil Service Commission and were eligible for appointment made no appeal to Mr. Gossett's sense of fairness and decency.

To lull the Colored people to sleep, and avoid overt reprisals on Election Day, the crafty New Dealers have now decided to postpone a final vote on the report till after November 5th.. Are we so childlike as to believe thest Democrats plan to eliminate photographs on applications for Civil Service jobs? They do not.

Recorder of Deeds Incident

Another evidence of New Deal-Democratic pretense and hypocrisy was the effort made to emasculate the Office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, employing the largest numbe of Colored clerks in Washington.

If it had been for Republican Senators, the emasculation would have been made, many Colored clerks necessarily dismissed, and Dr. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, would have been greatly embarrassed. 14 Republicans and 1 Progressive came to the rescue and recorded 15 votes against the transfer, making the final vote 33 nays to 21 yeas. **Not a single Republican voted for the transfer.**

With this record before Negro voters of the North, four weeks before the Presidential election 1940, what is there to lead Colored men and women to feel that they should vote for a Party which has given every evidence of its intention not only to kill the Anti-Lynching Bill once and for all, but also to prevent, if possible, the passage of legislation substituting finger-printing for photographs as identification for Civil Service applicants—two objectives for which we have fought for many weary years.

A vote for the New Deal-Democratic Party on November 5th is a vote to perpetuate the indignities constantly visited upon Negroes by the New-Deal Democratic Party.

Frankly, undisguisedly, and openly, it is being made plain to Negroes that the purpose is to use them as "cat's paws" to win one more eleciton. The New Deal-Democratic Party is determined that a Square Deal shall not be extended Negroes. The effort is plain to notify Negroes they are not to be permitted to rise above the dead level of a democracy which is supposed to offer all of its citizens—black and white alike—an equal chance ot succeed in this country.

Roosevelt Approves Soldier Segregegation

Finally, the United Press reports that—"President Roosevelt today (October 9, 1940) approved the system of segregating Negro and white tropos in the expanding military service.

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"Secretary Early (of the White House Staff) said the segregation policy was approved following a conference of Mr. Roosevelt, Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, two other Negro leaders, Secretary Knox, and Assistant Secretary of War Patterson."

And the NAACP has been fighting agreed-upon, and negotiated segregation as a principle during all of its existence. After spending thousands and thousands of dollars fighting segregation as a fixed principle—why this sudden and tragic about face?

The above is the record. Are Negroes of the North and East, where their votes are cast and counted, ready to vote on November 5th for the New Deal-Democratic Party which so lightly regards their wishes and desires, and refuses to accord them that full measure of respect and fair-play which is theirs by every right as citizens of the Republic?

Self-respect should rise up on November 5th and overwhelmingly rebuke and crush the despots of the New Deal-Democratic Party, which is not willing to accord them even that elementary justice to which they are entitled.

Colored people of the United States

"HE DOES NOT TREAT MY PEOPLE RIGHT DOWN HOME"

NOV 8 1940

What stronger or broader love could any man have for his people than Joe Louis expressed, when he said the President has had eight years to do something about the anti-lynching bill and has not done anything about it. He has not treated my people right down home, and I cannot support the New Deal. I am not a politician, I am a fighter. I have always been a Baptist and a Republican, and I cannot forget my people in their suffering down home. Mr. Willkie says he will treat my people right down home, and I believe he will keep his word.

These words coming from the heart of Joe Louis expressed the true spirit of Christian statesmanship. Not out of the heart of a politician or commercialized preacher, but out of the honest soul of the man who loves his neighbor more than he does a corrupt dollar. Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends. That is what Christ did. The individual who lives to care for himself first before he thinks of the welfare of his neighbors is an infidel and has no place with those who love the Lord in truth and Spirit. It matters not whether the individual is a boxer or a bishop in the great A. M. E. Church, or any other church. It is not the rank in the church or state that counts most in the summary of what men do, but it is the service that man renders humanity under God that counts.

What people did Joe Louis have in mind when he said, the President has not done my people down home right; Mr. Willkie said he would treat them right, and I am willing to take his word. Joe had in mind the humble and persecuted Negro in Alabama where he was born, and all the Negroes throughout the South. We are the people Joe's heart bleeds for and his eyes shed briney tears. He has not forgotten the suffering of his race down home because of the personal success that has come to him in the North. With great wealth in his pocket, and a world-wide reputation, because he had vision for his race, his great heart bleeds for the relief of his people down home from persecution and proscription by the Democratic Party under the New Deal.

Compare the words of Joe Louis with the subversive conduct of a few mercenary bishops, college presidents, and other high church functionaries on the New Deal payroll to determine which is worth more to the race as an inspiration and an asset —Joe, the prize-fighter, or an educated leader who places a meal ticket above liberty. Joe Louis loves his people down home under God; the "Big Negro" sells his people down the river to the Democrats to be segregated and humiliated for a meal ticket, a minor job, or a tainted dollar. This stripe of Negro leader uses the prestige they gain wearing sheep's clothing to promote their personal interest for tainted money. They never think of the suffering of their people down home. Their one thought is, how much money can I get for my influence up here. There are but a few Boyds, Williams, Princes, Pleasants, Sims and DePriests left among those who have not forgotten their people down home.

Ninety-five per cent of the Negro leaders on the Democratic payroll are like the multitude that followed Christ after He fed five thousand people on two fishes and five loaves of bread. The crowd meant no good to Christ; they followed Him for the loaves and fishes, and in like manner the mercernary Negro leadership that infests Democratic headquarters care nothing for the Democratic Party or the race; all they seek is a meal ticket, minor job—called advisor to my white boss—or a tainted dollar.

Joe Louis has set a fine example for the educated Negro leadership to follow. What a blessing it would be if the Negro from the South had not gone North and forgotten his people down home. He is so visionless that he cannot see the wisdom of using his vote in the North, where he can use it, to relieve his brothers in the South, who cannot use their votes to relieve themselves. So, the Northern Negro prefers to sell his people down home to the Democrats in the North for a miserable dish of pottage, like Judas sold Christ to the Roman soldiers. Jehovah must frown in anger upon those who play politics with rights and freedom of his people for a few corrupt dollars and employment under the New Deal. Just a few days ago, the president of Wilberforce University advised his people that the New Deal with all of its segregation was the salvation of the race in America. Happily this special demagogue was not born in the United States. He has forgotten his people down home who made him decent and respectable since he left the British Islands a few years ago and became a naturalized American citizen. We advise this educated refugee to read Joe Louis' speech—the President has had eight years, and he has not done anything about the anti-lynching bill, and he does not treat my people down home right. This president is unfit to head Wilberforce University.

—Union-Review

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REPUBLICAN

HEAVYWEIGHT CHAMPION SAYS HE BELIEVES G.O.P. NOMINEE WILL GIVE NEGRO SQUARE DEAL

The Call
Kansas City, Mo.

Brown Bomber Says Roosevelt Has Not Done Much for Negro in Two Terms He Has Been in White House

NOV 1 1940

DETROIT. — Joe Louis heavyweight boxing champion of the world and idol of his people, announced this week that he favors Wendell Willkie, Republican candidate for President, over Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In a telegram sent to the Republican national committee, Louis said:

"I am a fighter, not a politician. This country has been good to me. It gave me everything I have got.

"I was a poor young fellow where a fellow like me don't have a chance.

"There are things going on down there that make for all this difference. The way they persecute people of my race don't give them much chance under that set-up.

"It aint everybody down there but just certain people. If I amount to anything now I want what I have got to help my people.

"I have never come out for any candidate before but I think Willkie will give us a square deal.

"Roosevelt has had two terms to show us what he could, but did not give us an Anti-Lynching Bill. He has not done so much for us in other ways.

"I heard Willkie say—'Murder in the South ought to be just what it is in the North.'

"He said he is against hoodlums no matter who they work for.

"So I am for Willkie because I think he will help my people. I figure my people should be for him too.

"Wendell Willkie promises relief until you get a job with a future.

"I don't like them bringing Barkley and Byrnes up North to manage things because they always fought the Anti-Lynching bill which Roosevelt promised us 8 years ago and did not make good.

"That is why I am in Willkie's corner."

JOE LOUIS

Republican Club Urges Negroes To Cast Votes For Wendell L. Willkie

NOV 4 1940

Daily World
Atlanta

The Young Men's Republican Club of Georgia and of Fulton County is making an appeal to all Negro voters to vote the straight Republican ticket on Tuesday, Novmeber 5th and makes the following statement as reasons for the to so vote:

First, because the Republican Party and its leaders passed the 13th, 14th, and 15th, Amendments to the Constitution, which made Negroes free, and full-fledged citizen of the United States, thereby creating the right which makes it possible today for us to be whatever political faith we may choose —Republican, Democrat, New Dealer, Communist, or what-not.

Second, because all down through the years, the Republican Party has fostered and recognized the Negro politically in every section and state of the Nation. Even in states where Negroes had no votes to offer in return, they have insisted that Negroes participate in the party's councils.

Third, bcause every law standing on the statute books of this nation passed for the purpose of intimidating, segregating, and restricting the rights and privileges of Negroes was passed by the Democratic Party. And even now, operating under the banner of the New Deal Party, this same Democratic Party, and its elements, has inaugurated into the Federal department in Washington more segregation of Negro workers than has ever before existed.

Fourth, because as men and women, who have some pride and manhood left in us, we cannot afford to vote for a political party, no how great personal magnetism of its leader, that is controlled by and is subservient to political leaders who are prejudice to Negroes, and insist on dealing with us a wards of the government instead of as full-fledged citizens of the United States.

Fifth, because we cannot lend our support to any system of government, or political party—no matter who its leader be, that will create an infority complex in future generations of Negro men women and children.

Let us continue to carry on the fight of the old war horses, Booker T. Washington, Rev. W. J. White, T. Thomas Fortune, R. H. Boyd, Rev. C. T. Walker, Monroe Trotter, Rev. L. K. Williams, Henry Lincoln Johnson, Henry A. Rucker, W. E. B. DuBois, B. J. Davis, Robert Abbott, and many others, some of whom even faced the lynchers' rope to preserve for us of today the sacred rights—LIBERTY, FULL RECOGNITION, AND THE RIGHT TO ASPIRE EVERYTHING WHICH THIE NATION HAS TO OFFER.

Let us not think to much now of the meager material gains from the benefits of social legislation passed in recent years, but more of the gaining trend to deal with us as a separate unit. These laws were passed by Congress for the benefit of all citizens and not especially for Negroes. And in this connection, stop and think, if we are, even in these laws, participating as fully as we should.

We urge you to vote for Wendell L. Willkie, who uttered these ringing words Saturday night at Madison Square Garden, New York City, before an audience of many races, colors, and creeds—NOT AN AUDIENCE COMPOSED ONLY OF NEGROES:

"I repudiate, now and forever any and all men and women, individually or collectively, who practice or promote racial religious intolerance or persecution.

I want specifically to denounce as a malicious, reckless, and harmful to all concerned to whispering campaign that is being conducted by the opposition to connect with that kind of intolerance. That kind of campaign is not a smear or Wendell Willkie. It is a smear or American principles."

"I will defend, always have defended the rights and civil liberties of all people,, regardless of race, creed, or color. They are Americans."

F. C. Gassett, president; Fulton County Young Men's Republican club. Mrs. Mae Yates, president Fulton County Young Women's Republican Club.

WIBECAN PREDICTS HEAVY NEGRO REPUBLICAN VOTES

NOV 2 1940

"Wendell Willkie will gain the support of a majority of the Negro voters in Kings County as a result of the latter's forthright statements on racial and other issues and due to the discriminations and class hatred preached by the New Deal and Franklin Roosevelt", George E. Wibecan, Negro County Leader of the Republican Party, predicted Monday.

New York

From the headquarters of the County Organization, 500 Herkimer street, where the Kings County Colored Republican Organization has been for the past six weeks conducting an intensive pre-registration and election campaign, literature has been mailed out to borough voters. District meetings have been held in eighteen of the twenty-three assembly district of Brooklyn and an educational campaign has been conducted.

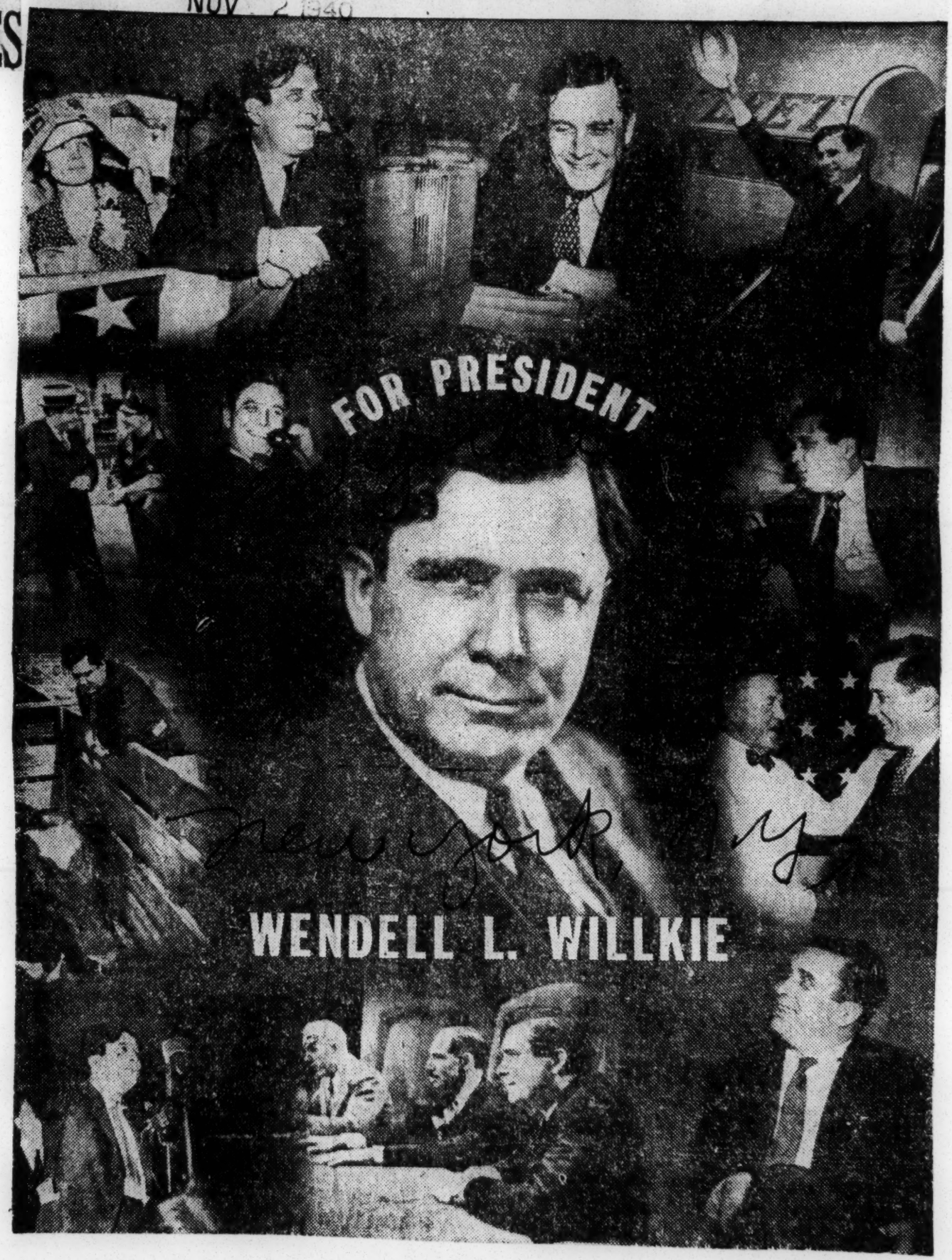
New York

"President Roosevelt has sanctioned jim crow in the army and the navy, he has been silent on lynching, he has done all in his power to foment racial and class prejudice," Wibecan stated. Wendell Willkie's stand on the various issues of the campaign has been bold and vigorous and fair. I predict that Negroes in Kings County will do their bit for a Republican victory because of the fact that the Democratic South has crucified the Negro and that Democratic South is owned and controlled by the man who seeks a third term."

Dr. A. M. Jacobs is director of the campaign headquarters. Mrs. Ethel Hall is County Co-Leader.

Our Choice For President

NOV 2 1940



New York, N.Y.

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REPUBLICAN

The Republican Party Lives And Learns ---- Maybe

NOV 1 5 1940

When the Republicans assembled last June, prospects were very bright for a Republican victory this year, even though it was apparent at that time Mr. Roosevelt was going to be "drafted" to lead the Democratic Party in a try for a third term.

The duty confronting the Republican Convention was very simple. That was to nominate its most available man for the Presidency. **AVAILABILITY** at that time as now, was more important than **ABILITY**. And availability, then as now, represents vote-getting ability. It also represents the kind of candidate that is least vulnerable to the attacks, fair or foul, the opposition can make against him.

AVAILABILITY was preached to the delegates as the most important asset the 1940 Republican candidate needed by no less a crusader for Republican success than the eminent Chicago Tribune, then as now, the most forceful and undeviating standard bearer of Republicanism in the United States. "Before we can **HAVE** a **PRESIDENT**, we must **ELECT** one," is the way the Tribune cautioned the men and women who were given the responsibility of naming the 1940 candidate of their party.

By every test of **AVAILABILITY** Thomas E. Dewey was the strongest man the Republicans had to offer for the Presidency in 1940. We have only to recall the brillant record of vote-getting that the young New Yorker had made at the time the Republicans assembled in Philadelphia; he had been elected District Attorney in the cty of New York, a Democratic stronghold, and was a more popular vote-getter than Mayor LaGuardia. He had run for governor of New York State and whittled away a majority of more than a million votes which the Democrats rolled up in 1936, being defeated by a mere 60,000 votes. In that 1938 race, Mr. Dewey established the Republican party as the **MAJORITY** party in the state of New York. He polled more Republican votes, although fought by both President Roosevelt and Mr. James A. Farley, than the number of Democratic votes cast. It took the votes of the American Labor Party and the votes of 100,000 Communists to defeat Mr. Dewey by that mere 60,000 plurality.

Thomas E. Dewey was the overwhelming favorite of Negro voters from one end of this nation to the other. He was the overwhelming favorite of Negro delegates who participated in the Philadelphia convention. And what is more, Mr Dewey had participated in most of the pre-convention primaries held and was easily the victor over every other candidate who opposed him. He had traveled across some 25,000 miles of the United States and had, better than any other Republican stalwart, sounded the keynote of Republicanism and endeared himself to the rank and file of the masses of Republicans of the nation.

The one thing that the big politicos had against Mr. Dewey was his age. He was only 38. That, we believe, was an asset instead of a handicap. In defense of his age, Mr. Dewey had replied to his critics with this confession:

"I plead guilty to the crime of having ben born in the 20th Century."

It is a part of the unsavory record of many of the big-wigs of the Republican Party that they instituted a "stop Dewey" movement and diligently carried it out despite the increasing popularity of the young New Yorker with the voters.

The big-wigs were aided and abetted by the most intense and partisan newspaper blitzkrieg ever turned loose in this country. Even newspapers which subsequently failed to support the man they had picked to "stop Dewey," gave the opposition candidate all they had in sentiment-making publicity. There never was anything as wholly false as the newspaper pretense that Mr. Willkie was the overwhelming choice of Republicans for the Presidency.

It takes only a little reflecting at this date to reach the conclusion that the big daily newspapers misled the people in regard to whom the people wanted the Republicans to nominate for the Presidency.

What had Mr. Willkie done in his life that would dramatize him before the masses of American voters? Why, if Mr. Willkie was so well known throughout the nation, was it necessary to have him travel so far and wide to give the people a chance to see him? What was there in Mr. Willkie's record as a successful president of a corporation to make the average voter believe that experience outweighed public service? What, above all, was there in Mr. Willkie's record as a corporation president to prove that such experience was valuable for vote-getting?

We do not know how many Americans who sat by their radios listening to the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention got the impression that there was an honest-to-goodness uprising of the people—a wholly disinterested people—clamoring for the nomination of Mr. Willkie. Suffice it to say that the screaming galleries and the "cock and bull" stories that were dished out to the people by a majority of daily newspapers was merely a carefully stage-managed affair, and it is to the discredit of the delegates who sat in the Philadelphia convention that they let either the bedlam of packed galleries or the propaganda of newspapers deter them from making a real Republican nomination for the President at a Republican convention.

It will be remembered by radio listeners that when the first ballot for the Presidency was taken at Philadelphia, Thomas E. Dewey far outdistanced all of his competitors for the Presidency. They will remember, also, and possibly for the first time in history, the leading candidate for the Presidency began to lose votes on the second ballot, when as a matter of justice and fair play his delegates should have stuck with him. What the public does not know is the extent to which willful men went in their efforts to get delegates to desert Mr. Dewey in violation of instructions given them in primaries and conventions. Some of these delegates, very frankly admitted that pressure was brought upon them to desert Mr. Dewey. It was the cruel pressure of special interests and not pressure from the rank and file of voters. However much fun Republican orators were able to poke at the Chicago convention which nominated Mr. Roosevelt, the fact remains that the Philadelphia convention was as ludicrous an affair as the one at Chicago. It is to the credit of the Chicago convention that it DID nominate the man for whom the people in convention and primaries had expressed preference. The Philadelphia convention nominated a man, who, for reasons best known to his backers, refused to allow his name to go into any primary or before any convention. It was deemed easier and less expensive to control a national convention and this proved to be a fact, though sad and discomfiting.

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Full faith and credit is to be accorded Mr. Willkie for the valiant fight he made to retrive a victory following the blunder at Philadelphia which, after it was made, disheartened Republicans from one end of the country to another. Mr. Willkie made his race on one issue, that of a Third Term. Neither Dewey nor Taft would have depended upon the Third Term issue to win victory for the Republicans. They would have offered an opposition on both the New Deal's domestic and foreign policies that would have given no voter an excuse for feeling that the Republican and Democratic candidates were running on the same platform. Endorsement by Mr. Willkie of the Roosevelt domestic and foreign policies gave all voters who were indifferent about the Third Term issue the right to say that the man with the more experience in carrying out those policies should be President.

The lessons to be gained from the 1940 election, for the Republican Party, are as plain as day. They are, that it is unwise to experiment with a new recruit from the opposition party as a Presidential candidate when the party has men of equal **ABILITY** and greater **AVAILABILITY** in its own ranks—men who have borne the battle and heat of day for Re-

publican success, and whose title to leadership has been won in primaries and conventions, from the rank and file of Republican voters;

That in consideration of the need for the Republican party to recapture its share of Negro voters in Northern and border states the best thing to do is to choose a candidate whom Negroes know, and most certainly one who inspires their enthusiasm;

That an unequivocal stand for "America First" and opposition to involvment in foreign wars is a far greater issue with the American people than whether or not a President should be elected for a Third Term;

That there must be a definite parting of the ways between the Republican leadership and all selfish interests that can boss our national conventions with threats that they will refuse to make campaign contributions unless they are permitted to pick the Presidential candidate.

Danville, Va., Register
November 1, 1940

JOE LOUIS AT BEST AND WORST

Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis appears to much better advantage as a prospective draftee than as a political speaker. Joe's comment when notified of his order number was that he had no reason to seek exemption and was ready to serve where assigned. "I want to do what would help the country most."

That willingness to leave his fistic throne and start a new sort of training grind where the year's pay is less than he receives for one minute in the ring shows the Negro champion in a light quite different from the ring hero of 1917. Jack Dempsey made no such offer, and while he denies the epithet "slacker" so often hurled at him was justified, he was not so prompt nor so willing as Joe Louis to quit the gilded palace for the khaki tent.

No one can question the patriotism of Joe Louis. In national defense, as in many other relations, the Alabama-born and Detroit-bred Negro is an example for his race.

With that compliment, we turn to Joe as a political speaker. Anyone who has read the story of Joe Louis knows the big, silent bomber had rather take a one-two to the jaw (as much as he dislikes those blows) than ascend the platform and attempt a political speech. He has been pushed forward as a spokesman simply because he has the respect of his race. His pushers are Willkie campaign managers desperately in search of Negro votes needed to overcome Roosevelt popularity in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit and many other cities.

While many Negro leaders are well informed regarding the issues of the campaign, it is doubtful that Joe Louis either knows or cares what the prospects of a Willkie victory may be. He is merely reciting a few lines his advisers wrote for him. It is like any other of his numerous public appearances that so often place the heavy-muscled, kindly champion of the ring in strange surroundings. The political ring is one ring where Joe appears a helpless novice instead of a rearing, tearing, cold-blooded mauler with a knockout in either hand.

Thomasville, Ga., Wkly. Times-Ent.
November 1, 1940

REPUBLICANS DRAFT JOE LOUIS

The Republicans have added to their campaign speakers, Joe Louis, negro heavyweight champion. The fact that it has been necessary to go out into the realm of pugilism to get speakers, ostensibly aimed at securing the negro vote over the country, indicates a dearth of speakers on the part of the GOP or the lack of sufficient appeal to the negroes to insure their support at the polls.

We can imagine that Joe Louis will take lots more punishment attempting to make a speech than he would take from an opponent in the ring. He will be just about as much out of place trying to make a speech as the average over-weight politician would be in the ring.

The Tifton Gazette also has its ideas about Joe Louis and his appeal to the negro voters, and had the following in a recent issue:

We started reading a statement by Joe Louis, the colored boxer, in which he announced his support of Wendell Willkie for president. The statement began: " 'This country has been good to me. It gave me everything I've got. " So far, so good, and our opinion of Louis began to mount. But then we read further: 'I was just a poor young fellow coming up from the South. There are things going on down there . . . the way they persecute people. It ain't everybody, just certain people. I've never come out for any candidate before, and I think Willkie will give us a square deal. Roosevelt had two terms to show what he could do, but didn't give us an anti-lynching bill. He hasn't done much for us other ways. I am for Willkie because I figure he will help my people, and I figure my people ought to be for him, too." Then we remembered that Joe Louis probably would know nothing of the thousands of negroes who are being helped by relief, who work on WPA projects, and who are protected by the wage-hour law, and so we dismissed Louis from our thoughts. His statement for Willkie packs nothing of the wallop the boy carries in his fists.—Tifton Gazette.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
November 1, 1940

'I'm No Boss,' Said Crump; But GOP Banner Is Banned

MEMPHIS, Oct. 31 (AP)—Wendell Willkie's campaign along Beale Street, celebrated Negro thoroughfare, will have to get along without benefit of the name of Joe Louis.

Hung in front of Negro Republican headquarters was a large banner bearing the heavyweight boxing champion's name and saying: "Our own Joe Lewis is for Willkie."

Some sticklers for accuracy took it down to change the "Lewis" to "Louis," and when they tried to put it back up they met with an official "No."

City Commissioner Robert S. Frederick said he rejected the sign "because it carried the name of one who is not a candidate for any office."

Asked later on what he based his action, Fredericks said that although there is no city ordinance limiting the names appearing on political banners, "I think that is a matter to be governed by this office. x x x I talked it over with the mayor this morning, and he agreed with me that only candidates should have their names on signs."

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At the Willkie Notification in Elwood

Fancy straw hats for the heat, and fancy hats for Willkie were the style at Elwood, Ind., Saturday as the sun beat down on the crowd of a quarter million persons attending the notification ceremonies. This picture was snapped in front of the headquarters of the Frederick Douglass Entertainment committee, set up by Cornelius Richardson of Richmond, Ind., who arranged for the reception of 2,000 Negroes who attended.

'MOSES OM MIAMI' PREDICTS WENDELL WILLKIE VICTORY

Los Angeles—"A new era for the American Negro" was hailed by Sam B. Solomon Tuesday evening in Long Beach as he predicted a 1940 victory for GOP presidential candidate, Wendell Willkie.

The famed "Moses of Miami" has been on a lecture tour through California. He retold the dramatic story of Negroes in Miami who fought the Ku Klu Klan and police brutality to gain their right of franchise.

Wilkie Confers With Colored Leaders While On Vacation

Northwest Enterprise 8-9-40 Seattle, Washington

Washington, D. C. — Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential nominee, continues to receive representatices of the Negro-group at his vacation-headquarters, Colorado Springs, and to repeat in interviews what he so frankly and openly said to Colored Delegates with whom he conferred at Philadelphia before his nomination — that, "when elected, he will see that colored citizens get their fair proportion of appointments, their fair representation in policy-making, and that he will seek to remove all kinds of discrimination from all kinds of groups."

Further, he has given the heartening assurance that his political philosophy is that the Negro is a ful-fledged citizen under the Constitution of the United States, and should receive the same consideration as other citizens of the Republic.

This attitude was again emphasized last week when he conferred with Bishop Noah W. Williams, presiding bishop of the Fifth District of the African Methodist Episcopal church.

Bishop Williams Backs Willkie

Bishop Williams pledged full support to the Republican nominee. "I think that the salvation of the American people depends largely upon the election of Mr. Willkie," Bishop Williams said. "This question of dole is not the best for any people in America. What we want is self-respect and jobs.

"I shall visit during a series of conferences of the Fifth District, which embraces al lthe territory between St. Louis and the Pacific, at Seattle, Washington, Bakersfield, California; Los Angeles, Denver, Wichita and Lawrence, Kansas; Springfield and Cape Girardeau, Missouri. I shall speak at each one of these conferences and urge the election of Mr. Willkie."

Bishop Williams has made it clear that he was greatly pleased with the ability and personality of the Republican nominee, that he measures up, and that he is a real American in whose hands can safely be placed the afairs of our Government.

Three members of the Editorial Staff of the Colorado Statesman, a Colored newspaper published at Denver, by appointment, also conferred with Mr. Willkie—Messrs. E. V. Dorsey, William M. Thalley and Thomas E. Henderson. Their report of the interview is an enthusiastic as the one made by Bishop Williams.

Mr. Willkie was then told that the Negro is in reality "the forgotten man" in the United States.

His answer was, "The forgotten man will not be forgotten."

"Mr. Willkie is of that splendid sype of rugged individualism, a man that America will love and respect," the report finally concludes.

This is the jubilant feeling brought from every conference with the nominee by Colored citizens who have talked with him, before and since his nomination.

Mr. Willkie has not been afraid to meet the issues which bear down upon Colored men and women in every walk of life, and who find their hopes and aspirations thwarted and crushed by a sinister, undemocratic, un-American prejudice on account of their color wherever they turn, in Government, and in their struggles to achieve full-rounded citizenship—the pride and goal of every disadvantaged minority group.

Compare Party Planks on Negro

In contrast with this attitude, note the atitude of the present incumbent of the White House. The Pittsburg Courier, a newspaper that once followed the fortunes of the New Deal, on its front page carries the Republican and Democratic planks on The Negro and asks that they be read and compared.

Under the Republican plank, The Courier publishes Mr. Willkie's forthright unevasive statements, while under the Democratic plank it sententiously remarks: "The Democratic Candidate, our President, has not said one thing concerning Negro citizens during his seven years in office. We now await a statement from him since he has secured the nomination for a third term."

Such a statement will hardly be forthcoming, and if it should issue, it will appear as a self-serving document, forced by the circumstances of the hour—and after more than seven years of complete, blank silence.

Knoxville Tenn. Journal October 29, 1940

Negroes To Go To GOP Rally

A motorcade from Knoxville will carry Negro supporters of Wendell Willkie to LaFollette tonight to hear an address in the Negro High School there by Walter C. Robinson, editor of the Chattanooga Observer, a Negro weekly. The rally will begin at 7:30 p. m.

Charles S. Badgett, Second District GOP chairman, said a bus has been chartered and several cars also will be in the motorcade. It will leave Negro Willkie headquarters, Vine Street and Central Avenue, at 6 p. m.

The rally was arranged by Joe Carden, Campbell County Willkie manager, and Sam A. Cain, principal of the LaFollette Negro school. I. W. Crippen, Knoxville Willkie co-manager, is arranging details of the motorcade.

Former Willkie Students Praise G.O.P. Nominee

Coffeyville Citizens Say Wendell Willkie Was Free of Any Prejudice

SEP 20 19

COFFEYVILLE, Kas. — Negro students in Wendell Willkie's history class back in 1913 and 1914 were always glad when history time came because Mr. Willkie's room was the only one in the building where they could sit where they wanted to.

When Willkie, the Republicon presidential nominee, taught in the Coffeyville high school here for a year and a half he was known then as a young prejudice-free "pepper box" who didn't know about any "difference" between races.

There were 12 Negro students in Willkie's history class. Four of them still live here.

"I was always glad when history time came," said Mrs. Ida Mae Grant, 618 E. Fifth St., "because in Mr. Willkie's class we could sit anywhere we wanted to. The other teachers made all the colored students sit in the back rows of their classrooms. Mr. Willkie didn't make any difference between the colored and white students and wouldn't permit anyone to do so in his class."

Dean A. Johnson, employe at the courthouse here since 1925, said he remembered Willkie as a "big-hearted man." He was always so much bigger than the other teachers. He was always friendly to the colored students and treated them just like he did anybody else.

"When school first started in the fall of 1913," Mr Johnson said, "Mr Willkie told the students in his class to leave their prejudices outside when they came into his room. He said that he was the instructor and that everybody in the classroom was just a student to him, white or black. He ...ay any attention to their ...

...hnson said that he resent... ...icle which appeared in an ... weekly newspaper several ...ago saying that Willkie "was ...g it convenient to smile at ...roes during the campaign."

"I got angry when I read ...at," Mr. Johnson said. "started to write that paper and tell the editor that Mr. Willkie had the same smile 25 years ago. Willkie was only 21 years old then and hadn't given a thought to being president. He was just as friendly then as he is now, maybe moreso because he had more time then."

SEP 26 1940

Mr. Johnson said that he thought Willkie would make a fine President.

Johnson was one of the many former students of Willkie to take an active part in the city-wide Willkie Students club which helped make arrangements for the big homecoming celebration. Johnson attended a former Willkie student banquet held in the Dale hotel, downtown, and had his picture taken with other Willkie students by the local Coffeyville Journal.

Not a Negro person could be found in Coffeyville who remembered Willkie as other than a friendly, easy-to-meet, democratic person.

Mrs. Helen Fisher, formerly of Coffeyville, now of Kansas City, Kas., who was there for the homecoming said that she liked Willkie because of his "go-getiveness." He had lots of initiation, she said, and had the type of personality that this country needs for president.

Mrs. Fisher, who also studied history under Willkie, said that her former school teacher was largely responsible for getting Negro boys on the athletic teams at the Coffeyville high school. "He had no prejudice," she said, "and was well liked by all the students."

Other Negro students of Wendell Willkie and their present addresses are:

Andrew Fitz, Council Bluffs, Iowa; A. G. Rogers, Tulsa, Okla.; Herbert Haskell, Tulsa; Mrs. Lennie Dawson Bell, Los Angeles; Mrs. Beulah Thompson Skinner, Coffeyville; Mrs. Cludia Bolsford, Alexander, Pittsburg, Kas.; Lydia Teal Mozley, Coffeyville; Mrs. Glenna Roan Rhodes, Coffeyville; Isaac Knox, address unknown; Mrs. Mary Edwina Pierce, Coffeyville.

These names were taken from the class roll at the Coffeyville junior college which was the high school when Willkie taught here.

In his speech at Coffeyville, Willkie plead for the preservation of democracy. He said that in a democracy each individual is equal to any other individual. Under a democratic government, Willkie asserted, each man should have freedom and liberty.

CROWD OF 7,500 COLORED PEOPLE AT COFFEYVILLE

Friends of Wendell Willkie in Large Attendance At Kansas Meeting

SEP 27 1940

COFFEYVILLE, Kans., Sept 26—(By George Woods, Jr., for ANP)—"The preservation of Democracy is the goal of my campaign," declared Republican presidential nominee Wendell L. Willkie in his "kick-off speech" at "Willkie Park" before a crowd estimated at 67,500 of which 7,500 were Negroes of Kansis, Missouri, and Oklahoma.

This was the high point of the 2-day celebration which was preceded that afternoon by a parade through the business section of the city.

Invitation for the homecoming were sent to both colored and white former students of Willkie's history class at Coffeyville High school. Dean A. Johnson, former student there, declared. Johnson, a custodian at the city hall, was also active in the local Willkie Student club of which Mrs. Lloyd L. Banta, white, is the president.

Activities of the Negroes in the celebration were climaxed on Monday night by a dance in the Cleveland school auditorium under the direction of Principal H. L. Caldwell, with music by the College Swing Trio. About 75 out-of-town and local couples attended.

The local Negro Willkie Homecoming club, Clarence Washington, president, played an important part in creating interest in the celebration. Among the 50 newspaper women and men present at the homecoming, were six colored reporters. They were: Miss Lucile Blueford, The Call, Kansas City; Sam Reynolds, The Muskogee Okla. Independent Editor James H. Hamlett, Myles C. Stevens, William J. Oakley, the Plain-Dealer, Topeka, and this writer.

WILLKIE VS. ROOSEVELT

OCT 4 1940

By Emmett J. Scott

Unemployment is still rampant among us and we wonder why.

The reason is to be found in the failure of this administration to free enterprise and industry so that jobs may be offered every man and woman who wants a real American job, who wants real work, and who wants to earn real wages.

Relief is no solvent of the problems of Colored Americans. At best it is only a stop-gap, and, as we have often pointed out, only a palliative.

It has made of many of us economic outcasts, with widespread privation, starvation on every hand, and the desperate calamity facing men and women who wish to earn their living from the sweat of their brows that they may respectably care for their families. We are not charity seekers.

WILLKIE FACES ISSUE

Wendell Willkie faced this issue squarely in an address at Seattle last week when he said that the Third-Term Candidate "does not believe there are any more jobs whereas I know there are. He does not believe that he can put the unemployed back to work; whereas I know that we can."

Undoubtedly, unless we discontinue Government waste and extravagance, we shall find ourselves on the road to national bankruptcy. Mr. Willkie is right when he said that the crusade he is conducting is "to make jobs; to put this country back to work, and to build a new America with a higher standard of living than we ever dreamed of before."

"Democracy is rooted," he said, "in prosperity." There can be no gainsaying this wise pronouncement. It is only by the restoration of prosperity that greater opportunity may be provided for the Negro people and all others who have suffered from the aggravated failures of this administration.

OCT 4 1940

SOCIAL GAINS NOT SECURE

The New Deal has talked much of social gains of this country under the administration of the Third-Term Candidate. It is well to bear in mind that all of these alleged social gains have been provided with borrowed monies and in the present financial condition of the Treasury are far from secure. This money will have to be paid back by this and succeeding generations, and by every man, woman and child now living in this country.

The present administration must be replaced by one which will devote itself to solving the problems of America.

The problems of Europe engage our sympathies and our interest, but we have problems of our own, and the United States must solve its own problems if it is to have any effective share in helping to solve the problems of others.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
November 1, 1940

Negro Backers Of Willkie Are Bum Spellers

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Oct. 31.—(U.P.)—Negro supporters of Wendell L. Willkie agreed today that they had made a campaign blunder.

They had hung a banner across Beale street which read: "Our own Joe Lewis is for Willkie." Someone noticed that the brown bomber's name was spelled wrong. The banner came down for correction.

It's down for good now. City officials refused to allow the banner to be re-hung.

Welles and Joe Louis Wind Up Hot Maryland Election Drive

Campaign Ends in Blaze of Oratory With Both Sides Predicting Victory; Close Race Seen for Some House Seats

NOV 6 1940 *by the Ass*

Baltimore, Nov. 4. — Maryland's general election campaign wound up tonight in a blaze of oratory and sharply conflicting claims by Democratic and Republican leaders.

Leading off the "climax" speeches were Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State, for the Democrats, and Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis for the Republicans, both speaking in Baltimore.

Throughout the State, Congressional candidates and county leaders delivered broadcast pleas and appeared at final rallies.

W. David Tilgman, jr., Republican State chairman, announced flatly:

Washington

"From the reports I have received I am completely confident that we will carry every county for Mr. Willkie, and, with him, our Senatorial and Congressional candidates."

Truman B. Cash, Democratic chairman:

Post

"We'll bring Mr. Roosevelt into Baltimore with a nice majority and carry Baltimore by a big majority."

Congressional Contests

On the ballots tomorrow, voters must decide Presidential, Senatorial and six Congressional contests and vote for or against six constitutional amendments and two acts of the 1939 Legislature.

Best available reports from the counties tonight indicated a hot Congressional fight in the First District, and close contests in the Fourth and Sixth Districts.

Political observers regarded a significant Democratic Chairman Cash's statement that Presiden Roosevelt would poll a "nice" majority in the counties and a "big" majority in Baltimore.

Chief objective of Republican leaders has been a big county vote for Willkie—particularly on the Eastern Shore—on the theory that, given a large enough county majority, Willkie could overcome the conceded Roosevelt margin in Baltimore.

Aside from the Roosevelt-Willkie Presidential race, the Democratic and Republican State tickets lined up this way:

Washington

For United States Senate—Senator George L. Radcliffe (Democrat); Harry W. Nice (Republican).

Congressional—First, Representative David J. Ward (Democrat), Robert F. Duer (Republican); Second, Representative William P. Cole (Democrat), Theodore Brown (Republican); Third, Representative Thomas D'Alesandro (Democrat), John Janetzke (Republican); Fourth, John A. Meyer (Democrat), Daniel Ellison (Republican); Fifth, Representative Lansdale G. Sasscer (Democrat), John M. Torvestad (Republican).

Sixth: Representative William D. Byron (Democrat); Walter Johnson (Republican).

These constitutional amendments appear on the ballot:

Providing for appointment, instead of election, of the clerk of the State Court of Appeals.

Providing for changes in procedure of the Baltimore Peoples Court.

Providing for additional judge in Seventh Circuit.

Increasing the salary of the Legislature from $450 to $750 a year.

Providing for new apportionment of Third Circuit judges.

Providing that a Governor may not succeed himself.

Providing that salaries of State judges may be taxed.

The acts of the Legislature up for approval or rejection by the voters are one establishing a fisheries commission to replace the present conservation commission and another revising the setup of the State industrial accident commission.

Election officials throughout the State predicted the vote would be heavy. The Weather Bureau predicted the weather would be cloudy, warm and dry.

STOOD BESIDE MEN IN DRIVE

Youth Division Functioned In Grand Style in Fight for Votes

NOV 9 1940

By THELMA BERLACK-BOOZER

Christian Science Monitor

America's most exciting Presidential election—Nov. 5, 1940—will be talked about a long, long time. But along with the talk must go a recognition of the vital part women—both white and colored—played in it. This year found them exercising their right of franchise with diligence, discretion and intelligence.

While a relatively few women ran for political offices, in appreciable numbers they campaigned for their favorite national, state and municipal candidates. They voted themselves and saw to it that the eligible members of their families and their friends' families voted. None of this was without forethought. After all, women waged a tireless battle for their right to vote prior to 1920 and during the twenty years that have followed they have learned how to acclaim their "place in the political sun."

Herald Tribune

New York

Outstanding among white women who voiced their political beliefs in the 1940 Presidential campaign were Dorothy Thompson, Herald-Tribune columnist, who espoused unqualifiedly with her pen and speeches the cause of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, third term candidate; and Clare Booth, famous author of "The Women" and "Europe in the Spring," who voiced relentlessly the reasons why Wendell L. Willkie, Republican candidate, should be the nation's chief executive.

There was a time when the name of Mary C. Bozee, Republican national committeewoman for Mississippi, was perhaps the best known of the Negro women politicians. Conditions are different now, however, and others are acclaiming a "place in the political sun."

Assembly Candidate

Here in Harlem Miss Lucille Womack ran on the Republican ticket as candidate for the New York State Assembly in the 21st District against Assemblyman William T. Andrews, Democratic incumbent.

The 1940 campaign brought to the forefront such women as Crystal Byrd Fauset, former Pennsylvania State Legislator, who directed the Negro women's division of the National Democratic Party; Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, prominent New York lawyer, who headed the Negro women's division of the National Republican Party. They organized and advised Negro women, young and old, by the hundreds throughout the U. S. A.

Champ Says Four More Years of Roosevelt Will Rob the Race of Its Right to Vote

BALTIMORE—A crowd of 3,500 persons looked on as Joe Louis, heavyweight champion of the world, urged them to cast their votes for Wendell L. Willkie and the entire GOP slate, in a five-minute speech at the Coliseum on Monday evening.

"I endorsed Mr. Willkie," said the champion,

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to vote will be taken from us," the champion warned. Louis was introduced by Willard W. Allen, president of the Southern Life Insurance Company. He was the last of five speakers to take the platform and did not use a manuscript.

The meeting, largely attended by hero-worshipping children, was sponsored by the Maryland Colored Republican Voters' League, with Marse Callaway, president of the league, presiding. The invocation was given by the Rev. H. E. Walden, pastor of Waters AME Church.

Other Speakers

Other speakers at the rally were Charles A. Roxborough, a member of the State legislature of Michigan, who acompanied Louis; former Governor Harry W. Nice, for whom Louis especially asked support in his race for the United States Senate;

Daniel C. Ellison, candidate for Congress from the Fourth Congressional District, whom Louis also mentioned, and Linwood Koger, local attorney and GOP leaders were presented by Mr. Callaway before the champion spoke.

Immediately after the heavyweight king's speech, a major portion of the tense, cheering crowd moved toward the exists of the Coliseum. The remaining section rushed to the platform in an attempt to shake the hand or touch the champion as police took charge of him and led him out of the building.

Met at Station by 100

Louis arrived in Baltimore at 4:46 p.m., and was greeted at the Pennsylvania Station by more than 100 members of the reception committee.

He was driven in an auto[illegible] to the headquarters of the M[illegible]land Republican Voters' Leag[illegible] 2128 Madison Avenue, where [illegible] rested, made a change of shi[illegible] and was driven later to the Co[illegible]seum.

A parade led by Preston Duncan's Orchestra, and a drum and bugle corps of boys sponsored by the Fourteenth Ward Republican Organization, began at 4:30 p.m., and marched in a circuitous route to the meeting place. Linwood Koger, Sr., was marshal.

Also Speaks in N. Y.

The meeting over, Louis was driven to board an airplane for New York City, where he spoke with candidate Wendell L. Willkie at the Golden Gate Ballroom at midnight Monday.

Besides Senator Roxborough, Louis was accompanied by his private secretary, Fred Guinyard, and Robert F. Leftridge, assistant director of the colored voters' division of the Republican National Committee.

"because he has promised us that he will do more for the colored people than any other President, Republican or Democrat . . . He has promised us jobs, positions in the government, and an antilynch law."

See Loss of Right to Vote

"Tomorrow is a big day for every colored person in Maryland and in America. I have come to ask you to think before it is too late. I am asking every kid to go home and talk to his mother and father and get them to support Mr. Willkie.

"Four more years of Mr. Roosevelt and our right

Division Leaders Honor G.O.P. Women's Bureau Head

New York Age NOV 2 1940

Chicago, Illinois,—Some of the Officials of the Women's Bureau, Colored Division, Republican National Committee, who joined with a group of Local political and club women at a Get-Together Meeting and Welcome to the women's Director, CHARLOTTA A. BASS of California.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: Attorney Georgia Jones Ellis; Mrs. Grace Bryant, Organizer, State of Michigan; Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, Organizer, State of Illinois; Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, National Director, Western Women's Division; Mrs. Myrtle B. Stryker, Assistant National Director, Colored Women's Division; Mrs. Mary C. Clarke, Speaker's Bureau; and Mrs. Warren B. Douglass, Cook County Organizer.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
October 27, 1940

Organized Labor

AFL'S GREEN SAYS OPPONENT'S SUPPORT OF WILLKIE MAKES HIM 'GENERAL WITHOUT ARMY'

Part of CIO Backing Chief, Part Rebels; Negroes Question.

(STARTS ON PAGE ONE)

phen T. Early dissented sharply from some of Lewis' charges, but their statements fell short of the bitterness with which Lewis had announced his abandonment of the New Deal on Friday night.

"Mr. Lewis is 100 per cent wrong in his efforts to prejudice the American people by the baseless charge that President Roosevelt is seeking to get this nation into war," Hull said. "He has at all times striven to promote and preserve peace and the safety of the United States."

Early said that CIO leaders opposing Lewis' plea had rallied to the President's support with telephone calls and telegrams, reaffirming their intentions to help Mr. Roosevelt win a third term.

A Lonely Road?

Lewis "has chosen to go down a lonely road," Early added.

He revealed that Mr. Roosevelt had confirmed tentative plans to speak in Boston from 10:15 to 11 o'clock on the night of Oct. 30. The President would have an opportunity at that time to reply to Lewis or again at another speaking engagement at Madison Square Garden, New York, on Oct. 28.

In contrast to Early's report on the messages of support, Lewis' office said that "bushels" of approving telegrams had been received by the CIO leader. Comment from CIO leaders throughout the country showed a sharp split in sentiment.

John F. Murray of Sharon, Pa., sub-regional director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, was said by Early to have informed the White House that his men would "repudiate" Lewis. Likewise, Early said he had heard indirectly that Van A. Bittner, an official of Lewis' own union, the United Mine Workers, would speak Oct. 31 in support of the third term.

Illinois CIO Goes Willkie

Illinois CIO leaders and officers of Labor's Non-partisan League in that state voted at a formal meeting to follow Lewis into the Willkie camp. Allan S. Haywood, national organization director, announced in New York that he and many of his colleagues would follow the Lewis bidding.

But the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Textile Workers' Union, the Federation of Hosiery Workers and the United Retail and Wholesale Employes Union declared that they were for Mr. Roosevelt, regardless of Lewis.

Executive board members and officers and members of local boards of the CIO's United Automobile Workers Union in Michigan planned to call a meeting for tomorrow to endorse the pro-Roosevelt stand taken by the UAW's president, R. J. Thomas.

Leon Charles Bouchat, president of the CIO's Glass Workers' Union local at Creighton, Pa., said he would demand Lewis' removal as CIO leader at the Atlantic City convention Nov. 18. Lewis said Friday night that he would resign then if Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected.

Analysis Difficult

Political analysts meantime weighed the possible effect of Lewis' move in industrialized sections of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, New Jersey and New York, where the CIO has many members. The rift in CIO sentiment, however, made analysis difficult.

Labor's vote is only one of the multiple factors in the picture. Former Chairman James A Farley of the Democratic National Committee has said that the Negro vote in those states could swing an election in a close race.

Lewis' appeal to Negroes to join him in support of Willkie contrasted with Administration moves giving a number of Negroes prominent recognition. Only yesterday Mr. Roosevelt announced the elevation of Col. Benjamin O. Davis to the rank of Brigadier-

MR. GREEN

General — the first Negro to hold that rank.

Negroes Getting Break

During the day Mrs. Roosevelt entertained 400 delegates to the sixth annual meeting of the National Council of Negro Women here. The delegates met at the White House in a closed session and Mrs. Roosevelt addressed the gathering and had tea served.

At a late hour last night, the White House announced Mr. Roosevelt's assignment of Judge William H. Hastie, Negro dean of Howard University Law School, as civilian aide to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. Selective service headquarters had announced a few hours earlier that Maj. Campbell C. Johnson, another Negro, had been appointed executive assistant to draft director Clarence A. Dykstra.

Nailing Another Campaign Lie

NOV 30 1940

During the stress of political campaigns people become so extremely partisan candor and reason is thrown to the dogs. There is small chance that any one will stop to listen to truth. In such an atmosphere lies dominate and are too often believed by the multitude.

We are moved to make this comment because of opportunity to expose a lie current during the recent campaign. A campaign book issued by the Republican National Committee, and misnamed "An Appeal to the Common Sense of Colored Citizens" carried this statement on page 12:

The Black Dispatch

> "Southern legislators, intimates of President Roosevelt, occupy the chairmanship of the most important committees in the House of Representatives and in the Senate".

The little misleading booklet then proceeded to name the many chairmen of House and Senate Committees, directly charging Roosevelt named these Southerners to important legislative posts.

We nailed this lie immediately following our persual of one of these Republican booklets in St. Louis, but even so, thousands of Negroes were impressed with this false statement, believing it to be factual and a statement of truth.

Oklahoma city Okla.

We said then and we say now that the President of the United States has no legal power on earth to name chairmen of the Senate and House Committees. The execuive and legislative branches of government are entirely separated. The reason why the South has so many chairmanships develops out of the seniority of its members. The South seldom changes its representation while in other sections of the nation no such rule is followed.

This week we have fine opportunity to prove our point. Senator George, who has been elevated to the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, to take the place of the deceased Senator Key Pittman, is an arch enemy of President Roosevelt. During his attempt to purge the democratic party of some of his enemies President Roosevelt some time ago openly asked the democrats of Georgia to retire Senator George to private life. He was re-elected.

An Associated Press dispatch which lies before us reads, "George was the unanimous choice of the Senate Democratic Steering Committee" (not President Roosevelt).

We are sure that if President Roosevelt had the power attributed to him by the Republican campaign booklet distributed for the purpose of misleading Negroes Senator George would not be at the head of this important Senate Committee, for if the president has the power to elect he has also the power to reject. The truth is that many of President Roosevelt's friends who voted to elevate Senator George to his new authority, did so at the behest of Senate rules and Senate precedent and not because they loved Senator George. Many of them did so because to waive the seniority rule in this instance might some day affect them.

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Perhaps some of our overly enthused Republican friends will now see the light. We shall from time to time expose other fallacies and worthless political nostrums included in the Republican campaign document. We shall continue our program of education during the "off" years. years.

New York Age

New York, N. Y.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

JUL 6 1940

THE PROSPECTS for success of the Republican party in the forthcoming presidential campaign are much brighter since the national convention of that party in Philadelphia last week. The consensus of opinion among political observers is that the G. P. O. has put a strong ticket in the field and adopted a constructive platform.

While neither the presidential or vice presidential is well known among Negroes both are conceded to be able and well-trained men whose devotion to their country, as shown by their service in the last war, is unquestioned. Both are men of experience with keen grasps of the domestic and foreign problems of the country.

JUL 6 1940

We are not among those who feel that a candidate for the presidency, to be acceptable to the Negro, must be especially friendly to Negroes. To our way of thinking, the Negro wants no special favors or special consideration from any elected official. He only asks that the laws be administered without fear or favor, that the Negro be permitted to participate in government and be given those protections guaranteed by the constitution. We have had many so-called friends of the Negro in the White House, including the present incumbent, but most of them have failed to prove their friendship by their actions either in putting an end to discrimination in the National Capital or by breaking away from past traditions in limiting the Negroes to certain jobs in the lower brackets of the Federal service.

We understand that neither Mr. Willkie nor Senator McNary had the support of a political machine in their pre-convention campaign. They therefore enter the race under fewer obligations than any Republican candidates in recent years, and we believe they will make a sincere effort to live up to the party platform which pledges full preparedness for war but also promises to see to it that our soldiers and sailors are kept at home.

We are also pleased with that part of the platform that refers specifically to the Negro and says:

JUL 6 1940

> "We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of the nation. Discrimination in the Civil Service, the Army and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective to the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation, and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

While this pronouncement is not as specific as many would have liked, it is stronger than any similar statement we have read We shall wait to see whether the Democratic platform contains a more specific utterance on the Negro question.

In the meantime, we believe that the Republican standard-bearers can give the New Deal candidates the fight of their lives, and one of the most interesting political campaigns in the history of the country is in the offing.

WILLKIE ANCESTRY IS RAISED AS ISSUE

New York Times

Negro Democrats Cite 'German Background' and Seek to Lay Race Bias to His Father

New York Times

In a pamphlet issued for the guidance of campaign speakers, the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee is directing attention to the German ancestry of Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for President, likening his political rise to Hitler's in Germany and attempting to hold his father responsible for anti-Negro activities in Elwood, Ind., his birthplace, it was learned yesterday.

The pamphlet is being mailed to prospective speakers from the Colored Division's offices at 331 Madison Avenue, across the street from the National Committee headquarters in the Hotel Biltmore.

Discovery of the pamphlet yesterday followed on the heels of Mr. Willkie's New York City appearances of the past week-end, at which he charged that there was a "whispering campaign" being conducted against him and described as "a coward and a cur" any one who impugned his patriotism or devotion to this country.

The pamphlet begins as follows:

"Wendell Willkie's father was born in Germany. Willkie's grandfather was born in Germany. Willkie's mother's parents were born in Germany. Willkie's wife was born in Kentucky of German parentage. His whole background is German."

When his attention was directed to the material yesterday, Gregory Coleman, press representative of Edward J. Flynn, Democratic National Chairman, said that he had not seen it before. After a few minutes' delay he confirmed the information that it was being distributed by the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee.

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"Mein Kampf" Quoted

After directing attention to Mr. Willkie's German background, the pamphlet quotes Hitler's "Mein Kampf" as saying that "Negroes are lower than apes" and that France must be destroyed because polluted with Negro blood. It then says that Mr. Willkie never showed any interest in politics until the present international situation arose, and continues:

"Mr. Willkie was nominated at Philadelphia by the Hitler formula, otherwise known as the Blitzkrieg method. Hitler grabbed power and control of Germany in this manner (Fifth columns, bribery, trickery and false propaganda.) Senator Vandenberg was the only Presidential candidate at the Republican convention to release his delegates to Willkie or any other candidate. Vandenberg is the leading obstructionist to preparedness in the Senate. He leads the interference to all things that would prepare us against the invasion of Hitler.

"Willkie was nominated by Congressman Halleck of Indiana. Halleck leads the opposition to the New Deal in the lower branch of Congress. He, too, leads the interference against all things which would prepare us against invasion. The floor leader and spokesman for Willkie at the Republican National Convention was Governor Stassen, the Governor of the 'German' State of the Union—Minnesota."

The Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee is headed by Julian D. Rainey, a lawyer whose home is in Boston and who once served as an Assistant District Attorney in Boston. He was eastern director of Negro activities in the 1936 campaign. Mr. Rainey and his division are arranging a rally for the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket in Madison Square Garden on Oct. 28.

Elwood Intolerance Charged

Of Mr. Willkie's alleged relationship to racial discrimination, the pamphlet, headed "Democratic Campaign Facts—1940" says:

"Wendell Willkie was born in Elwood, Ind. His father was the leading citizen of Elwood, Ind., and took the leadership in forming all of its policies. Among these policies was the policy of excluding all Negroes from residence in Elwood and, in carrying out this policy, signs were dispalyed in conspicuous places reading: "Nigger, Don't let the sun go down on you." When Senator Minton ordered photographers to Elwood to take pictures on the day after the nomination of Mr. Willkie these signs had been removed.

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"The first quarter of a century of Mr. Willkie's life was spent in this household, the head of which took the leadership in this contemptuous policy and day after day for those twenty-five years he saw these signs which spoke so contemptuously of the Negro."

The pamphlet then quotes a newspaper columnist as saying that one of Mr. Willkie's favorite expressions is: "I am a white man."

"Mr. Willkie made a speech to the colored people in Chicago," it continues, "and he said that the colored people are citizens of the United States; that they are entitled to every right every other citizen is entitled to; that they are entitled to their proper share of relief, and if they elect him he will see that relief is continued. Note: Mr. Willkie said nothing about what he would do with reference to the enforcement of the rights of the colored people as citizens. That is Willkie.

"Mr. Willkie made a speech, following his speech to the colored people in Chicago, in Amarillo, Texas, in which he said: 'You Southern people have traditions. I am asking you to break one of them and that one refers to your voting the Democratic ticket so that we may hold to our tradition of no third term. I respect your other traditions.' To just what other traditions did Mr. Willkie refer? Jim Crowism? Intolerance?'"

Democratic Plank Indorsed

The pamphlet then recalls the situation of the Negro in 1932, the advent of the New Deal. 'It indorses the so-called "Negro plank" in the Democratic platform and says that race discrimination in the Army will be ended by an amendment incorporated into the conscription law at the suggestion of Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York.

Under the heading, "Willkie Promises," it says:

"In speaking before white audiences (Wichita, Kansas, California and way stations) Willkie always promises to abolish unemployment (how? he doesn't say). He stresses the point that he will give them all (white audiences) jobs and more jobs.

"In Chicago, speaking before the only Negro audience he has yet addressed, Willkie promised them a continuation of relief. But not jobs. And although Willkie is a good promiser he failed to assure the Negroes that they would even get their proportionate share of relief. In other words, 'Relief is available—try and get it.'"

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
October 29, 1940

BOYLE TELLS JENKINS TO KEEP 'HANDS OUT'

Nashville Republican Protests Policing Of Drug Store

SAYS 'DOPE' INVOLVED

Police Commissioner Also States Dr. Martin Is Common Fence Dealing In Stolen Property Here

Commissioner Boyle yesterday telegraphed Ray H. Jenkins, state Republican manager at Nashville, advice to "keep your hands out of Memphis" in answer to Jenkins' protest on policing of the drug store of J. B. Martin, negro Republican leader.

The telegram was sent in response to a published statement of Mr. Jenkins charging that police search of people entering or leaving the South Memphis Drug Store of Dr. Martin was in violation of "practically every one of the rights listed in the Bill of Rights.

Alleges "Confiscation"

"Why that amounts to confiscation of a person's property," the Republican manager said. "That's the most deadly way in the world to put a man out of business."

In response, the commissioner wired:

"When you endeavor to defend J. B. Martin do you realize you are defending one who is a common fence dealing in stolen property whose police record is notorious in this community and further has been the subject of a narcotic investigation?

"I advise you to keep your hands out of Memphis. If you knew the facts, you are undertaking to defend practices that no honorable man would countenance."

It was reported last night that several white Republican leaders visited the drug store during the day and objected to being searched. They were permitted to enter and leave without being subjected to the search, it was reported.

Charges "Dope Ring"

Previously Commissioner Boyle charged Martin with complicity in a dope ring of long standing. He has pointed out that a negro "hop head" was shot by police recently and charged the negro obtained his narcotics from a pool room at 327 Beale. The commissioner has said he believed there was a connection between the dope allegedly sold in or near the pool room and Martin's place.

Martin has countered with charges that police are searching people entering and leaving his place because he is a Republican. He has charged he was warned to call off a meeting of Memphis negroes for Willkie or have his store policed.

Lifelong Alabama Republican Farmer Backs Browder and Ford

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

OCT 14 1940

(Special to the Daily Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 13. — The Birmingham Post, Scripps-Howard daily newspaper here, got its fingers burned last week when it tried a flank attack on free and democratic elections by attempting to cast a cloud of suspicion and doubt over the slate of eleven electors for Browder and Ford certified by the Alabama Secretary of State last week.

A prominently displayed front-page story in Thursday's Post revealed the startling news that D. W. Gilbert, one of the Communist electors, was an 81-year old farmer in Eldridge, Alabama, and "a life-long Republican." The story hints broadly that the old gentleman couldn't have known what he was doing when he signed an acceptance of the Communist nomination and that the Communists had somehow been able to take advantage of his old-age and infirmities. The Post hastened to add that there was still time, under state laws, for Mr. Gilbert to withdraw his name.

All of which proves they didn't know their D. W. Gilbert. Today's mail brought the Post a letter from Mr. Gilbert in which he not only tells them that he signed his acceptance of the Communist nomination with his own hand, but also tells them just exactly why.

"It is true that I am a life-long Republican," writes Mr. Gilbert. "I believe in the Republicanism of Abraham Lincoln, who said that all wealth comes from labor and that labor is prior to capital and deserves much the higher consideration. I understand this to be the idea on which the Communist Party is based. For the past several years there has been nothing of Abe Lincoln in the Republican Party but his name and his picture."

Mr. Gilbert stated that the need today is for a "new emancipation—this time the emancipation of all the working people." He taunts the present Republican and Democratic organizations with being "twin parties of Wall Street" that "will not even do away with the poll tax so that poor people can vote."

Mr. Gilbert comes from one of the pioneer families of Northwest Alabama and has been a leader in the Republican Party in his community and district for more than two generations.

"Them damn secessionists," which is what the old-timers in Northwest Alabama still call the followers of Jefferson Davis who tried to overthrow the United States government by force and violence, have never been popular in Walker County, Mr. Gilbert's home, and they have never been popular with D. W. Gilbert. He joined the party of Lincoln to fight them more than 50 years ago and he is still fighting them in this election as an elector for Browder and Ford.

FOUGHT FOR NORTH

"Josh" Barton, D. W. Gilbert's father-in-law was a soldier in the Union army and later a Republican member of the Reconstruction legislature in Alabama.

D. W. Gilbert himself typifies the fighting traditions of militant democracy of the poor whites of the old South, which all the bourgeois histories have buried in favor of the mythical magnolia-blossom and mint-julep South of "Gone With the Wind." He was born in Alabama in 1859. He bought his present farm in 1883. In those days there was no Eldridge community and that part of Walker County was wild forest country. Before he could safely bring his young wife to her new home to live, D. W. Gilbert had to clear the land with his own hands, build his home, and drive the coyotes and timber wolves from his land.

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He cast his first vote for the straight Republican ticket. In those days, and in Alabama, that meant voting for freedom, land and full citizenship rights for the Negro ex-slaves, for full democracy for the South, for the ideals of Abe Lincoln, whom Marx called "the single-minded son of the working class." It meant voting against the armed and hooded terror of the original Ku Klux Klan and against the conter-revolutoinary, anti-democratic aims of "them damn secessionists."

It was an uphill fight. D. W. Gilbert remembers an election when he was the only Republican voter in Eldridge. "I told them to keep on counting those ballots; they'd find one for the Republicans," he remembers, grinning. "I told them the Lord said He'd spare Nineveh if they could find one righteous man and, if He could do that for Nineveh, I reckoned my vote might save Eldridge."

D. W. Gilbert stuck right to his guns and ultimately he had the satisfaction of seeing Eldridge cast a majority of Republican votes. The next election, "them damn secessionists" who controlled the state election machinery gerrymandered D. W. Gilbert right out of his home election district.

The toughest struggle Mr. Gilbert ever had with "them damn secessionists" was the one he fought—and lost—in 1901. In that year the growing farmer-labor solidarity and Negro-white solidarity in the insurgent Populist movement had the Southern bourbons and their Northern capitalist allies scared into a cold sweat. In a panic they threw overboard the democratic constitution which Alabama had inherited from reconstruction days and adopted a new one—the present one—which took the vote away from four-fifths of the people of Alabama. It was the 1901 constitution which instituted the educational and property qualifications for voting, in the name of which 99 per cent of the Negro people of Alabama were—and still are—arbitrarily denied the right to register as voters. It was the 1901 constitution also which completed the assassination of popular sovereignty in Alabama by adopting the poll tax as a voting requirement—thus disfranchising more than half of the white population of the state, as well as placing an additional obstacle in the path of the Negro potential voter.

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D. W. Gilbert fought tooth and nail against the adoption of the disfranchising constitution. On the other side of the fence, Mr. Gilbert remembers, was his lifelong political enemy John H. Bankhead, also of Walker County but a Democrat. Bankhead, then in the state legislature, introduced a bill which ordered the calling of a constitutional convention, the bill which Mr. Gilbert refers to to this day as the "Bankhead disfranchising bill." The same John H. Bankhead is today senior senator from Alabama and an outstanding administration leader in the Senate.

Mr. Gilbert has long recognized that, in fighting the modern counterparts of "them damn secessionists," he has to fight also against their finance-capitalist allies.

"Wall Street has controlled state politics in Alabama for forty years," Mr. Gilbert says. "They used to do it through the railroads. Nowadays it's mostly through the power companies."

Chief of the power companies Mr Gilbert refers to is Alabara Power, subsidiary of Willkie's Commonwealth and Southern and a link in the Morgan empire.

Mr. Gilbert never had much use for Franklin D. Roosevelt. The President got off on the wrong foot with D. W. Gilbert when the original AAA ordered the little pigs slaughtered and the cotton plowed under, with the poor suffering for lack of food and clothing. In Mr. Gilbert's mind that settled once and for all the question of whose side Mr. Roosevelt was on—and Mr. Gilbert is on the other side, the side of the workers and farmers. He believes too that the workers and farmers have got to stand together, and he is an enthusiastic admirer of John L. Lewis.

If you mention Willkie to him, he just snorts—but there is a world of contempt and indignation in that snort. He recognizes Willkie as the representative of the same Wall Street interests against the workers and farmers that he has been fighting all his life. He also describes Mr. Willkie as "a soft shell Democrat" and the tone with which he pronounces those words lets you know that's as bad as being a "secessionist."

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In his eighty-second year, Mr. Gilbert is not able to get out much and, for the past year and a half, his eyesight has been too weak to permit much reading. But his hearing is good; he has a radio and listens regularly and with enthusiasm to Browder's national network speeches.

NEW NEGRO ATTACK ON WILLKIE SCORED

Martin Demands That Flynn Repudiate Later Version as He Did Original

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17—Chairman Martin of the Republican National Committee urged Chairman Flynn of the Democratic National Committee today to repudiate the publication by the latter's Colored Division of a revised pamphlet attacking the ancestry of Wendell Willkie.

An original pamphlet emanating from the same sources, in which attention was directed to the German ancestry of Mr. Willkie and his wife, and his rise compared to that of Hitler, was denounced by Mr. Flynn after attention had been called to it by stories in the newspapers.

The revised pamphlet emphasized the German ancestry of Mr. Willkie, but omitted reference to Mrs. Willkie's lineage. It also eliminated the comparison of Willkie's rise to that of Hitler. It calls attention to anti-Negro sentiment which it alleges has been prevalent in Elwood, Ind., Mr. Willkie's native town, since before the days when the Republican candidate's father settled there.

The current pamphlet says:

"Wendell L. Willkie, the Republican candidate for President, was born in Elwood, Ind. His father and grandparents settled in this little and obscure town upon their arrival from Germany about seventy years ago.

"Mr. Willkie claims his forbears

New York

HAGUE AIDE SCORES VOTE FRAUD INQUIRY

'Political Manoeuvre' Seen as Democratic Rebuttal Will Not Come Till After Nov. 5

BOOK BURNING DESCRIBED

But Jersey City Official Did Not Notice Dates on the 500 Binders Destroyed

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 17—Charles A. Rooney, Acting Corporation Counsel of Jersey City, charged today that the investigation here by the subcommittee of the United States Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee into alleged election fraud in Hudson and other New Jersey counties was a "political manoeuvre" because it appeared that the Democratc would not have an opportunity for rebuttal until after the Nov. 5 election.

Earlier in today's session Joseph L. O'Neill, $5,000-a-year custodian of the Jersey City Municipal Building, disclosed under questioning that he and two subordinates burned poll books in January of this year under orders of Bernard Rosengard, Deputy City Clerk. Mr.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Live Oak, Fla., Democrat
November 1, 1940

"Willkie's 'Smear Campaign' Smears Its Authors"

By Republican National Committee

The attempt of Mr. Roosevelt's most highly placed advisers to tie Mr. Willkie to Hitler and to inject race prejudice into the Presidential campaign is the ugliest piece of propaganda that this country has seen for a long time.

Thanks to the honesty and love of fair play of the American people, it has recoiled on its authors. The blundering attempts of Messrs. Flynn and Michelson, the Chairman and Publicity Director of the Democratic National Committee, to explain, apologize for and cover up the dirty work are so transparent that they fool nobody.

This is the climax of a long series of attempts to smear Mr. Willkie.

Secretary Wallace, Mr. Roosevelt's hand-picked running mate, was selected by the little group of ambitious men around the President for the first smearing job.

Mr. Wallace obeyed orders. In his Des Moines speech he declared that Hitler wanted Mr. Willkie elected rather than Mr. Roosevelt.

Then Governor Lehman got his orders too, and obeyed them. In his speech to the Democratic State Committee in New York, the Governor repeated Mr. Willkie's claims and enlarged upon them.

Mr. Roosevelt did nothing to prevent these appeals to race prejudice by his two trusted henchmen. On the contrary, he encouraged them by calling public attention to a Rome dispatch saying that the dictators would prefer Willkie to Roosevelt.

But it remained for the Democratic National Committee to spread the real poison by issuing two pamphlets, in one of which Mr. Willkie and his wife and father were directly linked to Hitler, while in both he was accused of hatred, of our colored American citizens.

This about Wendell Willkie, who enlisted on the day America entered the first World War, who fought in France against Germany, who defended Negro soldiers before court-martial, and who, ~~as~~ a young lawyer in Ohio after the war, battled against the Ku Klux Klan!

The Third Term Party is in a pretty desperate fix when its own National Committee has to resort to mudslinging like this.

Signs of panic have been visible for some time in the Third Term Camp.

The Third Termers are fully aware of the mounting tide of fear and resentment against Mr. Roosevelt's bold bid for continued and increasing power.

None of them, not even Mr. Roosevelt himself, has dared to face the issues fairly and squarely. Most of them have tried to cover it up behind a smoke screen of abuse of Mr. Willkie.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal
October 29, 1940

THREATENING LETTERS TURNED OVER TO FBI

Negro Republicans Had Received Them In Mail

Threatening letters charging several Memphis negro Republicans with Communist activities were reportedly turned over yesterday to the Memphis FBI office.

The letters were received by J. C. Dickerson, editor of the Memphis Sentinel, six of the newspaper's staff members and Rev. G. A. Long, pastor of the Beale Street Baptist Church, and others.

The letters, all typewritten, described Memphis as "peaceful community" and warned the receivers not to cause "any friction."

"Take it or leave it," the letters said. "You will hear further in no uncertain way if you continue."

Editor Dickerson said he believed the letters were sent by negro Democrats. "I have lived in Memphis 21 years and have never had any trouble," he added.

Dickerson said the letters were turned over to the FBI.

Dr. J. B. Martin, whose drug store at 907-909 Florida continued to be policed yesterday, said he also had received one of the letters.

Tifton, Ga., Gazette
October 28, 1940

We started reading a statement by Joe Louis, the colored boxer, in which he announced his support of Wendell Willkie for president. The statement began: "This country has been good to me. It gave me everything I've got." So far, so good, and our opinion of Louis began to mount. But then we read further: "I was just a poor young fellow coming up from the South. There are things going on down there . . . . the way they persecute people. It ain't everybody, just certain people. I've never come out for any candidate before, and I think Willkie will give us a square deal. Roosevelt had two terms to show what he could do, but didn't give us an anti-lynching bill. He hasn't done much for us other ways. I am for Willkie because I figure he will help my people, and I figure my people ought to be for him, too." Then we remembered that Joe Louis probably would know nothing of the thousands of negroes who are being helped by relief, who work on WPA projects, and who are protected by the wage-hour law, and so we dismissed Louis from our thoughts. His statement for Willkie packs nothing of the wallop the boy carries in his fists.

Mocksville, N. C., Record
October 30, 1940

Joe Louis, heavy weight boxing champion of the world, is making an appeal to all Negro voters in the United States to vote for Wendell Willkie for President. Good thing Joe didn't say that until after the registration books closed in North Carolina.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
October 29, 1940

Negro Willkie Club To See Special Film

A free motion picture on Wendell Willkie will be exhibited at noon today at Negro Willkie Headquarters, Vine Avenue and State Streets. The show is sponsored by George W. Smith, manager; I. A. Crippen, co-manager, and Sylvia A. Kidd, secretary-manager of the women's division.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution,
Nov. 2, 1940-

The Pulse of the Public

The Constitution invites expression of opinion by its readers. This column is open for that purpose. All communications must be signed and all are subject to editing for conservation of space. Brevity makes argument effective and impels attention.

POOR AVERAGE HEALTH OF AMERICANS RAPPED

Editor Constitution: Your editorial under the caption, "Are We a Flabby People?" touches upon a vital problem that should be our first concern. But we cannot hope to solve that problem if we simply kid ourselves about it, falling properly to evaluate the real facts involved.

Our examining surgeons are astounded today as they find themselves compelled to reject so many lads who report for enlistment. The hearts of these lads are imbued with the right spirit, but their bodies are defective. All statistics show that we are in worse shape today than we were in 1917, when we examined our lads for the World War. What was our condition then? Of all lads examined, 27.4 per cent were rejected as unfit for military service; another 24 per cent, although defective, were accepted as being able to perform partial military service; in other words, 51.4 per cent did not measure up to standard.

In 1915, I was assisting Senator Chamberlain in his efforts to put through a plan for universal military training for every lad—your son and mine. The lad was to be selected at an age just before he might go to college or enter the business world; at an age when he had no responsibilities of a wife and child; at an age when good food and regular training for a year would be very beneficial. The benefits proposed were to accrue to the civil life of the nation principally, and secondarily, to the solution of our problem of national defense. Our people could not take it, and the pacifists easily defeated the plan.

I yield to no individual in love of my country as that country was envisioned fundamentally, but I know only too well that our success in the future will vary directly with the character, virility and health of Mr. Average American Citizen.

GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY,
(Major General U. S. Army, Ret.)
Atlanta.

NEGRO RAPS JOE LOUIS FOR WILLKIE SUPPORT

Editor Constitution: I just read where Joe Louis, in The Atlanta Constitution, urges his race to vote for Wendell Willkie for President. As a Negro in the south, I was thinking how I would feel if I was the champion of the world like Louis. So I came to a conclusion and this is it:

I would first do something for my people and race before I would ask them to do anything for me. But I can see that any dog will bark for his own master who feeds him, and you couldn't blame him for it is no more than his master expects. So Mr. Willkie and his friend have well taken care of Louis, and now that he is full, he can go out in the front yard and bark. And if I come along he might even bite me.

Louis criticized President Roosevelt for not giving us an anti-lynching law. I think Mr. Roosevelt made it clear in one of his addresses that congress passes each and every bill before it is made law, and if Mr. Willkie can do otherwise than this I will vote for him, too.

Now I would like to say this for my people and myself and also Louis: That President Roosevelt has done more for the south than any man in modern times; he and his administration has given us Negroes as well as the white race housing for the poor working people and also shorter working hours with more pay. Mr. Willkie's friends had me and others working 10 hours a day for six days a week for $7.50 a week. Mr. Roosevelt has given us $18 per week for eight hours a day, and that freedom alone is worth more than any anti-lynching bills that could or may be passed.

Most all of the Negroes in the south would verify that if they just had common sense. So we down here in the south are very much surprised of Louis turning his back on his race and making it hard for them by trying to bribe them into voting for someone that never did anything for the people, and as for the anti-lynching law, it won't help the south very much. For lynching comes from the very lowest and weak-minded groups of people that only the United States army could stop, and they would be too late if lynching got in their mind. Louis said he was not a politician, so let him be quiet. We can get along without Mr. Willkie or Louis for neither of the two have ever done anything for the south. But they live in king's houses themselves.

FRANK BARBER.
Atlanta.

ALL THE REPUBLICANS CAN FIND TO SAY—

Editor Constitution: It appears that all Mr. Willkie and the Republican party can now say is "I find no fault with this man Roosevelt, except he's a third termer, and we are glad of this, as we consider this the main feature for our interest and is termed by us as "Onamoricon."

G. C. O'DELL.
Atlanta.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
November 1, 1940

—Photo by Press-Scimitar.

THIS SIGN TAKEN DOWN AT MEMPHIS—Incidentally Louis is to introduce Candidate Willkie to his audience in Harlem, the Negro section of New York, on election eve.

Joe Louis-for-Willkie Sign Outlawed by Memphis Official

Memphis, Tenn., Nov. 1—(Special)—The name of Joe Louis, Negro heavyweight champion of the world and supporter of Wendell Willkie for President, "doesn't hang here any more."

It did Wednesday night. It hung on famed Negro Beale Street, on a political banner in front of Negro Republican Headquarters, and shouted in huge letters that "Our Own Joe Lewis is for Willkie."

The Republicans, however, seem to be sticklers for good spelling. They took the sign down to correct the spelling of "Lewis," Joe spells his name "Louis." And when Balton Sons, sign painters, got ready to rehang the sign yesterday they met with an official no.

And a reporter who tried to track down the reason for the sign not hanging today met with a general buffeting from most of those concerned.

Republican headquarters had not heard of the refusal.

Ralph Balton, of Balton & Sons, said mysteriously that he had applied for a permit, but that the sign "isn't up and you'll have to get the rest of your information from Commissioner Robert S. Fredericks.

Commissioner Fredericks, whose department of the city government has charge of signs, said, frankly: "Yes, I rejected the sign."

"When did you do this?" he was asked.

"This morning."

"Why?"

"Because it carried the name of one who is not a candidate for any office. Joe Louis is not running for anything."

"What governs the matter that shall appear on signs?"

"A city ordinance covers signs."

"Does the city ordinance say anything about what names shall appear on political signs?"

"No. I think that is a matter to be governed by this office. It is a matter of policy. I talked it over with the Mayor this morning and he agreed with me that only candidates should have their names on signs."

Commissioner Fredericks said that no permit had ever been granted for the sign and that if it was up Wednesday, it shouldn't have been.

It seems that the practice has been to apply for permits, go ahead and paint the signs and hang them. Oldtimers couldn't remember such a refusal in recent history.

The reporter called the Republican headquarters again and told them that their sign had been definitely rejected. "No comment," was the answer.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
October 8, 1940

Negro GOP Unit Attacks New Deal

The colored division of the Republican State Headquarters has released a pamphlet, "Back to Slavery," in which it is charged the New Deal is reducing opportunities for Negroes.

R. C. Grant, chairman of the colored division of State Republican Headquarters, is author of the pamphlet. He urges support for Wendell Willkie as a means of improving the race's standards.

Text of Grant's circular:

"In Tennessee WPA and NYA no Negro is employed in an administrative position, either in the state office or in the district offices. Even in WPA adult education where Negro classes are well attended, and produce a fine quality of work, no Negro state or district supervisor is employed. In rare instances local Negro supervisors help develop the program. This is a clear violation of the letter and the spirit of the laws governing both of these agencies, which specify in their national setups that Negroes should participate, at least, in their proportion to the population. The Negro non-relief positions are negligible. This is a very definite form of economic strangulation, because of the thousands of dollars in salaries paid by these positions, where whites get the Negro pro rata as well as their own. The Negro relief clients are used as a basis of increased employment and opportunities for white supervisors. In every other Southern State Negroes are employed in WPA and NYA administrative positions as consultants, state superviors of Negro divisions or as district supervisors. These positions pay from $100 to $175 per month, plus adequate travel expenses, which is some times as much as $100 per month and often more.

"In the Tennessee State Employment Service, an affiliate with the United States Employment Service, a most effective policy of discriminatory practice is used. (1) There are separate Negro offices, designated as offices for domestic, personal and unskilled workers! These offices are manned by all-white staffs, although Negroes who have made high grades in Civil Service examinations have received no appointments. These high-ranking Negro civil service eligibles are told that there are no openings for Negroes, and if they want to be appointed to go to Northern and Eastern states. The Tennessee State Employment Service discriminates against Negroes in failing to serve Negro skilled, technical and white collar workers. Any Negro worker of either of these classifications, has great difficulty in even registering at a Tennessee Employment Office, because he can only register at the Jim Crow Office designated for domestic, personal and unskilled workers. Here he loses his classification as a skilled worker, because he must accept classification as an unskilled or domestic. Few requisitions for skilled, technical or white collar workers ever reach the Jim Crow unskilled office. Only when the white office designated as an office for skilled, technical and white collar workers has filled the requisitions from their files as completely as possible, do the requisitions find their way to the Jim Crow office. This, of course, means that only after all of the white skilled, technical and white collar workers are employed, can Negroes of these classifications begin to hope for employment. This condition prevails in Tennessee, despite the well known fact that larger numbers of Negroes of these classifications are available in Tennessee than in other Southern states, because of the unusually large number of college graduates among Negroes who reside in the State. Forced unemployment is making the Negro skilled workers lose their skills.

"During the taking of the census this year in the Fifth Congressional District, many dollars were spent by Negro organizations and individuals, urging local New Deal officials, as well as the higher-ups in Washington, to give Negroes in this district their percentage of the enumerators, which by virtue of precedent, should have been in proportion to the population of the races. Two or three committees of leading Negroes, representing outstanding organizations, as well as many individuals, including some whites, visited and conferred with those charged with dispensing of these positions in this district. There was a total of 261 employed, finally. Very reluctantly nine colored ladies were included among those used. It is charged that Negroes making application for this work were not even treated with ordinary courtesy, and of the nine used, it is a well known fact that four or five of these were used primarily because it was felt that they might be useful in the future in coralling votes. White persons were used as enumerators in the Andrew Jackson Courts (government Negro housing project), in the Fisk University area, the most thickly populated Negro section of Nashville. The number of Negroes who should have been used in this work was at least seventy. Ten years ago more than thirty were used, and the total number employed was not nearly as great.

"The records show that it has been more than fifty years since such a small percentage of the enumerators employed for this work were colored, and the Negro is better qualified now than ever before. Is it fair to expect the Negro Racial Group to accept a fifty-year setback without a protest? It is general information, in the Negro residential sections, that the white enumerators sent to take the census, in many cases were not even high school students, and were absolutely unqualified, while many Negro citizens, most of them high school and college graduates, and highly qualified, were not even considered. The result is that many leading citizens doubt very seriously that the information turned in by these enumerators can be relied upon. A vote for Roosevelt is a vote for a continuation of this back to slavery movement set in motion by this Roosevelt New Deal administration.

"Several mass meetings have been held (one in the County Courthouse), with reference to special discrimination against Negro carpenters. Only a few Negro carpenters have been used on any government project since the beginning of the New Deal and they have not been used full time during the life of various jobs. The records show that they have been laid off many times, even on the Negro housing projects, while the whites were kept on the job full time. A general discriminatory policy against Negro bricklayers is also in effect. The Roosevelt administration must bear the blame for these woeful conditions, as these facts have been brought to the attention of high Washington officials many time, to no avail.

"Unless the leaders of the New Deal party think that Negroes are feeble-minded, and down-right idiotic, they will not expect them to vote a New Deal ticket, and indorse this outrageous and nefarious scheme of prejudice, discrimination and racial hatred. A vote for Willkie is a vote against this form of scuttling of the entire Negro citizenship.

"REPUBLICAN STATE HEADQUARTERS OF TENNESSEE.
("Colored Division) 415½ Fourth Avenue, North.
"Nashville, Tenn."

Thomasville, Ga., Wkly. Times-Ent.
October 4, 1940

WILLKIE WILL SUPPORT ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Before some fifteen thousand voters among negroes of Chicago recently one Wendell L. Willkie made a determined bid for their vote by supporting the demand for an anti-lynch bill. It seems from all accounts available that the politicians have introduced this bill time after time in an effort at appeasement to the negroes in the New York area and the middle west.

The south has fought passage of the bill and succeeded up to this time in forcing its abandonment. However the republicans now propose to put it over if the negroes will go out and swing the north back to the republicans. They compose a sufficient vote in some sections to prove the balance of power and have been voting with the democrats. Willkie wants them back in the republican party, where they were for so long, because the south was in the democratic party.

The appeal did not get far nor will it have much publicity. It is probable that the negro papers will be asked to carry it and the others not to make a special article of it nor to comment too freely in an editorial way. It is such a sensitive question that Willkie decided he might as well take high grounds and approve the anti-lynch bill whenever it appears that there is a need for it. He did not manhandle the south and wave the red flag but he did give the negroes the sop that was sufficient to turn the democratic tide that had been running so that it will not be an issue in the campaign.

We would not trust either party not to sell the south down the river if the result of the election depended on some promise to the negro voters that would despoil the south of its inherent and natural rights in that connection. No matter what the issue or the party this matter will come up for discussion and whichever party gets the inside will win. However it is not an issue in that sense in the south nor will it ever be.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 14, 1940

NEGRO WILLKIE BACKERS ARE TO RALLY TONIGHT

Seven precinct rallies for Negroes were announced last night for tonight, at the same hour as the democratic rally at which Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of Chicago, will speak to Negroes at the Memorial auditorium.

The Willkie rally announcements came from republican campaign headquarters, colored division.

Lawrence C. Moore will speak at the Patten Memorial church in the Second precinct of the Eighteenth ward and the program will include special music, it was announced. The time is 7:30 p.m.

In the Eighth ward a rally will be held at the Tabernacle Baptist church on Williams street at 7:30 p.m. with music by the Union Hill church choir scheduled.

In the Nineteenth ward a Willkie rally is scheduled for 7:30 p.m. at Thirty-eighth street and Alton Park boulevard, with music promised.

The Third and Fourth wards will combine for a Willkie rally at the Friendship Baptist church, Ross and Grove Place, at 7:30 p.m.

The Fourth precinct of the Twelfth ward will offer a Willkie rally at Third and Holly streets at 7:30 p.m.

In the Seventeenth ward a rally will be held at M. T. Long's on Hamilton avenue.

The First and Second precincts of the Seventh ward will have a Willkie rally at 417 East Ninth street at the Masonic temple.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 8, 1940

NEGRO DEMOCRAT CLUB LISTS APPOINTMENTS

Sid Byers, chairman of the newly organized Hamilton County Negro Democratic club, announced campaign committee appointments yesterday afternoon, after an executive committee meeting at the campaign headquarters, 752 East Ninth street.

The Rev. M. Kirby was named chairman of a committee to enroll ministers of the city and Marcell M. Hogarth was made chairman of the women's committee.

The Roosevelt for president campaign committee is made up of D. C. Harper, the Rev. Kirby, Walter D Parks, the Rev. J. E. Cameron, William E. Thornhill, O. L. Banks, the Rev. R. J. Wiggins and William Rideout.

The finance committee is made up of Harper, Marcell Hogarth, the Rev. Kirby, Dr. E. F. McIntosh and Parks.

The program committee will be Dr. McIntosh, chairman; John P. Greer, the Rev. Kirby, Dr. W. A. Thompson and R. B. Buckner.

The publicity committee will be headed by R. B. Buckner and will have as members the Rev. Kirby, Harper, Dr. Thompson, Parks, Marcell Hogarth and Walter B. Cullom.

Parks was instructed to request the services of the Howard High glee club

Donations of $25 each to the campaign fund of the club were made by Fletcher R. Morgan and Sidney H Byers and Wallace Sims pledged an additional $10.

The club's next meeting will be held tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'clock at committee headquarters.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
October 10, 1940

Negro Willkie Club Will Meet Today

A special meeting of Negro committeemen of the Willkie-for-President Club will be held at 7 p. m. and 7:30 p. m. today at Negro headquarters, officials announced last night. Headquarters is located on West Vine Avenue, at State Street.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 8, 1940

Negro G.O.P. Rally Set

A republican rally will be held tonight at the colored Masonic hall, East Ninth street, under auspices of the Willing Workers' club, of the Seventh ward, Second precinct, H. W. Newell, chairman.

Listed as speakers at the meeting are the Rev. Ralph Gunn, G. Russell Brown, Col. H. J. Weeks, Jerome Taylor and C. C. Rexford. The rally is scheduled to start at 7:30, and there will be music and refreshments, the chairman stated yesterday.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 9, 1940

WILLING WORKERS' CLUB STAGES WILLKIE RALLY

One hundred seventy-two Negro men and women attended a meeting of the Willing Workers' club, Seventh ward, Second precinct, at 411 East Ninth street, featuring a Willkie rally, and heard speakers of both races pledge their loyalty to the g. o. p. and "win with Willkie."

C. R. Cunningham, republican election commissioner, C. C. Rexford, Jack Trimble and R. L. Ridge were among the speakers at the rally, presided over by H. W. Newell, chairman of the club and precinct. Walter C. Robinson, Fourth ward republican leader, was introduced as the main speaker, following a five-minute rest period to collect funds for the relief of the sick and unemployed members of the organization.

Maude Hixson Duncan, chairman of the colored women's Willkie-For-President club, announced a meeting for tomorrow night at which Mrs. Martha McCoy, C. C. Rexford and Jerome Taylor will be the main speakers, at the Odd Fellows' hall, 124½ East Ninth street, at 6:30 p.m.

Denial and Apology

Early Asks Why G. O. P. Makes Fuss About Policeman's Injury

By the United Press

Stephen T. Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, last night offered apologies to a New York City policeman who had charged he was injured by Early when Mr. Roosevelt's party left New York last Monday night.

Washington Post

The officer was James Sloan, colored, who was stationed at Pennsylvania Station.

Early also offered apologies to New York City Police Commissioner Valentine.

Wash. D.C.

He specifically denied that he attacked or kicked any officer in the altercation, which he described as "a regrettable affair."

Early's complete statement follows:

NOV 1 1940

"In certain Republican quarters pass under any circumstances. I was doing my best to identify this group and to convince the police that it was imperative and proper for this party to pass through the police line before the train left.

"During the discussion there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd which had gathered there; and I am deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt while trying to carry out instructions which he had received. I did not have any personal controversy with this man; having all my discussion with the sergeant in command of the detail.

"I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident. I did not attack or kick any officer. But sice one officer believes that I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apologize to him particularly and to Commissioner Valentine for having had any part in this regrettable affair.

NOV 1 1940

"I cannot understand why Republican politicians are attempting to find political significance in this incident.

"In all my experience in New York City, the police department has always shown the utmost cooperation and efficiency.

"When I telephoned Police Commissioner Valentine shortly after the incident, I understood that he was making a full investigation of the facts. I am anxious to cooperate with him 100 per cent. In order to do that, I intend to devote all of my time necessary to cooperate with him until his inquiry is completed."

Dewey's Office Acts

New York, Oct. 31 (AP).—The office of District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey today entered the investigation of the alleged "kneeing" of a police officer by Presidential Secretary Stephen Early.

Acting District Attorney Milton Schilback, in the absence of Dewey, who was on a speaking tour in the Middle West, said Police Commissioner Lewis Valentine had been asked to forward the police department's report on the incident.

A "police aided" card, signed by James Sloan and filed at the West Thirtieth Street Station, reported that the officer had "received his injuries with kicks by one Stephen Early." The card named two other officers as witnesses.

GOP Leaders Urge Negroes To Unite, Fight Jim Crow, Now That Election's Over

Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.

NOV 9 1940

NEW YORK—Francis E. Rivers, of the Republican National Committee, issued the following statement Wednesday, following the victory of President Roosevelt:

"Just as in the case of other groups, so in the case of the colored citizen. Negroes of all parties should join shoulders in their crusade to stop the trend toward official recognition of segregation and discrimination, although Wendell Willkie was defeated.

"I am certain that all colored Americans, even including those opposing Mr. Willkie, admire the forthright position which he publicly took in favor of Negro rights and opportunities, as well as the unequivocal repudiation which he made of the support of all racially intolerant groups.

"While appreciating the inevitability of this verdict at the polls, nevertheless, I consider that the unity of the Negro in letting this victorious administration know that it is still determined upon fair play and equal opportunity for the colored citizen is of paramount importance at this time.

"I think that the colored group should strive to have President Roosevelt make real the promises made by Mr. Willkie to the colored group."

Declaring the principles for which Wendell Willkie fought will still prevail "as sure at truth will always prevail," Emmett J. Scott, consultant on Negro affairs, Republican National Committee, lauded the GOP supporters in an official statement issued Wednesday.

"Mr. Roosevelt's popular majority over Mr. Landon four years ago was nearly 11,000,000," he said. His popular majority in 1940, it now appears, will be in the neighborhood of 3,500,000—a decrease of approximately 7,500,000. This is more than a sizable protest vote on the part of former supporters.

Mr. Willkie's gallant and courageous campaign against the intrenched bureaucracy of the New Deal, with all of its advantages of money and political personnel, aroused the nation, and won the ungrudging admiration of millions of American citizens as the popular vote he received indicates.

"As Mr. Willkie himself has said, the principles for which he has fought will prevail, "as sure as truth will always prevail."

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

FACTS

Make Us Support Willkie

(AN EDITORIAL) OCT 17 1940

THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE is absolutely dependent upon colored citizens for its existence. THE TRIBUNE can not succeed unless colored citizens succeed.

If for no other reason than a purely selfish one, THE TRIBUNE must advocate those principles which it believes will be for the best interests of colored citizens. To adopt any other policy would be to destroy its existence and kill its usefulness.

Philadelphia

We do not expect all colored people or any other kind of people to agree with all of our policies, but all people should face facts, regardless of how disagreeable they are.

No race of people can prosper on the relief rolls. No fair-minded person will dispute that fact.

Tribune

The vast majority of colored Americans want jobs. That is a fact; and it is criminal to deny that fact.

Will the New Deal take colored people off relief and give them jobs at decent wages? It will not! There are proportionately more colored people on relief today than there were seven years ago.

What is the biggest argument used by the Democrats to get the colored vote? They say Roosevelt alone gave us relief. That is not true. Relief comes from the Republican administration of Pa. The Republican legislature appropriated millions for the relief needs of its citizens.

While other men and women are being put to work on the defense program, colored people are being forced to accept relief or starve. It is the New Deal plan to deny legitimate work to colored people. It wants to keep them on relief or WPA to capture their vote.

Organized labor, the big bosses of the labor movement, is for Roosevelt. They should be. He has made the high command of the labor unions powerful and wealthy. But what about the masses of working men and women who desire to work and can not get a job because they are unable to pay tribute to the labor boss?

There is a vicious circle which bars colored workers, and many white ones too, from getting jobs. A man can't get a job unless he is a union man, and he can't join the union either because of his color or his poverty. If that system helps the "forgotten man", then there is no war in Europe.

Philadelphia

There is nothing magical about organized labor. The principle of collective bargaining is excellent. No intelligent man would deny labor an opportunity to organize and fight for decent wages and working conditions. BUT IF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO FORCE EMPLOYERS TO EMPLOY ONLY UNION LABOR, THEN THAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD FORCE THE UNIONS TO ACCEPT EVERY AMERICAN WHO IS QUALIFIED, REGARDLESS OF RACE OR COLOR.

The glaring injustice of the New Deal to colored Americans is that it has refused to force those unions to treat all workers alike. And it is not enough to say that colored workers are not trained, because the labor unions control the training of apprentices.

Pa.

This is not a condemnation of all labor unions. It is, however, a condemnation of the labor racketeers who infest some unions and who use the power given them by the New Deal to starve some working men while making others fat. And since the Roosevelt administration does nothing to destroy this damnable practice, millions of colored people are rapidly becoming permanent reliefers.

The New Dealers condemned colored people for supporting the Republican Party because Abraham Lincoln freed them. That debt had been paid long ago, they declared. Colored people have supported the Democrats for eight years. They have paid for their relief. That debt, too, has been paid in full.

It is now time to use our votes to get jobs, to become full American citizens. And if the biggest thing that the Democrats have to offer is a relief check, it is time to switch back to the Republican Party. In 1932 and again in 1936 colored voters tried the New Deal. The record shows that that party can not, or will not, put them to work at decent pay. The only thing we can do is to accept the pledges of Wendell Willkie and the Republican Party that they will give Americans work, regardless of race, creed or color.

Whether they will, or can, do it we do not know. However, we do know that after eight long years President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party still have the masses of colored Americans bordering on starvation. That is a fact.

Because we face facts and because we can not exist unless colored people prosper, THE TRIBUNE wants to give Willkie a chance to do what Roosevelt refuses to do or is unable to do — PUT THE MASSES OF COLORED PEOPLE TO WORK AT DECENT WAGES SO THAT THEY, WITH OTHER AMERICANS, CAN MAINTAIN THEIR SELF RESPECT.

21st A. D. East and 19th A. D. respectively.
New York Age
November 2, 1940
New York, New York

JOE LOUIS TO APPEAR AT REPUBLICAN MASS MEETING HERE, THURS

With the country's fair-haired business men coming out for the endorsement of Wendell L. Willkie for the presidency another of the nation's luminaries, Joe Louis, world's heavyweight champion, Mr. Willkis's name as his choice has also marked a cross opposite for President. The Republican State Committee will present him and his mother, Mrs. Lilly Barrow Brooks, at a monster Republican mass meeting to be held at Mother A. M. E. Zion Church on Thursday night at 9p. m. at which time Hon. Bruce Barton candidate for U. S. Senate will also share the spotlight, being introduced by Colonel William Hayward, wartime commander of the old 15the Regiment.

At this meeting the local candidates who will do last minute speechmaking are Mesmore Kendall, Congressman-at-large; Mary Donlon, Congresswoman-at-large; Charles H. Roberts, Congress, 21st District; William G. Fernell, State Senate, 20th District; Arthur A. Madison, State Senate, 19the District: John Alvin Ross and Conrad A. Johnson, Justice Municipal Court, Tenth District; Anna H. Hughes. Lucille Womack, Assemblywoman from 19th and 21st A. D. 's respectively.

This affair is being promoted by Harold C. Burton and Sidney Davis, leaders of

ANOTHER "SMEAR" EXPOSED

State of Indiana
S S
Madison County

NOV 2 1940

Grant V.Newcomer M.D. Secretary of The Elwood,Ind; board of health,being duly sworn,deposes and says-

Negro Labor News

I have been a resident of the City of Elwood since 1891 and in the active practice of medicine for all of that period. I served eight years as Police Commissioner of the City of Elwood

Houston, Texas

Never to my knowledge has a colored person ever been molested in any manner and they have always been free to stay in our City as long as they cared to.

Abbott Simms and his wife were colored residents of Elwood,were employed by Mr,Hugus and remained in Elwood untill their employer moved to Gary,Indiana and then they accompained him there.

I personally employ colored help and at present have a colored cook and house boy and they insist on permanent employment because of the fine treatment accorded them in Elwood and the statement relative to signs warning"colored people to get out before sun down" is a malicious lie,because no such thing ever existed.

This propaganda is an insult to the citizens of Elwood.

Signed Grant V. Newcomer M.D.
G.V.Newcomer M.D.

Subscribed and sworn to before me a Notary Public this

21st day of August 1940

Signed Doriha Bonham
N.P.

My Comm Ex. 1/16/43

The above fac-simile of an affidavit by Dr. Grant V. Newcomer, secretary of the Elwood (Ind.) Board of Health and one of the outstanding citizens of that Indiana town, emphatically and factually gives the lie to New Deal propaganda that Colored Americans are discriminated against or mistreated in Elwood, where Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential candidate, was born.

Harlem Women Form Willkie Club, Hit 'Smear'

NOV 2 1940

NEW YORK. — (ANP)—With the Democratic "smear" controversy adding dynamite to the presidential campaign in New York, Harlem women were forging to the front as a strong factor in the uptown political battle last week.

The formation of a New York local division of the national Colored Women's Willkie Committee of America, with New York headquarters at 200 West 135th Street, was the newest and one of the most significant developments in the Harlem campaign fight.

Non-partisan, and supporting no other political candidate except Willkie, the group counts among its members women formerly connected with Democratic, Republican, and American labor organizations.

Black Dispatch

The national chairman, and head of the New York division, is Eva D. Bowles, who for 21 years was administrator of colored work for the national Young Women's Christian association. Other officers include: Mrs. Helen S. Whiteman of Massachusetts; Mrs. Lethia Fleming of Ohio; Mrs. Maude B. Coleman of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Henry Lincoln Johnson of Washington, D. C.; and Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, New York attorney, all vice-chairmen. Mrs. Charlotte Wallace Murray of New York, is treasurer, and Mrs. Eliza W. Caliman of New York is secretary.

Taking swift action immediately following the break of the "smear" charges in local papers, the New York committee sent protests to all New York newspapers condemning the pamphlet. Among the letters of response from newspaper editors, including almost every white editor in New York, was a personal commendation and assurance of support from Paul Block, publisher of the Block newspapers, the syndicate responsible for the forceful editorial addressed "To the Colored People of This Community," appearing in a nation wide chain of papers.

The second move of the committee was to institute a survey of Harlem housewives whose families are dependent on relief or WPA jobs, in order to get a fair picture of what plans Negro women are making for the future, provided the family wage earners are forced to stay on relief rolls or WPA projects. Fifty volunteer workers, many of whom are housewives themselves, started making their calls Thursday.

JOE LOUIS BACKS WILLKIE

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 26—Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Consultant on Negro Affairs, Republican National Committee, tonight received from Detroit, Mich., the following statement from Joe Louis, Heavy-weight Boxing Champion of the World:

TELEGRAM NOV 1 1940

I am Joe Louis; I am a fighter, not a politician. This country has been good to me. It gave me everything I have got.

Globe and Independent

I was a poor young fellow coming up from the South where a fellow like me don't have a chance.

There are things going on down there that make for all this difference. The way they persecute people of my race don't give them much chance under that set-up.

Nashville Tenn.

It ain't everybody down there but just certain people. If I amount to anything now I want what I have got to help my people.

I have never come out for any candidate before but I think Willkie will give us a SQUARE DEAL

Roosevelt has had two terms to show us what he could do, but did not give us an Anti-lynching Bill. He has not done so much for us in other ways.

I heard Willkie say—"Murder in the South ought to be just what it is in the North."

He said he is against hoodlums no matter who they work for.

So I am for Willkie because I think he will help my people. I figure my people should be for him too.

Wendell Willkie promises relief until you get a job with a future.

I don't like them bringing Barkley and Byrnes up North to manage things because they always fought the Anti-lynching Bill which Roosevelt promised us 8 years ago and did not make good.

That is why I am in Willkie's corner.

JOE LOUIS

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REUPBLICAN

Claim Loss Of Election Not As Important As Losing Votes Of Race

Philadelphia Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa.

OCT 3 1940

NEW YORK, N. Y.—"I would rather lose this election and have it known that the colored people were back of Mr. Willkie than to win this election and have you outside the fold," declared Joseph Martin, chairman of the GOP National Committee, during a two-day convention of colored men and women Republican leaders held here at eastern headquarters of the Republican National Committee.

"I think you should caution the people of your race not to be deceived by a few honeyed words and by a little relief money. Nobody is going to have relief taken away from the people when they need it. If there are any people in the world who ought to be behind the drive to save America they are the colored people," Martin continued.

Campaign Setup New

The revelation that a brand new type of Presidential campaign is being carried on in the east for the election of Willkie was brought forth as Francis E. Rivers, chief of the eastern colored division, and Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, head of the women's activities presided at the Eastern Planning Board sessions last week. Mrs. Speaks also conducted a woman's seminar on campaign strategy the day before. A summary of methods outlined at both meetings follows:

1. Mr. Rivers described the decentralization of work, indicating how the Eastern Division is acting in this campaign mainly to correlate and coordinate the much fuller activities of the Republican State Committees. The Eastern Planning Board consisting of one woman and one man from each state in addition to the man named by each state committee to handle the Republican campaigns in that state; comprise a net-work thru which all national campaign matters are handled. These set-ups of three leaders in each state are of great importance in this campaign and the division heads are working with and through them, it was brought out.

Gave Example

2. As an example of how this plan works Mr. Rivers cited the operation of the speakers' bureau. In past campaigns national headquarters have supplied speakers direct and sent them into the states. This time all speakers register with state headquarters first. Their names are forwarded to eastern headquarters which acts as a "booking agent." Then when states desire a speaker he is notified by national headquarters acting again through the state group.

3. LaMarr Perkins, of New York, head of the New York State campaign said the 1940 drive in this state would be streamlined. Meetings will not only be held in halls but also on many Harlem street corners, for instance.

"This campaign will be carried on, based on economic issues mainly," he declared, indicating that the more emotional appeals of past national campaigns would not be stressed.

4. Mrs. Speaks said at both meetings that women this year will carry on a direct publicity campaign by calling on all newspaper editors in their city and seeking their direct aid.

Want Women Willkie-Minded

"More homes will be reached by the women," she said. "Our job is not being done just by having meetings. For instance, the greatest business we have is beauty culture. The women are asking the beauticians to talk politics and Willkie. They are organizing the church women, club women, fraternal women.

"Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has spoken to every type of organization in order to make the people think all these groups are supporting her husband. But it is not true, for instance, that all of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are with Roosevelt just because Mrs. Roosevelt spoke at their meeting here recently.

Mrs. Speaks said that Southern Republican Women are carrying on a mail campaign with their northern sisters who can vote, urging the latter to support Wendell L. Willkie. Delegates testifying of situations in their states brought out unusual facts.

Experiences Are Given

Mrs. M. V. Whittico, of West Virginia, told how she is pursuading those who fear New Deal vengeance if they change their vote. She said West Virginia was filled with Willkie Club organizations.

Mrs. Carrie M. S. Pipes, of Delaware, said that, after all, few New Deal projects in the East were for use by Negroes. She cited many parks improved by PWA funds which Negroes could not use.

OCT

Atty. William A. Dart, of Atlantic City, N. J., and Dr. Marcus Wheatland, of Camden, told of the necessity for getting the campaign in South Jersey under way as soon as possible. Dr. Wheatland was named to direct the Willkie forces in New Jersey.

LaMarr Perkins said Harlem had definitely shifted away from its predominantly New Deal attitude of 1936.

Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., chairman of the Eastern Division, said:

"We are not only giving lip service to the Negro. We are doing everything possible to give them proper appointments in Connecticut, for instance, in proportion to their numbers. We are going to continue to do that nationally."

Arthur C. Logan, of Washington, addressed the banquet last Tuesday night at the Harlem YMCA where the planning board held its dinner. Mr. Logan offered an array of facts concerning segregation under the New Deal.

Speakers included Mr. Rivers, Oliver Randolph, publicity chairman; Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, of the Women's Division; George Gordon and Joseph S. Mitchell, of Boston; Mrs. Elloues Day and James Pringle, of Connecticut, Lamarr Perkins, Mrs. Bertha Diggs, Mrs. Anna Borden and George Wibecan, of New York; Dr. Marcus Wheatland, Mrs. Emily Fowler, Mrs. Geneva Blake, and William A. Dart, of New Jersey; Mrs. Carrie M. S. Pipes and John O. Hopkins, of Delaware; Joseph V. Baker and Mrs. Maude B. Coleman, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Elvira Bond and Marse Callaway, of Maryland; Mrs. Evelyn Lewis and J. Franklin Wilson, of the District of Columbia; Mrs. M. V. Whittico, and T. Gillis Butter, of West Virginia; Mrs. Lethia Fleming, of Cleveland; Arthur Logan of Washington and Nathan Pollard, of New York

Knoxville Tenn. Journal
October 24, 1940

Negro GOP Club To Meet

Congressman John J. Jennings will head a list of speakers at a rally of Negro Republicans at 7:30 p. m. today at Green School on Payne Avenue.

Talking on the same program will be Dr. N. A. Shamborguer, who has been campaigning in Chattanooga; Assistant Atty.-Gen. Charles H. Davis, James Bussell, the Rev. M. H. Malone and J. K. Rasnake.

Patriotic music and Negro spirituals will be furnished by the Austin High School Alumni Singers, under direction of Prof. Royster Tate, and the Brownlow Singers.

The meeting was arranged by the Negro Willkie-for-President Club, which has headquarters at Vine Avenue and State Street. George Smith is manager, Webster Crippen co-manager, and Sylvia A. Kidd, manager of women's division.

WHAT AFTERWARDS?

OCT 31 1940

This has been a bitter campaign. Every ounce of help has been called upon from all groups to win. The Negro has been no exception to the rule. Generally speaking, he has taken a foremost part; generally that part has been intelligent.

During the course of the campaig Mr. Willkie has indicated very clearly his determination to see that the Negro got a better deal under his administration. Many support him because of that fact. While Mr. Roosevelt has said nothing, we presume that there will be no change in his program.

Under Governor Wilson and the other state officers, Negroes have fared well. They seek further improvement if the governor and others of his administration are reelected. We have heard nothing from the Democrats.

But whoever is successful, the Bystander hopes that the Negro leaders who have been close to political managers and candidates will use all the energy at their command to see that the pledges of fair play is executed. It is one of the best methods of demonstrating that Democracy can and does work in America

Jim Crow Departments to Vanish, Willkie Tells 10,000 in Harlem

Afro American - Baltimore, Md.

OCT 1 9 1940

NEW YORK CITY — Wendell Willkie spoke last week at the Golden Gate Ballroom in Harlem while 10,000 enthusiastic Harlemites cheered within and without the hall as he declared:

"You who are leaders of your race, whatever you do, not for any political purpose, but for the best interest of your own people, do not let them fall into the habit of thinking that the utmost life has to offer them is relief."

Applause was deafening as he continued: "Do not let them follow an administration that preaches to them that they owe something to that administration because that administration has given them relief. Relief is provided to all the people of the United States. It is not a monopoly of one administration."

Ballroom Jammed

The ballroom was packed by nine in the evening and the doors virtually closed to any more but officials or speakers. Mr. Willkie appeared at 11:20 shortly after Senatorial-Candidate Bruce Barton had spoken. He was introduced by LaMar Perkins, attorney.

The Republican Presidential candidate said in part:

"I have to leave shortly on a train and therefore can only speak very briefly, but I want to speak to you very directly and very clearly. I want to speak to you from a long experience.

"When I was in business, and this can be readily checked—and it has been checked by leaders in your particular office—when I was in business, whether it was in the North or South, I practiced what I am now preaching, namely: get jobs for your people. I never have known in my life what it was to discriminate between people because of race or religion or color.

Will Continue Relief

"Mr. Perkins mentioned the subject of relief. So that any of you who are on relief may understand my position, I shall continue relief for every individual until he has a job. But I do not think relief is what an American citizen is entitled to. It is a method that is insignificant.

"In a nation where a free born American citizen must live his life upon the pittance that relief provides, it is shocking to anyone that really believes in America. Of course, until we can provide jobs we must continue it, but if you start with the objective of providing relief instead of jobs, you will never provide a job.

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"Another thing, as long as relief does exist, all American citizens are born equal and all American citizens under my administration will receive exactly the same kind of relief checks! And in addition to that the jim crow departments in Washington will vanish.

Practices What He Preaches

"I don't say those things because I am engaged in a political campaign. When I was in business I followed exactly that same practice. Let me say this to you by way of a little preaching.

"Now, here is an administration that has been in power for seven and one-half years. In the nation as a whole, and I believe it is true in this particular neighborhood, there are as many unemployed now as there were when this administration was seeking re-election four years ago. At that rate, you people will all eventually be reduced to relief.

"The matter of creating jobs, starting a business in the United States so that jobs will follow is one of the simplest things in the world and I know how to do it. I believe that in a country such as this, with its great natural resources, with the great demands of its people, with the additional requirements now of filling a defense against a dictator, the idea of anybody in America being out of work is perfectly ridiculous.

Want Strong Defense

"The Republicans offer this fall a program consisting primarily of three things. They want to build for this country a defense so strong that no dictator may seek to strike, and in the building of such a defense all citizens should be called upon for service without any kind of discrimination.

"Second, we want to start the wheels of industry and business going so that we can take people off the relief rolls and put them on the payrolls. And number three, we want to end discrimination and bring about unity in America. You know this is a very precious and a very dear way of life that we have in these United States.

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"This is the last untouched democracy in all the world, and it must be preserved. It cannot be preserved if we go down the road along which we are presently going. It will die. It will turn to ashes in our hands, and I appeal to you people—be missionaries in this cause, go out and convert your erring brothers and teach them that this is their right—that they become free and independent American citizens, free from discrimination so that they can hold their heads high and be entitled to all the rights in this great country.

Wages in Place of Dole

"We offer you the privilege of becoming citizens. We offer you the privilege of taking you off the dole and putting you on wages. We offer you recognition. We do not want to buy your vote, we want to accept your votes, as free American citizens.

Affidavits from Elwood Officials Deny Democratic Charges of Anti-Negro Bias

World Telegram - New York N.Y.

OCT 1 5 1940

Democratic campaign charges of anti-Negro bias in Wendell Willkie's home town—part of the "smear" attack upon the Republican Presidential nominee—today were denounced as a "malicious lie" in affidavits by past and present officials of the town, Elwood, Ind.

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Although Democratic chieftains have repudiated a mimeographed attack upon Willkie's home town and his ancestry, the racial accusations were still present in another approved, printed circular Mr. Rivers said, "I submit the following voluntary affidavits which were made six weeks ago when a whispering campaign embodying this 'smear' was first uncovered.

"'I, William A. Faust, have been a resident of Elwood for 38 years, having been born and reared just south of town. I served as Mayor of the City of Elwood from January, 1922, until 1930.'

Denies Story

"'I have read the item in a paper called the Anderson Argus, issue of Aug. 17, 1940, entitled Intolerance in Elwood, by (D. W.) The last paragraph of that item cites me as one resident of Elwood that would corroborate the subject matter of the item. I cannot do so.

OCT 1 5 1940

"'The statement relative to signs having existed warning colored people, "Nigger don't let the sun go down on you in Elwood," is definitely false and the purported incident in which the colored woman minister was escorted out of town, not being allowed to hold her religious service in Elwood, is equally false, to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I believe that, as Mayor and in public life, no such incident would have occurred in a city the size of Elwood in 1922 without my knowledge.'

"Grant V. Newcomer, M. D., secretary of the Elwood Board of Health, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

"'I have been a resident of the City of Elwood since 1891 and in the active practice of medicine for all of that period. I served eight years as police commissioner of the City of Elwood.

"'Never to my knowledge has a colored person ever been molested in any manner and they have always been free to stay in our city as long as they cared to.'

"'I personally employ colored help and at present have a colored cook and house boy and they insist on permanent employment because of the fine treatment accorded them in Elwood and the statement relative to signs warning 'colored people to get out before sun down' is a malicious lie, because no such thing ever existed.'

OCT 1 5 1940

An Insult to Elwood

"'This propaganda is an insult to the citizens of Elwood'

"The first affidavit was attested by Thomas Myles, a colored attorney, and the second by Dorothea Bortham, wife of the present Mayor of Elwood."

Alan Valentine, executive director of the National Committee of Democrats-for-Willkie, said:

"Of course, no fair minded American believes that the mimeographed pamphlet was the 'mistake' that Flynn and Michelson obtained by reporters at Democratic National Campaign Committee colored division headquarters, 331 Madison Ave.

It was expected that Edward J. Flynn, Democratic National Chairman, would be asked at his press conference whether he indorsed the printed circular, which questions whether Mr. Willkie "would be a President of all people, black as well as white."

The affidavits seeking to scotch the prejudice charges against Elwood townsfolk were signed by William A. Faust, former Mayor, and Dr. Grant V. Newcomer, secretary of the Board of Health.

They were made public here by Francis E. Rivers, director of the Republican National Committee colored voters division, who charged that the new pamphlet was "an official handbook of the Democratic National Committee."

"As a complete refutation of the false, baseless statements that Negroes were barred from Elwood," courageement to the Negro people of the United States and cites her presentation to Marian Anderson, the Negro singer, of the Spingarn Medal at Richmond, Va., where, it says, there is a law that Negroes and white persons should not even be together in one assembly hall.

Of course, term traditionally says that the Negro has been chained by tradition, "cheated out of his rightful place in this country by tradition," and declares, "Why the quicker traditions are upset the better off the Negro will be."

In a second pamphlet prepared and issued by the Colored Division it is declared:

"Mr. Willkie claims his forebears fled Germany to escape persecution but up to the present time there is nothing in the records to prove his contention.

"Elwood, where Wendell Willkie was born and where he spent his early life up to the time he became a candidate for the Presidency, had been an un-American anti-Negro community where members of our race were forbidden to live. Elwood is a typical Indiana town and Indiana has long been notorious as the bailiwick of the notorious Ku Klux Klan."

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Report Republicans Ready To Name Negro Campaign Boss; Hamilton Opens Office

Many Political Leaders Are Working Behind Scene in an Attempt to Get the Position

DePriest Stands Good Chance To Win

CHICAGO.—(ANP)—Increased activity in Republican political circles was noticeable this week as reports were circulated that the Negro personnel of the GOP campaign organization was about to be selected and soon would be announced. The rumors probably started because former Chairman John Hamilton came into town and opened headquarters at 140 South LaSalle Street. Mr. Hamilton who has reshuffled his official position to become assistant chairman will have charge of the entire western area. Mr. Hamilton did not confer with any of the colored leaders but various political stalwarts are presenting plans, outlining effective personnal and quietly urging their own availability.

It appears that former state senator William E. King of Chicago, who with Thomas J. Nutter of West Virginia, was named on the Willkie advisory committee, is not ambitious for leadership in the campaign, eastern or western. Mr. King is a candidate for congress and his friends point out that the enmities collected as head of a bureau rarely benefit a candidate. Mr. King would like, however, so it is reported, to have a hand in naming the director.

Dr. L. K. Williams, who was chairman of the entire colored division four years ago, declines to permit his name to be mentioned for the post Dr. Williams, who is reputedly Senator King's political mentor, is said to be interested in any slant which affairs may take toward activity among religious bodies and would expect to be an influence in that direction.

The most active candidate for the post is Oscar DePriest, former congressman. Mr. DePriest began early, right at the Republican convention. He was one of the first Negro leaders to meet Candidate Wilkie at Philadelphia and it is said that DePriest made a most favorable impression upon the presidential aspirant. Age and the fact that he has lost his last several political battles are said to be DePriest's chief deterrents. He has lined up every force at his command, however, and had a mutual white friend arrange a conference last week with Sen. King, long one of his political enemies, to ask King's support.

A formidable and popular figure for the leadership is Atty. Cornelius R. Richardson of Richmond, Ind. Richardson has charge of arrangements at Elwood, Ind., for the Wilkie notification ceremony. For eight or ten years he was chairman of the colored republican state committee in Indiana. In the 1936 campaign he was assistant to Dr. L. K. Williams and has figured largely in several national campaigns.

Numerous other Chicago leaders are being mentioned for various posts, among them being Atty. Joseph D. Bibb, former editor of the Chicago Whip; Atty. Patrick D. Prescott who was associated with the same paper and recently was defeated when he ran for the republican nomination for congress. All or these are encouraged by Mr. Wilkie's declaration that new faces are needed in the headquarter's set-up. This is taken to mean that

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It is hard to see how Howard can be counted out since he is a full-fledged member of the national committee but these rumors are part of the fantastic stories floating around about the financial and bizarre activities which took place in the last campaign.

Organization Uncertain

One interesting angle is that Hamilton has appointed as one of his assistants, Arthur Curtiss, Missouri national committeeman. Curtis, white, is in charge of organization among special groups as he was four years ago. At that time he appointed Robert J. Kratky, white, of St. Louis, as liason man. Actually he was in charge of those in charge of the colored

group. There has been no indication that Kratky will be in the picture this time but Mr. Curtis' presence has given rise to speculation.

Committeeman Howard and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, who is in charge of publicity at the Washington headquarters of the Republican National Committee, have collaborated on an east-west set-up which Chairman Joe Martin and Hamilton have received. The eastern contingent of Negro Republicans is said to be insistent that only easterners from voting areas be permitted to officiate at New York. Chicago politicians in the past have been more lenient on this score but indications are that the West plans to be a bit clannish this year also.

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Willkie Hits Race-Class Prejudices

OCT 9 1940

NEW YORK [AP] — Wendell L. Willkie rode bareheaded in an open car through rain-lashed streets of Manhattan Tuesday and appealed for national unity so that, he said, the country would not be "torn to pieces" by class prejudices.

The Republican presidential nominee, encountering the first bad weather of his campaign, spoke to a surging crowd in the midtown garment center after parading past cheering thousands on Fifth avenue and Broadway.

Boos Are Heard

Boos were mixed with applause when Willkie reached Thirty-eighth street and Seventh avenue for his address. Listeners were so tightly packed about this sound equipped car that it took mounted police several minutes to clear the way.

"If we do not become unified through the force of love in order to survive," the candidate declared, "somebody will unify us through the force of power."

If there is class prejudice, he asserted, "this country will be torn to pieces in this present kind of a world."

Willkie said he never had been prejudiced "against any candidates, persons, religions, races, creeds or colors," and added he had been "shocked that the opposiiton has started a whispering campaign" because one of his parents was born abroad.

Frequently brushing the rain from his hair, he told the crowd that he was "glad to be back in my home town" and said he had selected the district for a speech "because I wanted to talk to you particular people."

Urges Open Mind

"I don't ask you to be for or against me," he continued. "I only ask that you keep your minds open."

The candidate, hunched in a sodden gray topcoat, finally put on an old felt hat when he drove to the north end of Times Square, where umbrellas bobbed over the crowd gathered to hear him. Confetti and torn telephone books soaked in an instant plopped down on his car from skyscraper windows.

Willkie stood in his car near a statue of the Rev. Dr. Francis P. Duffy, a Catholic priest who, during the World War, was chaplain of the Rainbow division.

'Roosevelt Failed To Speak Out Against Mobs', Willkie-ites Hear

Philadelphia Tribune
Phila. Pa.
SEP 12 1940

"My people in the South called President Roosevelt 'Father,' but when he could have helped them by speaking out against lynching, he forgot us," declared Mrs. Marjorie Tucker, to the opening meeting of Women-for-Willkie headquarters on Tuesday afternoon.

One of several speakers who spoke in the old Tommy Loughran bar, 15th and Chestnut street, Mrs. Tucker also told how all her life, she had been a Democrat, "as that seemed the natural thing to be in New York, where I was born, but during the past four years I have seen mothers embarrassed because they must accept relief for the children, and I have seen children who have never known a father with a job."

Despite all promises, the administration in power has not remedied unemployment, while it has made the poor little businessman poorer by burdening him down with heavy taxes, Mrs. Tucker said.

"You can't expect the poor to take care of the poor," she said, "and business which should be giving us work is forced to close down or is discouraged from even opening, because of the forces in power.

"We cannot expect children to love America," when they grow up seeing need and destitution around them, Mrs. Tucker declared as she appealed "to elect Willkie on November 5, so that the hope he brings and his promises to put us back to work and labor will come true—so that this country built up by labor, will rise again through work and labor.

Mrs. C. Reinold Noyes presided and extended an invitation to the women of the city to visit the headquarters freely, or to register for the "Get-out-the-vote" Campaign which the women have undertaken. The meeting was under the auspices of the Associated Willkie Clubs of Philadelphia.

Editor Morris Writes of 'Fine Reception' Accorded Negroes at Notification

By James B. Morris

There are somethings for which there is no substitute and one of those things is a rousing political meeting such as the Willkie notification ceremony at Elwood, Indinan, Saturday. Long before our special trains reached Elwood, it was evident that the crowd would come up to expectations. Enthusiasm was high. Ample arrangements had been made to take care of everything and everybody, the high anl lowly alike.

Calloway Park was a mass of humanity perspiring from head to foot but content to wait for the nominee's cue for his campaign. Men and women stood and sat on chairs, the ground and each other, anything to get a glimpse of the cheif. It was not a flowery speech, but filled with sound horse sense, indicating very clearly that Mr. Willkie knows what the public wants and just how to give it to them. It showed that he realizes the gravity of his task when he said, "Obviously, I cannot lead this cause alone. I need the help of every American—Republican, Democrat, or independent—Jew, Catholic, or Protestant people of every color, creed and race. Party lines are down."

Elwood put on its best front for the visitors and the fine hospitality accorded the Negro was no exception to the rule. No Negroes live in the town and since I knew the word had gone out to show no discrimination against them, I visited every restuarant, hotel, and tavern possible to find out whether the citizens were obeying. Everybody was swell glad to serve me going just a little further to make one welcome.

Leaders Present

Hundreds of political leaders were there—blacks and white. In every instance Negroes clung to their state delegation rather than in race groups. A booth known as the Frederick Douglass headquarters provided a meeting place for those who just wondered around to see who was there. Some among those registered were: Oscar DePriest, former Congressman, first District of Illinois; William E. King, former state senator of Chicago; Aty. Patrick Prescott, and Representative Ernest A. Greene and Atty. William Booker of Chicago; Alderman Edwin Jourdain, Evanston; Senator Charles Roxborough, Detroit; Robert R. Church, Memphis; Atty. Alva Bates, Robert H. Miller, M. C. Atkns, Bishop James A. Bray, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Republican National Committee publicity division; Atty. Lawrence Payne, Cleveland, Ohio, chairman of the Civil Service commission; Joseph Mitchell Boston, member of the Massachusetts Parole Board; Charles Lewis, Philadelphia; Cornelius Richardson, a member of the Indiana committee which prepared the Willkie Day ceremony; Herbert Marshall, director of the Indianapolis Y. M. C. A. band which won much praise for its musical numbers in the parade; Atty. Benjamin H. Crockett and Fred R. Bramlett, Chicago; Mrsr. J. D. Madison, committeewoman, Nineteenth ward, St. Louis; Mrsr. Beulah Ellis, member of the Republican speakers' bureau;

C. H. Thomas, member of the precinct committee, Indianapolis, who acted as one of the official guides; Mrs. Oscar Taylor, usher, Young Republican club, Anderson, Ind.; S. R. Redmond, president, National Bar Association, St. Louis, and son of S. D. Redmond; Mrs. Audrey Edwards, member of the Woman's National Republican club, Chicago; Mrs. Lovelyn Evans, Chicago; Charles Stokes, national vice chairman of the Young Republican Federation, Leavenworth, Kansas; Fred Taylor, president of the Young Republican club, Lawrence, Kansas; Earl Perkins, former councilman, Cincinnati, Ohio; Attorney John Locker, Julius Brooks, William Buckner and Ted Berry, Cincinnati; David H. James, member of the speakers bureau, Pontiac, Illinois; Nathaniel Reid, William Jennings, James White, Arthur Jennings, Atty James B. Morris, Des Moines, Iowa, editor of the Iowa Bystander; James Hayes and Benton Hardy, Chicago; Dr. A. Fairfax, Evanston, and Mary L. Wesley committeewoman from the Second ward Chicago.

It was a fine sight to behold and indicated very clearly that the people are interested in good politics yet.

Others who worked with Williams in an attempt to establish an N. A. A. C. P. chapter here,, have fled in fear that they might receive the same treatment given Williams, who is believed to have been the victim of a lynching party in June before his body was thrown in the river bottoms.

'I'm Against Discrimination And Segregation'--Willkie

Charles P. Howard, editor and publisher of the Howard News Syndicate the Iowa Observer, Des Moines; the Tri-State Observer Davenport; and the Waterloo Observer, Waterloo; has sent a report to Republican National Committee Headquarters of certain explicit statements made by Wendell Willkie, Republican Nominee for President of the United States, on the occasion of his visit to Des Moines last Monday that he believes as follows:

Washington, D.C.

DES MOINES, Iowa. — Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential Nominee, emphasized in Des Moines last Monday that he believes that "Negroes are just American citizen," and that "the approach to them for their political support should be the same approach as to other American citizens."

Mr. Willkie was in Des Moines August 5, for a conference with Mid-Western governers and farmers.

Reveals Attitude

During the day however he was interviewed by other interests. His attitude on the Negro was disclosed at a press conference attended by more than one hundred Iowa newspaper editors, among these were three colored representatives.

On being asked if he desired to say anything with reference to the Negro question Mr. Willkie immediately replied: "I don't think there is any man in America who has spoken or written more strongly on the Negro question than I have and I did it at a time when I had no idea of occupying my present position."

Mr. Willkie was later asked if he had any special plan for getting the Negro vote. He replied: "I don't believe in any plan to get the Negro vote: I think they are all American citizens."

Following the press conference Mr. Willkie held an informal interview with a group of Negro Republican leaders from the State of Iowa, wherein he said:

"If I am elected, I will carry out the platform of the Republican Party as it dealt with the Negro; I am behind the Republican Platform of this plant 100 per cent."

Further inquiry was made of Mr. Willkie as to whether or not, as President of the United States, he would see that the National Government led the way in eliminating discrimination and segregation against the Negro citizens of the country. Mr. Willkie replied:

"I am for that and against all sorts of discirimination and segregation, loc! stock and barrel; you may quote me on this."

Mr. Willkie disclosed during his stay here that he plans to campaign extensively. Said he:

"I am going out and let the people see me; I'm going all over the country."

The Willkie party arrived in Des Moines from Colorado Springs, Colorado, aboard two chartered United Air Planes Sunday evening and departed Tuesday morning for Chicago before returning to Colorado Springs.

The Negro representatives who attended the conference with Mr Willkie stated they were deeply impressed with his sincerity and forthrightness on all questions affecting the Negro people of the United States.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

G.O.P. Gives Race Pledge In Platform

Argus - 6/28/40

Many Negro Delegates At Philadelphia Meet

St. Louis, Mo.

Take Prominent Part In Fight For Nominees

PHILADELPHIA, June 26 — Bulletin—The G. O. P. National Convention issued the party plank Wednesday. Included in the pledges of the party was its stand of the Negro which was as follows:

We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the army, navy and all other branches of the Government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation, and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted.

Strong national defense, non-intervention in European war, local control of unemployment. creation of more jobs, local control of relief, increase of old age pension, collective bargaining, farm aid, tariff policies to protect U. S. labor, industry and agriculture, sound money, sound credit, government jobs on merit basis, equal opportunity for all and no third term for any president were other stands in the plank.

PHILADELPHIA, (A N P) — This city put on its best manners for the Republican National Convention which opened here officially Monday morning. Negro delegates and visitors are welcome everywhere and many are guests at the Quaker City's leading hotels. Restaurants, theatres and policemen are exercising the utmost courtesy.

However, Philadelphia is proving to be a poor convention site because of the lack of sufficient hotel accommodations and taxicabs for the huge throngs present. The convention hall is not large enough to hold the multitude and a poor public address system added to difficulties experienced by delegates and the press Monday.

The clergy was well represented, with no fewer than nine bishops sitting upon the platform at various times through arrangements made by Perry Howard and Dr. Emmett J. Scott. Bishops Sims, Gregg and Green of the A. M. E. Church; M. E. Bishops Jones, Shaw and King; and Bishops Kyle, Wallace and Brown of the A. M. E. Zions were those present.

In addition to the bishops, others on the platform were Col. B. O. Davis, highest ranking Negro army officer, and President James E. Shepard of North Carolina College, Durham.

Leaders Present.

Accredited Negro delegates and alternates seated were: S. A. Jones, Arkansas; J. Leonard Lewis, Florida; Sam B. Solomon, Ben J. Davis, Georgia; F. C. Gassett, Clarence S. Wigfall, William E. King, Illinois; Geo. R. Tipper, G. W. Saffell, Kentucky; James Lewis, Jr., Louisiana; Dr. J. H. Lowery, Dr. J. A. Hardin, Dr. J. Leslie Jones, Maryland; Chas. A. Roxborough, Michigan; Perry W. Howard, Miss.; S. D. Redmond, E. L. Patton, M. H. Daily, W. J. Box, Fred H. Miller, C. T. Butler, J. B. Woods, Mississippi; S. R. Redmond, William A. Morant, Missouri; Rev. Lorenzo H. King, New York; Lawrence O. Payne, Ohio; Perry Brooks Jackson, J. Harvey Battis, Pennsylvania; Robert R. Church, Tennessee; J. Franklin Wilson, District of Columbia; I. M. A. Myers, South Carolina; James Brier, South Carolina.

Alternates were: Bishop S. L. Green, Arkansas; John L. Webb, S. A. Hibbler, Fred Roberts, California; Mrs. Carie M. Pipes, Deleware; David S. Dwight, Florida; C. T. Williams, B. F. Cofer, Georgia; Dr. H. Van Buren, W. L. Hughes, Adolphus N. Gordon, Illinois; Mrs. Grace Evans, Indiana; Mrs. Beatrice Childs, Kansas; Dr. W. P. Offutt, Kentucky; Dr. R. P. Creuzot, Louisiana; J. L. Hatcher, Herbert S. Wilson, Maryland; Calvin Anderson, William Randall, Mrs. Mary C. Booze, Mississippi; Mrs. Carl Grome, Missouri; Mrs. Gladys Stewart; Mrs. Maude T. Oswald, George W. Fields; Dr. Marcus Wheatland, New Jersey; Mrs. Sarah S. Washington, Malvin B. Johnson, George E. Bibecan, New York; A. W. G. Sango, Oklahoma; Charles Chandler, John R. Logan, Pennsylvania; Price Edwoods, R. C. Grant, Tennessee; Dr. J. T. Walson, Texas; G. E. Ferguson, West Virginia; William Saunders, Dr. John R. Francis, District of Columbia.

A Political Letter From,

Union

That "Old War Horse", Republican Born and Republican Bred, – "Bob" Harlan !

7-25-40

Philadelphia, Pa.,
July 7, 1940.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Editor Wendell P. Dabney,
The Union—Cincinnati, O.
My dear Wendell:

"Truth is stranger than fiction." I am writing to one Wendell, while thinking of another Wendell, who seems destined to be our President—namely, Wendell Willkie. His son's name is Philip and your middle name is the same!

Remarkable coincidence,

So, "les talk" Politics!

The absence of control by a selected few, and naming of nominees by instructed delegates, offers to the voters two candidates of exceptional ability and appeal. Especially as Willkie has three essential qualifications: Brains, Executive Ability and Personality. Add to these a carrying voice and fighting determination and I know of no man the Republicans could have chosen with more chance of success

Roosevelt naturally will have the support of those on the government payroll, but there are a vast number of voters of both parties opposed to a third term, the belief he will drag us into war and the fear of increased taxes due to reckless expenditures. This handicap will defeat him.

Our candidate for the vice-presidency McNary, is no novice. Strong with the farmers, a good campaigner and long experience in the Senate.

The New Deal cannot play with marked cards and the third term-ites will not be allowed to continue eating away the foundation of this Republic. The White House will soon be closed for a general housecleaning next January and after that there will be one that will remove the debris of Dictatorship, Brain Trusts, Supernumaries and Parasites. We want no man on horseback.

Yours, for the good of our country,
R. J. HARLAN.

Willkie Pledges Justice and Opportunity To Colored Citizens; Is Noted For Fight On Ku Klux Klan

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The nomination of Wendell L. Willkie for President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia has been hailed by Colored Republicans throughout the country with enthusiasm.

Telegrams by the hundreds were received by the nominee at Philadelphia, and at Republican National Headquarters, from Colored citizens expressing gratification that so militant a warrior has been commissioned to carry the Republican standard during the coming months of the Presidential campaign.

WILLKIE FAVORED BY NEGRO REPUBLICANS

What particularly commends Mr. Willkie to the favor of Colored Republicans is the attitude he took in 1924 in opposing the Ku Klux Klan. FORTUNE MAGAZINE for April, 1940, calls attention to the fact that he "led and won the battle against the Ku Klux Klan 1924-26."

HE FOUGHT THE KU KLUX KLAN

CURRENT HISTORY, for February, 1940, also called attention to Mr. Willkie's attitude toward the Ku Klux Klan in the following: "As delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1924, he fought for the nomination of Al Smith over William Gibbs McAdoo, because Mr. McAdoo was backed by the Ku Klux Klan." During the proceedings, the Ohio Delegation of which he was a member, was polled and Mr. Willkie was recorded as favoring the adoption of the following resolution: "We pledge the Democratic Party to oppose any effort on the part of the Ku Klux Klan or any organization to interfere with the religious liberty or political freedom of any citizen."

This position was taken by him 16 years ago when he had no thought or idea of even being considered, for the Presidency.

WHAT CURRENT HISTORY SAYS

In THE CURRENT HISTORY article, as far back as the early part of this year, he was being referred to as "a good, shrewd, able, business man to unscramble the tax and business situation the country is in."

As a forthright man, he declared, that he did not wish, for the sake of conformit to catalogue himself with a label as his political philosophy places country above party.

He was one of those who joined the revolt against the abuses of big business. He is reported to have remarked that "the greatest joy in life is to keep one's thoughts uncontrolled by formulas. I won't be dropped into a mould," he said.

"I want to be a free spirit," he continued. "If I wasn't one, I would be still sitting on a cracker box in Indiana."

PROMISES JUSTICE TO COLORED DELEGATES

In an informal interview with a room-full of Colored delegates at Philadelphia during the Convention, Mr. Willkie was subjected to a bit of frank questioning by them. He did not equivocate or evade. He said to them:

"Look. I want your support. I need it. But get this: irrespective of whether Negroes go down the line for me, they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair proportion of appointments, their fair representation in policy making. They'll get the same consideration that every other citizen gets.

"Now I want you to be with me. But I'll treat you squarely and fairly even if everyone of you goes against me. My record will show that."

"What about the discrimination against Negroes in the Army, the Navy and the Air Corps?" he was asked.

"I'm against all that kind of bunk," he replied. "You are citizens like everybody else and you ought to be treated like citizens. IF I AM ELECTED PRESIDENT I WILL SEEK TO REMOVE ALL KINDS OF DISCRIMINATION FROM ALL KINDS OF GROUPS."

"A democracy," he said, "is that system of government in which all people regardless of color are given the opportunity to have and to enjoy the best things of life."

The above recital indicates that, in Wendell Willkie, Colored voters have presented to them for support a candidate whose past record shows him to have fought for the things he regards as being fair and just, and for whom they can vote without hesitation or reservation. He will undertake to live up to whatever promises he makes and when he enters the White House in January, 1941, he will not forget the discriminations practiced against Colored citizens in Government service, and in many sections of our country.

The portent of the hour is that we shall WIN WITH WILLKIE.

Seldom has opportunity been presented for those of the Negro race so heartily to join with their fellow citizens in support of a dynamic personality who has enlisted to lead an aggressive crusade in the cause of democracy and liberty.

The largest minority group in the United States will welcome an opportunity of this character, and particularly the extension of democracy and liberty to those who so long have suffered from racial and curtailed opportunities.

With Senator McNary as the Vice Presidential nominee, Mr. Willkie will have at hand one of the ablest and keenest political strategists of the country.

Victory is in the air!

NOBODY WILL SUFFER

Speaking before a Negro audience recently, Wendell Willkie stated that he did not believe the WPA should be made a reservoir to catch unequal shares of surplus Negro labor; in other words, that the Negro should not be forced to seek WPA or relief out of proportion to his population.

It is generally known that in every community the Negro is on relief far out of proportion to his population due to the fact that he is the first fired and the last hired. This has increased in larger proportions during this administration and will contiue until more jobs are created in industry.

Speaking before a large audience in Seattle Monday, Mr. Willkie reiterated his stand that relief nor the WPA would be discontinued when he is elected but that the natural increase in employment that would come as a result of more confidence would level them off so as to reduce the number dependent upon the government for support.

SEP 26 1940

The Bystander knows this is the correct position that must be taken. It is the only one which will get America on a safe road in years to come. But, unfortunately, it is not easy to convince those people who receive their livelihood from government subsiders. Many realize the danger involved in living the lives of government dependents, many realize that such a policy inevitably will lead to chaos and confusion.

To those people, Mr. Willkie can but say that America grew great with such a system, it can grow greater if the reins of state are intrusted to a man who knows how these things can be done and has courage to tackle the problems.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Colored Americans Much in Evidence at GOP Convention

Tribune 6/6/40

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Colored America was much in evidence at the Republican National Convention.

Washington, D.C.

When the convention was called to order, first session, Clyde Barrie, well-known baritone, sang "America"; Dr. John A. Gregg, one of the convention chaplains, offered prayer at the Tuesday evening session; Sidney Davis, of New York, was the convention's favorite reading clerk, and had the honor of calling the roll of states on the sixth ballot, when Wendell L. Willkie was nominated.

Four bishops—John A. Gregg and David H. Sims of the A.M.E. Church, and Wallace and Brown of the A.M.E. Zion Church—sat on the platform as honored guests of the convention, while Bishop Lorenzo H. King, just elevated to the episcopate by the Methodist Church, sat as a delegate from the Twenty-first Congressional District with the New York delegation.

Also, some 75 colored men and women sat as delegates on the floor of the convention, with Perry W. Howard and Mrs. Mary C. Booze as national committeeman and committeewoman from Mississippi.

Many Present as Spectators

Aside from these, some of the most prominent individuals of the race, business and professional men and women, editors, ministers and others were present as spectators and as participants in important conferences of the delegations of their states.

Colored editors, news gatherers and photographers were sprinkled among the hundreds who reported and photographed the proceedings of the convention.

Dr. Emmett J. Scott, assistant to Franklyn Waltman, director of publicity, and consultant on Negro affairs to Chairman John Hamilton, sat during the whole of the session on the convention platform as assistant to Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., chairman of the committee of arrangements.

Mr. Pryor, only 42 years of age, was the convention manager for Wendell L. Willkie, the nominee of the convention for President of the United States.

Colored representatives appeared before the committee on platform and resolutions, and, in the most dignified and yet persistent way, urged the inclusion of a plank that should be affirmative and in no way expressed in generalities if colored voters are to be asked to return to the Grand Old Party.

Their efforts were rewarded with the most satisfactory and inclusive expression which has appeared in a Republican platform for 30 years. This plank follows:

The Negro

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation.

"Discrimination in the civil service, the army, navy and all other branches of the government must cease.

"To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen.

"Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation, and legislation to curb this evil must be enacted."

Other plans of direct interest and concern to colored citizens are the following:

Reemployment

"The New Deal's failure to solve the problem of unemployment and revive opportunity for our youth presents a major challenge to representative government and free enterprise. We propose to re-create opportunity for the youth of America and put our idle millions back to work in private industry, business and agriculture. We propose to eliminate needless administrative restrictions, thus restoring lost motion to the wheels of individual enterprise."

Relief

. . . . "We shall remove waste, discrimination and politics from relief—through administration by the States with Federal grants-in-aid on a fair and non-political basis, thus giving the man and woman on relief a larger share of the funds appropriated."

Social Security

"We favor the extension of necessary old-age benefits on an earmarked pay-as-you-go basis to the extent that the revenues raised for this purpose will permit. For such groups as may thus be covered we favor a system of unemployment compensation with experience rating positions, aimed at protecting the worker in the regularity of his employment and providing adequate compensation for reasonable periods when that regularity of employment is interrupted. The administration should be left with the States, with a minimum of Federal control."

Among the thousands of telegrams received by the nominee were hundreds from all parts of the country from colored political organizations and prominent men and women of the race pledging their support in the aggressive crusade for the restoration of sanity in government and for the preservation of freedom in America.

Three Want Republican Campaign Job

Cut

DePriest, Vann, Howard in Race for Post

7-5-40

PHILADELPHIA. —(ANP)—Before the Republican convention was officially closed, there were three candidates in the field for the position of director of the Negro division of the Willkie-McNary campaign, according to best informed circles close to the party's leaders.

All the way from Chicago came former Congressman Oscar DePriest who, aided and abetted by Roscoe Conkling Simmons and an entourage of others, was reputedly seeking the ear of the leaders in an effort to solidify his position with the party and gain the recognition necessary for the appointment.

Then, there was Robert Vann, of Pittsburgh, publisher of the Courier, whom many declared they saw in Philadelphia visiting the Willkie headquarters frequently with apparently the same idea in mind.

Mr. Vann is remembered as having been prominently identified with the Republican party in the past, but more recently an appointee of the Democrats because of the service he had rendered Mr. Roosevelt. When he and Mr. Roosevelt fell out, it is reported that he then turned his attention once again to the Republican party.

The third avowed candidate is reported to be Perry W. Howard, front man for the defeated candidate, Senator Taft. Mr. Howard was busy during the convention, as he had been prior to that meeting, but this time he was busy trying to hold his own forces in line and to defend his right to the office of national committeeman from Mississippi.

READ THIS!

What the Republican Party Platform Says

We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the Army, Navy, and all other branches of the Government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted. Courier

What the Republican Party Candidate Says

Of Negro employment by public utilities: 7-6-40

"There is no reason why Negroes should be denied employment by utilities. We have a great number of them working for Commonwealth and Southern. I don't know exactly how many, or what categories, but I know we have a great many."

Of discrimination in the Army, Navy and Air Corps:

"I'm against all that kind of bunk. You are citizens like everybody else. If I am elected President, I will seek to remove all kinds of discrimination from all groups. "Look at my record. I fought the Ku Klux Klan in Ohio in 1924 when all of the judges were Klansmen. I have stood up for civil liberties of all minorities at times when I was damned unpopular."

Of what Negroes can expect if they support him:

"I want your support. I need it. But irrespective of whether Negroes go down the line for me or not, they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair representation on policy-making bodies. They'll get the same consideration as other citizens."

A Promise is a Promise

The Republican Party, at its National Convention in Philadelphia last week, adopted a platform which is to serve as its guide for running the affairs of the government if the party is successful in capturing the presidency next November. When it picked Wendell L. Willkie as the presidential nominee, upon whose shoulders will fall the responsibility of seeing that the principles and purposes contained in the platform are carried out.

Among the numerous paragraphs in which the platform-makers pointed out what the party proposes to do, was one under the caption "Negro." The paragraph, though couched in language far less direct and emphatic, might have been lifted from an editorial which appeared in last week's Amsterdam News wherein this newspaper issued a statement of its policy. We reprint hereunder the pledge of the Republicans.

Negro

We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the Army and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made efective for the Negro citizen. Moh violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted.

It is customary at National political conventions and on other occasions when it is considered expedient to do so, for politicians to make glowing promises. It is also customary for those same politicians to forget their promises immediately after the votes have been counted and they are declared the victors. We suggest that our readers clip the above paragraph and paste it in their scrapbooks. In all probability when the Democrats meet in Chicago this month, they will make similar promises. We recommend clipping that also and preserving it for reference.

While we are interested in other things affecting our government and its citizens generally we are deeply interested in what is going to happen to us. It is regrettable that the Negro has to be singled out for special consideration, but whether we like it or not that is the case. It is therefore up to us to see that our welfare is provided for and our best interests are served.

Each of the points listed in the paragraph regarding the Negro is significant, but none perhaps more so than the one calling for "Universal suffrage." This appears to us to be the key to the entire situation. If the Negro is given the vote in the South as well as in the north, we can visualize definite changes in the present American system of Jim Crowism and discrimination and an almost immediate disappearance of mob-rule throughout the South. The Republicans have promised. We should exact from the Democrats a promise equally as emphatic or more so, then regardless of which side wins we ought to hold them to their word . . . even at present we have the vote to do that much.

Negro Seen as Politically as V. ... Takes Helm of The G. O. P.

Old Line Politicians To Be Left Out In Cold As Anti-New Deal Crowd Turns Toward Southland

Noted Woman Politician Gives Warning

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—If, as many say, a new party was born in Philadelphia during the week of June 23, when Wendell Wilkie was nominated for president on the Republican ticket, what is the position of the Negro in this alignment?

Fearful that the Negro is not being considered as an integral part of the plans and policies of the new political idea, a noted woman political figure from the Middle West warns that they must arouse themselves to a point where they must be considered.

"The day of the old line political leader is passed," she said, discussing the actions of well known persons who attended the convention. "And it is equally true in the Democratic party as well as in our own. Too long the Negro has come with his hand out, seeking he knew not what, and taking whatever he could get.

"Even in these days when readjustments have to be made and new alliances formed, the Negro plays his same old plodding game of politics, each one cutting his brother's throat. There is a chance in this campaign for Negroes to show their true worth, but they are more than likely to fumble the opportunity.

"The old order is passing, just as true as day follows night, but there is the same lack of political acumen among our so-called leaders, as ever."

Negroes, she says, are not even being considered in the new plans being formulated, and whether they stay in the Republican party or flock to the Democratic standard, they, because of their own selfishness and lack of foresight will be doomed to the same categories they have held in the past.

Pointing out the shortcomings of the New Deal, in which thousands and thousands of whites have been aided and Negroes given the run-around, she wanted to know just which of the Negroes in the multiple appointments Mr. Roosevelt has made, have any voice in deliberations on policy of their organizations. And what would be the status of the Negro in the Democratic convention, and in the party after the nomination?

Admitting that the Negro had the balance of power and could sway in certain states, the vote from one party to another it is this woman's belief that the vote will be split, unless the Negro decides to cast a majority of his votes with either of the two major parties, and by the slit, will nullify any effect the strong black vote will have in pivotal states.

A third party is out of the question, she says, for the Negro will be as inconsequential in this party as he is in others.

However, she is asking if the Democrats will match the number of Negro delegates and alternates who sat in the Republican convention and took part in the deliberations of that body during its week's session in Philadelphia.

The outlook for the Negro vote, she believes, depends largely upon a changed attitude of the Negro politicians and a falling in line with the new policies which are bound to follow a liberal nomination and platform.

Referring to the plank in the Republican platform regarding Negroes, and that regarding the army and navy, she believed that Negroes could force this issue by a solid support of the Republicans and repeated demands on the bureaucratic administration of the services the Negroes are denied entry.

REPUBLICANS WANT TO KNOW ABOUT "COLOR LINE" IN NAVY

Courier Pittsburgh

SEP 28 1940

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—Failure of last week's White House statement on admission of Negroes into the armed forces, to include a statement on their admission into the Navy recalled to Republicans supporting Willkie excerpts from an article on "The Negro and the United States Navy" in the July issue of Crisis magazine. Among other things the article states:

"The Negro in the Navy is a servant and an indentured servant in the worst sense of the word . . no self-respecting white man with ambition would enlist in the messman's branch should Negroes refuse to do so.

"Negroes cannot become petty officers or chief petty officers. The highest rank that can be obtained is officer's cook or steward."

POLITICAL-1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Get Ready For Notification

Daily World

7-24-40 Atlanta Ga.

National, state and local Republican leaders conferred at Elwood, Indiana, birthplace of candidate Wendell L. Willkie, to advance plans for his notification ceremonies early in August. Seated l to r Congressman Charles Halleck, who nominated Mr. Willkie; Mrs. Grace Reynolds, Ernest Morris and State Chairman Arch Bobbitt. Standing, Cornelius Richardson, director of arrangements for colored people; Mayor George W. Bonham of Elwood, Ray Gibbens Neil McCallum and Homer Capehart, director of arrangements.

In The American Mould

Daily World 7-25-40 Atlanta Ga.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY has fulfilled its obligation to the nation by nominating Wendell Willkie for President. It was a universal hope that this year the convention would be free of pressure groups, free of "back room" influence and free of machine control. That hope has been fully realized. Mr. Willkie is that rare individual a candidate without commitments. He refused to temper his views in the slightest to the political winds. He was completely frank as to his position on every issue, and never stooped to evasion or took refuge in silence. He was, in the best sense of the word, a people's candidate—a man whose support came from the average men and women of America, not from political bosses with their eyes fixed on jobs and power and patronage.

The record of Wendell Willkie is one of which every American, no matter what his partisan allegiance, can be proud. It is the typically American story of the man who, starting from humble beginnings, succeeds through his own work, his own abilities, his own gifts of mind and character and personality. Mr. Willkie, like so many of our industrial and governmental leaders, came up the hard wap. He knows the real America—the America of modest homes, the America whose faith in democratic processes has never been shaken, the America which reveres our traditional liberties above all else.

The great principles for which Wendell Willkie stands are the principles of liberalism—"the faith that is America." He has made many speeches and written many articles. And all of them, basically, deal with one issue. That issue is the American way of life. It is the age-long issue of man against the state—of liberty fighting for its life against some kind of collectivism. What Wendell Willkie abhors most is dictatorship—no matter what form it appears in or what honeyed words are used to conceal its true meaning and intent. And he is one of the fortunate few with a personality which makes it possible for him to dramatize his convictions.

Mr. Willkie is a candidate in the finest American mould—a candidate with greatness of mind and heart and spirit.

Willkie Said Ahead in States With Big Vote

Constitution 7-26-40

Fortune Survey Shows Republican Favorite in Populous States

Atlanta Ga.

NEW YORK, July 25.—(UP)—Republican Candidate Wendell L. Willkie is a strong favorite for the Presidency in states having "a combined preponderance of electoral votes," the magazine Fortune reported today on the basis of a survey undertaken before the Democratic national convention.

7-26-40

Voters in the survey selected President Roosevelt 44.3 per cent to 40.8 for Willkie, Fortune said, with 8 per cent favoring other candidates, refusing to answer, or asserting they would not vote, and 6.9 per cent were undecided.

The magazine noted that the President was favored preponderantly in the South Atlantic, east south central, and west south central states, tied with Willkie in the mountain states, and trailing the Republican candidate elsewhere.

"And since half of the adult white population generally votes in the south, as against two-thirds of the adults in the rest of the country, Roosevelt is not even assured of a majority of the nation's total ballots, as things stand now."

State Colored GOP Meets In Yakima

Enterprise

By J. B. C.

(Special to Northwest Enterprise)

Yakima, Wash., June 29— Hospitable Yakima Washington, opened wide its doors to the delegates of the Washington Colored Republican State Central Committee, which convened here in the Chamber of Commerce, Saturday, June 29th.

7-4-40 Seattle Wash.

Delegates from King, Pierce, Spokane and Yakima responded to the gavel of Edward F. Porter, temporary chairman. After adopting a constitution and by-laws, the temporary organization was made permanent with the following officers elected for a term of four years: Edward Porter of Yakima, chairman; vice chairman, Mrs. N. J. Asberry of Tacoma; treasurer, Clarence Grubbs of Spokane; secretary, Fred Woodson of Seattle; and assistant secretary, Ben Chandler of Yakima.

Organizers were chosen for the western, central and eastern districts of the state. They are P. Frazier of Seattle, Ted Spearman of Yakima and Dr. John Thompson of Spokane. Clubs of each district later will choose woman district organizers.

Mr. Porter, the faithful, untiring and zealous worker of Yakima was given an ovation as he headed the Republican hosts in the coming campaign. His wide personal acquaintances reaches throughout the State and makes him an ideal leader.

Mr. Fred Woodson of King County, the secretary, working under the direction of the chairman, has visited various counties throughout the state, setting up observation posts for the work which is to follow. Prentis Frazier, Regional director for Western Washington, addressing the organization stated its duty was not endorsing the candidacy of individuals, but of measures affecting the welfare of our race. E. I. Robinson of the Northwest Enterprise spoke of the plank in the Republican platform as being the best ever drafted in all its history. He also stated the convention at Philadelphia really represented the people and in choosing Mr. Wilkie, selected the New Deal's bitterest and most effective foe.

Mrs. Nettie Asberry of Pierce said the plight of the present day youth was her call to give her all for the success of the Republican party. Her talk was accentuated by Mrs. Spearman, president of the Colored Women's Yakima Rep. club, Mrs. J. Waggener of King, and Mrs. Woods and other Yakimans added to the enthusiasm which prevailed at the meet.

WILLKIE WOOS DIXIE WHITES; MAY LOSE RACE

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

OCT 12 1940

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 10—Local leaders and those in other states nearby are ready to desert Candidate Wendell L. Willkie, it was learned by Democratic leaders this week, as a result of the G. O. P. nominee's attempt to woo the "trouble-making poor whites" into organizations favoring his election.

If it comes, as predicted privately by sources close to the nationally known Ben Davis, Sr., the revolt will be felt most on November 5.

In Mississippi, where the situation is much the same, colored Republicans feel that Willkie's efforts will amount to the "political slavery" of Hoover days. It was recalled by many that Willkie's workers, most of them the "economic royalists" of this area, have promised the poor whites that the "n——r will be kept in his place," if you vote for this "transplanted Yankee," Willkie.

Wilkie Pledges Race Justice And Opportunity

Enterprise
7-19-40
Seattle, Wash.

By Emmett B. Scott

Mr. Willkie was recorded as favoring the adoption of the following resolution: "We pledge the democratic party to oppose any effort on the part of the Ku Klux Klan or any organization to interfere with the religious liberty or political freedom of any citizen."

This position was taken by him 16 years ago when he had no thought or idea of even being considered, for the presidency.

Promises Justice to Colored

In an informal interview with a room-full of Colored delegates at Philadelphia during the Convention, Mr. Willkie was subjected to a bit of frank questioning by them. He did not equivocate or evade. He said to them:

"Look. I want your support. I need it. But get this; irrespective of whether Negroes go down the line for me, they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair proportion of appointments, their fair representation in policy making. They'll get the same consideration that every other citizen gets.

"Now I want you to be with me but I'll treat you squarely and fairly even if everyone of you goes against me. My record will show that."

"What about the discrimination against Negroes in the Army the Navy, and the Air Corps?" he was asked.

"I'm against all that kind of bunk," he replied. "You are citizens like everybody else and you ought to be treated like citizens. **If I am elected president I Will seek to remove all kinds of discrimination from all kinds of groups."**

"A democracy," he said, "is that system of government in which all people regardless of color are given the opportunity to have and to enjoy the best things of life."

The above recital indicates that, in Wendell Willkie, Colored voters have presented to them for support a candidate whose past record shows him to have fought for the things he regards as being fair and just, and for whom they can vote without hesitation or reservation. He will undertake to live up to whatever promises he makes and when he enters the White House in January, 1941, he will not forget the discriminations practiced against Colored citizens in Government service, and in many sections of our country.

Willkie on Vacation Ponders Problems of Colored People

Tribune
7-27-40
Washington

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

Continuing a round of interviews with important individuals of all races, creeds and professions, Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for President of the United States, at Colorado Springs, Wednesday, July 17, received Bishop G. W. Reed, with headquarters in the West, and J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of Elks, who discussed problems confronting the colored people of the United States, particularly discriminatory treatment.

Another visitor came away declaring: "Only a man of Mr. Willkie's courage and understanding can cope successfully with the financial problems that demand solution in this country. . . . He has all the qualities and qualifications for a great President in a time of great emergency."

Public Shows Confidence

This statement epitomizes the general reaction of men and women everywhere, contained in interviews, letters and telegrams which have reached the campaign management of the Republican party, and have served to encourage the confident relief that, in the struggle ahead, thousands and thousands of voters, in weariness of spirit, are calling and praying for a change.

Congressman Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois has summarized this feeling, and has pointed out:

"The people want a victory over the problem of joblessness, but after more than seven years, unemployment is still our primary problem. The farmers want a victory over the problem of inadequate prices, but that problem is still with us.

"The people want a victory over the problems of expanding debt and increasing taxes, but those problems are more aggravated today than at any time in the history of the nation. After making due allowance for the many good things which the administration has accomplished, the primary problems of unemployment, low farm prices, business stagnation, and taxes are still here.

"The people are seeking a leader in his own field of private endeavor has evidenced remarkable results in behalf of the thousands for whom he has served as a leader and as a trustee.

"There must be a resurgence," he said, "of the will to recover prosperity, and Wendell Willkie has the capacity for supplying the spark. . . . That is why Wendell Willkie has captivated the fancy of people in all walks of life. He is regarded as the embodiment of a new trend. People will listen to him. And listening people become supporters. Wendell Willkie brings a new emotional pattern to America. It is the pattern of plain and rugged speech, coupled with a rugged conscience.'"

Negro Problems to the Fore

The colored group in the United States is deeply concerned with the primary problems referred to—unemployment, low farm prices and the general business stagnation of the country, debt and mounting confiscatory taxes, and the domestic weariness which has broken the spiritual morale of so many millions of people, including our 12,000,000 colored group which is struggling against odds that would crush a less confident and determined people.

We refuse to accept economic and racial prejudices as factors to discourage our proper hopes and aspirations as we seek to rise to the full level of American citizenship.

We recognize the fact that no political party alone can solve our age-old problems. We know we must do our part to overcome the normal difficulties of life, but while so engaged we shall continue to challenge the American spirit of fair-play in a demand that abhorrent prejudices be removed, and a fair chance be given us to advance in the American way of life.

Democratic Discriminations Cited

The Democratic party, composed mainly of those southern States which disfranchise us and deny us the primary privileges of our citizenship, seeks continuance of its control of the government and a strengthening of its power.

We are called upon to meet the menace of such continuance, for the issue is now joined as to whether a party which has been our consistent enemy, oppressing and debasing us, shall have our support in this hour of supreme peril to our country and the liberties of the people.

By oppressive legislation, jim-crowism, discriminatory practices and a formula of discouragement, meant and designed to consign us to a place of permanent inferiority in the body politic, the Democratic party has proved that it does not consider us free men and women.

Soft phrases and empty promises by that Democratic party on the eve of a Presidential election cannot meet our demand that the political and economic shackles which bind us be loosed, and the guarantees and plain mandates of the Federal Constitution be no longer flouted and disregarded.

It is folly to believe that the Democratic party, chiefly responsible for our ills and humiliations, seriously contemplates the removal of these shackles. It will not challenge itself to undo the wrongs it has inflicted upon us; it is sheer silliness to believe that it will reverse its general attitude toward us.

Robbed of Civil Liberties

We are robbed of our civil liberties, intimidated by mobs which go unpunished at the hands of the Democratic State and Federal authorities, and subjected to every species of violence calculated to destroy our freedom and liberty and citizenship.

The past seven years of futile Democratic effort to solve the problems of the country and to prove to the Negro group its sincerity with respect to the problems and injustices it now so glibly promises in its platform to solve and abate, prove its incompetence and its unwillingness.

The colored people of the United States have a stake in this 1940 election such as they have never had before. It is not to be doubted that our men and women in the 15 northern States where their votes are courted and counted will meet the issue of the hour by refusing to go along with that Democratic party which oppresses and humiliates their kinsmen in the South, denies us steady jobs in industry in the North and South and seeks for us a serfdom we refuse willingly to accept.

Hope in Willkie

NOV 1 1940

Most political discussion is a defense of a preference already arrived at. Few persons set the facts before their mind's eye, weigh their importance and follow through to a logical conclusion. Of this sort of non-thinking is the statement that "Willkie will not do any more for Negroes than Roosevelt."

The Call

Since the statement deals with the future about which no one can know now, it expresses a wish rather than knowledge. It is possible to know what the two men have done, but not what they will do. This paper is for Willkie, because he promises to do something, something which Franklin D. Roosevelt neither promises now nor has done in the seven and a half years he has been in power.

Kansas City

With every reason on earth to have declared for an anti-lynch law, Roosevelt has maintained an unbroken silence.

On the contrary, Wendell Willkie flew in the face of all custom when as a nominee he made a public declaration in Chicago in which he said not only did he not believe in discriminating against Negroes, but if anybody under him discriminated he would fire him. The doubters who know Willkie said that and still say he will not make good on the promise, prefer Roosevelt with a record of neither promise nor performance. Well, "Everyone to his own liking," said the old lady who kissed the cow.

POLITICAL 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Columbia S. C. State
October 23, 1940

THEY WANT WILLKIE.

President Roosevelt's refusal to indorse the anti-lynching bill, and his plan for separation of the races in the armed forces of the United States, will, apparently, cost him the support of many prominent Negroes and Negro newspapers. Within recent days The State has read in the big city press at least three stories of Negro newspapers or of Negro organizations coming out for Mr. Willkie because he has promised to push the anti-lynching bill to passage, and to abolish all discriminatory and segregation policies in the public service. The Republican candidate, as one of the larger Negro newspapers put it, has promised the Negro more than any one else ever has promised.

The anti-Roosevelt statements from Negroes seem to have been precipitated by the president's announcement that Negroes would be utilized in the armed forces on a fair basis, that they would have units in all branches of services, but that white and colored personnel would not be intermingled in the same units. It was this refusal to intermingle the races that caused some Negro leaders to become angry, and turn to Mr. Willkie, who agrees with them in their insistence that segregation be done away with.

Roanoke, Va. World News
October 22, 1940

Editorial Comment

A Break for Willkie

(Richmond News Leader)

The various physical attacks on Mr. Willkie by cowards and cranks have won him a surprising number of sympathizers. More influential than anything else has been the charge by the Negro division of the National Democratic Committee that the "whole background" of Mr. Willkie "is German." A pamphlet even remarked that "Willkie's wife was born in Kentucky of German parentage." Still another charge was that Mr. Willkie's father was the "leading citizen of Elwood, Ind., and took the leadership in forming all of its policies." The pamphlet then added: "Among these policies was the policy of excluding all Negroes from residence in Elwood." This assault has produced so many resentments that one Democratic leader after another has repudiated it.

Another abusive attack in a pamphlet styled *Hands Across the Sea*, issued in New Haven by the "Guardians of the Republic," is that Mr. Willkie has *Nazi* sympathizers. An alleged German "plot" to control the election next month is pictured absurdly.

All this is directed against a man who fought Germany in the World War, voluntarily defended Negroes before army court-martials, combatted the Ku Klux Klan at every turn, and over and over again denounced the German dictator. That a man of this record should be assailed with vindictiveness has outraged hundreds of thousands. In New York, it is said that one effect of these infamous attacks has been to divide Tammany and discourage leaders in getting out the vote for Roosevelt. With more zeal than it seemed possible a week ago the Willkie lieutenants could muster, they are asking, "Has Willkie had a break at last?"

Chattanooga, Tenn. Daily Times
October 27, 1940

Negro Republicans

Colored Man Says G. O. P. Is the Negro's Real Friend

To The Chattanooga Times:

Concerning Congressman Mitchell's visit to Chattanooga on Monday, Oct. 14, 1940, I'm wondering why he took this particular time to come to Chattanooga to try and push something down Chattanooga Negroes' throats that the majority of us cannot and will not swallow.

We know as a thinking class of Negroes that the Democratic Party never has and never will be a friend to the Negro race. I, as a taxpayer and an American citizen, have lived in Chattanooga for fifty-seven years, and know myself that we have never had, or ever will have any consideration from the Democratic Party nationally.

I think it is a shame for our leading Negroes who have been Republicans all of these years and now just for the sake of Mr. Fletcher Morgan and the dollar, are betraying their Party and the Negro race. Why is it, if the Democratic Party is such a friend to the Negroes, and the Negro has not got sense enough, under this Administration, to be a janitor in our postoffice?

I know myself of two young colored men that placed their application in Postmaster Dennis' hands when he first took over his duties as Postmaster. He told these young men that this Administration was not putting on any colored.

So now, dear friends, I want you to think of this; it is plain as day that the Democratic Party does not want you, only to get your goat. They claim the Republican Party are Negro lovers, but it looks to me that they love the Negro at this particular time. I have not seen in all these years that I have been a Republican that Chattanooga's best white citizens and leaders have patted us Negroes on the back and shook our hands as they are doing now.

So beware and don't let them slip something down your throats, and if Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected, you will have to swallow it. Let us think before we vote, because you know locally we have some good Democrats, likewise Republicans, but nationally we have no friends only in the Republican Party.

E. M. ("LIGE") GOOD.

Chattanooga.

Mobile, Ala., Forum Sun,
Oct. 11, 1940-

SENATE NOMINATION SECONED BY NEGRO

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.—Mrs. Sara Pnelman Speaks, director of Colored Women's Activities in the Eastern Colored Division, Republican National Committee, seconded the nomination of Bruce Barton of New York for United States Senator Friday afternoon at the New York State Republican Convention at the County Center here.

Mrs. Speaks, Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, aide to District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, and Mrs. William Lawrence occupied platform seats. Prominent delegates and alternates present from all parts of Nem York state included the following: George E. Wibecan of Brooklyn; Mrs. Bertha Diggs of Buffalo; Harold C. Burton, leader of the 21st Assembly District; Miss Annie Hookey Hughes, 19th Assembly candidate; Mrs. Pear Hamiton of Greenburg; A. Q. Martin of Brooklyn; James B.Bolyar, Sherman L. Walker, Dr. M.S. McGuire, Editor Merriweather, all of Buffalo; Mrs. Julia Nichols, Nathan Pollard of Yonkers; Miss Sara Oliver Jones, Mrs. Carrie Starks, Mrs. Emma Edwards, Sahuel J. Holman, William Watson, Alexander Newell, Samuel J. Stanley, all of New York City; Rev. J. C. Adams of Brooklyn.

Knoxville Tenn. Journal
October 28, 1940

State GOP Spurs Drive

Many Vote Rallies Set This Week In East Tennessee

Republicans in East Tennessee will conduct a series of rallies this week in the final drive before the election Nov. 5.

Arthur Bruce, candidate for governor, Howard Baker, for U. S. Senator, Poe Maddox, for utilities commissioner, and Ray H. Jenkins, Republican state manager, will speak at Athens high school at 7 p. m. Thursday.

The following day they will speak at Tellico Plains at 7 p. m.

Four rallies will be held in Scott County this week. Tuesday J. W. Wright, Caryville attorney, will speak at Norma High School at 7 p. m. The following day Attorney-General Joe Wolfenbarger, Rutledge, will talk at the rally at Robbins High School at 7 p. m.

Walter C. Robinson, Negro editor of the Chattanooga Observer, will speak at a Negro Republican rally at LaFollette High School tomorrow at 7:30 p. m.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal
October 22, 1940

G. O. P. NEGROES MEET

Urged To Vote Republican Without Fear In November

Memphis' negro Republicans were urged by speakers last night to vote their convictions and not to be afraid to cast a ballot at a mass meeting at the Centenary Church, Mississippi and Alston.

About 1500 attended the meeting, Dr. J. B. Martin said. Speakers were Rev. H. W. Perry and W. A. Beasley, business manager of the Memphis Sentinel, who urged the negroes to vote for Republican candidates in the November election.

Champion Joe Lends Punch for Willkie

NOV 3 1940

Joe Louis, who recently was voted the "greatest Negro athlete in history," will be out today to get votes for the Republican party at four south side meetings climaxing the campaign in this section of the city. On the same platforms will appear Dwight H. Green, G. O. P. candidate for governor; Wayland Brooks, nominee for United States senator, and others on the state ticket.

Joe Louis.

Louis, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, is switching from his usual rôle to that of orator to aid Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for President. This is considered remarkable in view of his record as a man of few words and the efforts made by New Dealers to obtain his help, according to his manager, John Roxborough.

Chicago Tribune

In his usual terse manner Joe Louis recently replied to the question as to whom he would support for President:

Why He's for Willkie.

"I'll vote for Wendell Willkie, of course. I believe he will have the anti-lynching bill passed. Murder in the south ought to be punished just as it is in the north."

The Republican rallies where Louis will appear are as follows:

3 p. m.—Binga arcade, 35th and State streets.

Chicago Ill.

3:30 p. m.—Parkway ballroom, 45th street and South Park way.

4 p. m.—Palais de Guarde, 5536 Indiana avenue.

4:30 p. m.—McCosh school, 64th street and St. Lawrence avenue.

With Louis will be his mother, Mrs. Lilly Brooks, who has accompanied him on visits to Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, Newark, N. J.; Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Baltimore in behalf of Willkie's candidacy.

Sidney R. Redmond, president of the National Bar association and director of the colored division of the Republican national committee, sought to explain Louis' stand on the election.

"Roosevelt during eight years has forced the passage of hundreds of bills, but he has been silent about an antilynching law," Redmond said.

Says Smear Childish.

"The Democrats have talked about Rushville and Elwood, Willkie's one time home towns in Indiana, discriminating against Negroes. Nobody ever contended, of course, that Willkie had any control over these cities. That bit of attempted smearing was childish.

"Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt both live in New York. The states giving chief support to Mr. Willkie are northern and eastern states which have no Jim Crow laws and no disfranchisement laws, and most of them have mixed schools and comprehensive civil rights laws.

"But the southern states giving chief support to Mr. Roosevelt on the whole have Jim Crow cars, disfranchisement laws, separate and inferior schools, and no civil service rights for Negroes. Every one of these things exists because of Democratic laws enacted by Democrats.

Recalls Willkie Talk.

Redmond, declaring that racial good will is a feature of Republican states, said that in his opinion racial prejudice would soon be on its way out of the United States if it were not for the Democratic political machines of the south and the border states.

He recalled the words of Willkie before an audience of 15,000 Negro citizens in Chicago on Sept. 13:

"There are some things that we must do before this democracy can claim to be reaching anywhere near perfection. And one of these is to completely eliminate in this country any discrimination between people because of race or religion.

"The real test of whether our leadership is making democracy work is whether it excludes any portion of its citizens from free participation in the opportunity and responsibility of government on account of race."

Contrast of Parties.

At several recent meetings Chandler Owen, nationally known Negro writer and publicist, drove home the point he was trying to make by means of the question and answer method.

"How many of you own your homes?" he asked the colored audiences.

When hands were raised he would ask them:

"Did you buy them under a Republican or a Democratic administration?"

Almost invariably the answer was "Republican."

"Under what administration have you lost your homes by mortgage foreclosures?" Owen next asked them.

And almost always, according to those who attended the meetings, the answer would return "Democratic!"

"Like everybody else, we want good jobs and good homes, not a near-starvation diet from the government," said Mr. Owen. "You will never get those good jobs except under a Republican administration."

Lewis Avows Friendship For Negroes

OCT 31 1940

No Cause To Believe F.D.R. Indispensible, Labor Head Declares

Philadelphia Inquirer

CIO president John L. Lewis, in his bombshell speech supporting Willkie last Friday, characterized himself as a "proven friend of the Negro race" as he asked Negroes to vote for Willkie."

"To the members of the Negro race in the northern states," Lewis said, "I say your incomes as a group are the lowest; your living conditions are the poorest; your unemployment is the highest; discrimination against you is the worst.

"Surely, you have no cause to believe that Wendell Willkie can, and will do more for you than has been done in the last seven years.

Phila. Pa.,

Acclaims His Friendship

"As a proven friend of the Negro race, I urge you to vote for Willkie."

Lewis denounced the Democratic administration for not permitting labor representation in the cabinet "for the last three years," and stating that:

"The current administration has not sought nor seriously entertained the views of labor upon the question of national unemployment or lesser questions affecting the national economy, internal taxation, military and naval expansion, relations with foreign nations, or the issues of war or peace.

Labor Not Represented

"Labor today has no point of contact with the Democratic administration in power, except for casual and occasional interviews which are granted its individual leaders.

"In the Congress, the unrestrained baiting and defaming of labor by the Democratic majority has become a pastime, never subject to rebuke by the titular or actual leaders of the party."

Lewis explained that Willkie has promised to end unemployment, to destroy pauperism, and to increase the national income "by working to increase the wages and income of those unemployed."

Joe Louis 'Booed, Cheered As He Boosts Willkie

NOV 4 1940

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Joe Louis who blossomed in the closing days of the presidential campaign into a public speaker, proved to a Harlem audience Thursday night that he could take it on the platform just as he could in the ring and forced those who booed him into cheers.

Daily World

It happened in a hall packed with around 4,000 persons while an equal number stood outside unable to enter. The heavyweight champion had said, "I endorse Mr. Willkie, because he knows what $15 a week will do."

"As the booing started, Joe said: "You boys can boo until you get blue in the face, but I'll just keep on talking."

Atlanta Ga.

Looking down at the hecklers he said, "I'm used to boos—and I win anyway."

This brought a wave of cheers.

Louis went on. "You boys who are booing are boys under twenty-one, who don't know. You don't know what your mothers went through."

When he returned to his hotel, he received a wire from Willkie thanking him for his support and reiterating his promise to "bring about a new era in interracial relations."

"He is going to win by a knockout."

During his speeches a report spread that he had received a warning "from Chicago gangsters" not to speak in Mr. Willkie's behalf today. Louis, his wife and Chicago plice said they knew nothing of the report.

New York, N.Y.

Charles Roxborough, former Michigan Republican State Senator and a brother of John Roxborough, one of Louis's managers, said:

"We got a phone call in Indianapolis last night and were told not to come to Chicago, but we paid no attention to it. And here we are, phone call or no phone call."

JOE LOUIS SPEAKS 4 TIMES

NOV 5 1940

He Tells Chicago Negroes Willkie Will 'Win by a Knockout'

CHICAGO, Nov. 4 (UP)—Joe Louis, heavyweight champion, spoke at four Negro political rallies today, calling on his audiences to vote for Wendell L. Willkie because "it will mean freedom from the WPA and freedom for American Negro rights. Willkie has got punch," he said.

New York

POLITICAL 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Roosevelt or Willkie?

The AFRO Gives Its Reasons Why, After Sixteen Years, It Supports a Republican Candidate for the Presidency.

OCT 19 1940

In 1924, the AFRO supported LaFollette for President; in 1928 it was for Al Smith. In 1932 and 1936, it campaigned for Roosevelt.

So, after sixteen years of campaigning for Democratic and Progressive nominees, this newspaper today announces its support of Wendell Willkie, a Republican, for the Presidency of the United States.

There are any number of reasons:

We don't believe in a third term for any President.

Afro American

We don't like Mr. Roosevelt's silence on the anti-lynching bill. A nod from him would have caused Congress to make it a law.

We can't abide his permitting the navy to exclude us and the army to close every unit but seven. In the last three months, the War Department organized thirty-two new regiments, 115 new battalions, and 729 new companies, but you and we can't volunteer for any branch of the army or the navy and be accepted—we must wait to be drafted and then assigned to jim crow units.

Baltimore, Md.

We oppose his administration of CCC Camps which gives 150 colored companies only white officers, supervisors, and managers.

We oppose his program to give our drafted men white officers only and bar promotion to hundreds of qualified colored persons.

We can't understand how Mr. Roosevelt has permitted our national defense to get so far behind that of Hitler and Mussolini. If he didn't know we were defenseless before the dictators, he was ignorant. If he did know and did nothing, he was incompetent.

If Roosevelt is given four years more, we fear bankruptcy—we cannot spend more than we take in indefinitely. If we continue at this rate, your bank roll, your insurance policy, everything you own except, perhaps, real estate, will be practically worthless. All of us will be crying to get on the Federal pay roll.

Unemployment is almost as bad now as when Mr. Roosevelt came into office. He promised us jobs and failed to deliver. Millions of young people have no jobs and no hope of getting any.

He hasn't brought social security to domestics or farm workers, and over half the colored people are in these two classes.

Finally, we have no longer any confidence that Mr. Roosevelt is honest, sincere, and straightforward in his desire to help us solve our problems. Utterances of his bureaucratic assistants must be carefully analyzed for hidden meanings. Things are done slickly by indirection.

If he believes in a ceiling for hours and a floor for wages, why does he permit the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation to enjoy prosperity from his birthday gifts and pay colored women workers $4,50 a week for long hours? Why is only one colored patient treated there?

We have had eight years of Mr. Roosevelt and, unless we now change, we may not be able to in 1944. What with war and bankruptcy, if we take him for twelve years, we may have to take him for life.

The only way out of this morass of unemployment, debts, and lack of leadership is to turn to Republican Wendell Willkie.

We believe him to be far abler, more honest, and more straightforward as a business man than the President, and he doesn't think up vague, honeyed and meaningless words in which to express himself.

First, middle, and last, he has promised colored people a larger share in managing their own affairs than any Presidential nominee in the history of the country, and he made his pledges (without being urged or prompted) directly to colored people themselves.

When Mr. Willkie says he will abolish jim crow in the civil service, in governmental departments in Washington and in the army and navy, he speaks as a far-seeing American who values national unity above political considerations. No Presidential candidate in history has promised America so much in real democracy.

If Mr. Roosevelt has had for us any words of comfort, good cheer, or promise of better times, we have not heard them. In eight years in the White House, we have been further from his mind and his utterances than the Virgin Islanders and Puerto Ricans.

What this country needs most is a change. Even if Mr. Willkie were not the giant in enegy, tolerance, enthusiasm, and patriotism that he is, we should still advocate his election, because long perpetuation is the stuff out of which royalty, dictators, and tyrants grow.

Sam Solomon To Move From Miami

OCT 19 1940

Black Dispatch

MIAMI. — (ANP) — Sam Soloman, local undertaker, civic and political leader, is leaving Miami to establish a business in Richmond, Va., he announced this week. Mr. Solomon gained fame last year when as head of the Negro Citizens' Service League he defied the Ku Klux Klan when it attempted to frighten Negroes from voting in a local Miami election.

Okla. City

Okla.

Recently Mr. Solomon has been active in Republican ranks, having held a seat as a delegate in the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia last June, and having organized a Willkie club here in Miami this fall.

Mr. Solomon gave as one of his reasons for leaving Miami, the fact that Miami citizens had not given him as much encouragement in his efforts for racial advancement as he felt could be obtained elsewhere. Miamians will tender him several farewell parties and banquets before he leaves for his new home.

SOUTHERN GIRL NAMED TO GOP NATIONAL SETUP

OCT 6 1940

The Negro Division of Republican National Headquarters announced this week the appointment of Brooklyn's attractive Cassanda Maxwell to the position of Executive Secretary in Charge of the Activities of Young Republican Women.

Resident of 632 Throop avenue Miss Maxwell is originally from Orangeburg, S. C. She holds her A. B. from Howard University and L. L.B. from the same institution. Miss Maxwell has been active in civic work here for several years.

WE ARE HUMILIATED

OCT 18 1940

"The man recovered of the bite,
The dog it was that died."

Verily, it appears that the sequel to the episode of the dog that bit his friend, as so notably told by Robert Burns and quoted above, will be the result of the unAmerican attack on Wendell L. Willkie and Mrs. Willkie, engineered by the "big wigs" of the New Deal but perpetrated by their stooges in the Negro Division of the New York headquarters.

There is every reason to believe that the rising tide of support that is in evidence for the Republican nominee for president throughout the country will be accellerated greatly by the foul effort to win votes for the opposition with a smear campaign in which the low appeal to race prejudice is made by the circulation of pamphlets calling attention to the German ancestry of Mr. and Mrs. Willkie.

Globe & Independent

We are confident that if this appeal to race prejudice was made with the thought that it will win votes among Negroes, who are not the stooges or slaves of the New Deal, the reaction is going to be just as unfavorable as it will be among any other class of American citizens.

Nashville

It was very reprehensible for the "inner circle" of the New Deal to plan this racial attack on so great an American as Mr. Willkie and so lovely a lady as Mrs. Willkie. It was the quintessence of stupidity upon the part of the Smart Alecs of the Negro division of the party to permit themselves to be used as sponsors of the attack.

Tenn.

It only adds insult to injury for the "big wigs" of the inept and soulless organization in New York that is conducting the Third Term drive to rush out with expressions of surprise that the attack on Mr Willkie had been made. Had the Negro division of the party been instructed to conduct a decent campaign for the party's candidate, such as the one that all along has been conducted by the colored division of the Republican party; and had Negro New Dealers suspected that their bosses, for the duration of this campaign, at least, would abandon the malodorous tactics of Tammany, it is certain that the Negro division would have obeyed orders, out of respect for their pay checks, if for no higher reason.

Certainly the "big wigs" of the New Deal know exactly who among their Negro stooges were the authors of the scurrilous attack on Mr. Willkie and his wife. What if, anything, was done to get rid of these unworthy persons? They should have been named and held up to public scorn as proof that the New Deal did not make the vile attack "on purpose."

Are the "big wigs" afraid to name and fire the perpetrators of the outrage? Do they fear the loss of any votes for doing the only decent thing now possible to do, if the bosses really are ashamed and repentant?

If so, they can rest assured that they will suffer no loss of votes for doing the right thing at this time. They do stand some chance of appeasing the wrath of decent Negroes and white people by a prompt disposal of the services of the character assassins in their Negro division. They are due to lose millions of votes by failing to do so.

It is our hope and belief that God-fearing and liberty-loving Negroes throughout the nation will now see a greater reason than they have ever had for voting for the election of Wendell Willkie. They will have a chance to prove to the world that their race, the victims of cruel persecution, does not countenance the acts of paid politicians who foment race hatred, even when they are paid politicians of the Negro race.

We join with all other decent Negroes in the United States in expressing our deep humiliation over the affront offered Mr. and Mrs. Willkie and in expressing the belief that a just retribution awaits all who were parties to this evil deed.

NEGRO GROUP URGES VOTES FOR WILLKIE

Meeting at Chicago Assails 'Smear' of Candidate

OCT 20 1940

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHICAGO, Oct. 19—More than sixty Negroes from thirty-two States, members of the national Planning Board of Colored Voters of the Republican National Committee, adopted a resolution today assailing the Roosevelt Administration's treatment of their race.

The board called upon all Negro citizens to vote for Wendell Willkie as a protest against racial intolerance and segregation which, it charged, had been fostered by the New Deal.

New York

"We view with great alarm the pass to which the present leadership of our government has brought the American Negro," the board stated in a resolution unanimously adopted after its presentation by Francis E. Rivers, Assistant District Attorney under Thomas E. Dewey in New York City.

The resolution listed six alleged acts of New Deal discrimination against the Negro and denounced the "smear which the New Deal leaders recently perpetrated, using the colored division of the Democratic National Committee as a vehicle," as "the vilest ever thrown at a Presidential candidate" and "a gross injustice to all colored citizens."

Times

So long as President Roosevelt remained in office, the resolution declared, no anti-lynching bill will be enacted.

New York

John D. M. Hamilton, executive secretary of the Republican National Committee, and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt Jr. addressed the meeting.

"A Square Deal For All" Should Be The Theme Of The Present National Campaign

By L. D. WRIGHT, Secretary
The South Jersey Colored
Republican League

That the present campaign is more important than any during the long history of this Republic is a fact that is on the lips of every patriotic American. We must save our Democracy, they say, but changes are coming so thick and fast in other parts of this world most Americans, of the man in the street type, are wondering just how it can be done. As a member of the largest minority group in these United States of America I am disturbed, the same as the rest, about these changes and the powerful pressure which is certain to weigh heavily upon our social and economic structure but I believe there is a way out. The general welfare of every citizen must not only be a fancy but a fact.

During the present State and National Campaign the theme should be "A SQUARE DEAL FOR ALL" and our sincerity covering a national pledge to treat all groups fairly should be so pronounced as to give hope and confidence in the future. The platform planks of both major parties have rekindled a certain amount of hope among the rank and file of Negro citizens throughout America. Especially among those who think and are constantly fighting for respect and recognition. However, these thinkers of the Negro race are not so sure that the pledges of either party will be kept yet they form a base from which to wage a continuous fight. My guess is that the fight will be even more intense and purposeful than in the past.

The South Jersey Colored Republican League has been fighting for just such recognition as the recently adopted planks of the major political parties imply since it was organized four years ago. If such sufficient number of party adherents, of the majority group extraction, have become imbued with the spirit of fairness, to the extent that they are willing to make their platform promises stick our fight has not been in vain. With the words of those well intentioned promises ringing in his ears, the Negro has taken on fresh courage but his enthusiasm will be quickly dulled unless jobs of the substantial type and proper social, political and economic consideration become an accomplished fact. That is why the Negro suggests the theme, "A SQUARE DEAL FOR ALL" in the present campaign.

On last Tuesday afternoon I listened to an address by the Hon. Arthur W. Mitchell, a Democrat and a U. S. Representative from the 1st Congressional District of Illinois. He is the lone Negro in the halls of congress, having been swept into office by the New Deal landslide of 1932. During his address he extolled his party in the highest terms and claimed for it the distinction of having done more for the Negro in eight years than had been done for him from 1861 to 1932. It was a terrible indictment to place against a party, the principles of which, are so filled with unbiased assurances, but the Republican Party, prior to 1932, had become so drunk with power following post-war successes the Negro was practically forgotten. Most Negroes are opposed to the policy of government, as administered by the Democratic Party, but no man can shut his eyes in the face of facts.

The advantages given the paid leaders, numbering approximately 250, was only political vote-getting bait, we know, but it has worked in their favor. The Republican Party must accord the Negro a fuller measure of respec and recognition. As we of the South Jersey Colored Republican League have so often stated, our people will never again rally to the cause of the Republican Party until its principles of fair and unbiased consideration for all adherents regardless to race, color or creed are restored in full.

Again let us urge that the theme of the present State and National Republican campaign be stated and lived up to as follows: "A SQUARE DEAL FOR ALL," and mean it. Those five words carry a promise and if the various candidates sponsored by the party, will so purge themselves of greed, bias and downright cussedness as to include all citizens in their utopian plans for the future, there is a good chance that the Grand Old Party will win in November.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
July 16, 1940

No Willkie Buttons At Anderson Long Search Reveals

ANDERSON, July 16 — The Daily Mail will say this afternoon that one of its reporters made a diligent ten-hour search yesterday in an effort to locate a single Willkie button in this community, and was unable to find even one.

A dispatch of undisclosed origin appearing in the Charleston News and Courier Monday morning declared; "Willkie coat lapel badges are being worn by Andersonians favorable to the Republican candidate and definitely opposed to New Deal policies."

Darrell Price, a Daily Mail report-

[redacted]

on the shoppers and visitors on the streets during the day and evening without so much as catching sight of one Willkie button. Then he went into the negro business section and hunted out the chairman of the Republican party in this county, but even the negro GOP official neither wore nor owned a booster badge of the Republican presidential nominee.

THE STANDARD-BEARER

A few weeks ago the writer saw Wendell Lewis Willkie receive the nomination of the Republican Party for the presidency over Robert A. Taft, Thomas E. Dewey and a few lesser lights. The politicians did not prefer him because he was unorthodox and not one of them. He never held a political office in his life. But the army of people in the galleries, on the sidelines and otherwhere wanted him. They yelled at the mere mention of Willkie's name. The politicians have had their turn at governing, the soldiers had their day, the men of the class-room have their chance, and it seems that the people desire to try a business man. Upon this utility executive the party of Lincoln pins its hopes for victory over the democrats in November. From what we gather Willkie is a good man and a liberal. We confess our admiration for him.

It remains to be seen who the democrats will nominate. The only man they have who can give Willkie a stiff race is the incumbent. Roosevelt. The question of a third term stares him in the face. Ickes is about the only man who could seriously divide the race vote. However, the November election depends largely upon the European imbroglio. In the meantime the Republicans with Willkie are fighting to win. Business and private enterprise must be set free and laborers put back to work. Fifth Columns and prejudiced persons must not be permitted to destroy our commonwealth. The opportunity is Willkie's to win.

Colored Leaders Gain Important Places on Republican Campaign Advisory Committee

BY EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Wendell L. Willkie, Republican Nominee for President of the United States, sometime ago announced that he was "riding the crest of a trend" and trend being the apparent desire of the American people to banish the New Deal from control of the Government.

This trend was accelerated here in Washington when the Nominee met with a Special Committee of the Republican National Committee to select the personnel to conduct the campaign.

Organization plans contemplate that Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican leader in the House of Representatives, as National Chairman, will conduct the campaign, with the assistance of John Hamilton, former National Chairman, as Executive Director of the National Committee. A group of 14 members was selected to comprise the Executive Committee.

In New York City, Mr. Willkie named a Campaign Advisory Committee composed of 12 members.

In Washington, he named 10 additional members, including two outstanding Republicans of the Negro group — T. G. Natter of Charleston, West Virginia and William E. King of Chicago, Illinois.

These able representatives are wholly acceptable to the Colored people. It has been indicated authoritatively that "the Nominee is conscious of the need for new faces to represent the Negro viewpoint."

Seeks New Blood In National Campaign

The other additions to the Campaign Advisory Committee are of a kind and type similar to the appointments of Messrs. Nutter and King Mr. Willkie having declared that he wishes to bring "some new blood" into the Organization.

For many years, Mr. Nutter has been an outstanding citizen of West Virginia. He was a member of the Glenn Frank Program Committee which prepared the Report entitled "A Program For A Dynamic America" a statement on Republican principles.

Mr. Nutter is a practicing attorney; has served as President of the local branch. NAACP; was a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates for four years; was Land Clerk of the State Auditor's Office of West Virginia for six years; Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of West Virginia; Supreme Master of Exchequer, Knights of Pythias; and Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks Organization. He is also a member of the Masonic Fraternity, of Kappa Alpha Psi, and of the Greek Letter Fraternity, Sigma Pi Phi.

During his term as a member of the House of Delegates, West Virginia Legislature, he was author of a number of Bills, including one which led to the establishment of the West Virginia Colored Insane Asylum. For many years he has held places of leadership in the affairs of the race.

The other Colored member of the Campaign Advisory Committee is William E. King, also a practicing attorney. Mr. King has served as an Assistant Corporation Counsel, and as Assistant States Attorney, Cook County, Chicago, Illinois; as an Assemblyman, State of Illinois; as State Senator, and is, at this time, the Republican candidate for Congress from the First Congressional District of Illinois and Republican Committeeman of the Second Ward, largest political unit of the State of Illinois.

Mr. King is a forceful speaker and is one of those who seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey at the recent Republican National Convention. He olsa was a member of the Glenn Frank Program Committee.

Messrs. Nutter and King met with the Campaign Advisory Committee at its first called meeting Thursday, July 11, at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, with youthful Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, Chairman, presiding.

Mr. Willkie has announced that the Campaign Advisory Committee will serve throughout the Campaign regardless of the setup of the actual Campaign management.

Willkie Clubs Springing Up All Over South

Republican Leaders Making Strong Bid for Votes of Democrats.

"Willkie for President" clubs are springing up in Dixieland all the way from Virginia to Arkansas, the United Press reported yesterday.

A survey conducted by United Press correspondents showed G. O. P. leaders in nearly all southern states making a vehement bid for traditional Democratic votes by appealing to anti-New Deal Democrats and farmers opposed to the vice presidential nominee, Henry Wallace.

The many Willkie clubs in the Democratic stronghold appeared prior to Willkie's announcement of a "stump" tour, and after the Democratic convention at Chicago, the United Press reporters asserted.

Here is a state-by-state "outlook" during the last week:

ALABAMA: Two counties feuding over credit for establishing first Willkie club while the Republican nominee's state manager, Paul G. Parsons, appealed to anti-Roosevelt Democrats to come into his camp. Willkie organizers in Alabama faced the double disadvantage of the state's politically potent Bankhead brothers, Speaker William B. and Senator John, both of whom have promised to support the Democratic ticket.

FLORIDA: G. O. P. leaders claimed organization of 20 Willkie clubs since the Democratic convention, with State Chairman C H. McNulty working for Willkie among the sugar producers, a number of whom had been angered by the Agriculture Department's crop quotas.

GEORGIA: Republican party leaders claimed 500 business and industrial leaders, most of them nominal Democrats, at least, had pledged Willkie support and promised to campaign openly later in the summer. Scattered clubs being organized.

LOUISIANA: National G. O. P Committeeman John E. Jackson described the Willkie campaign in his state as "spontaneous combustion." "I am being stormed with applications for co-operation," Jackson said. Willkie clubs were reported numerous but no accurate figures available.

MISSISSIPPI: No network of Willkie clubs reported in this state, but the usually small "lily white" Republican faction was expected to try for a better than-average showing for Willkie to gain recognition by the national party heads.

NORTH CAROLINA: Willkie expected by Republican leaders to make a strong showing here in the state that went for Hoover by a heavy majority in 1928.

SOUTH CAROLINA: A "Jeffersonian Democratic" party has been formed in Charleston with the avowed purpose of electing Willkie. Republican State Secretary William B. Daugherty, however, says the G. O. P. does not want nor need this Democratic support, fearing that a contest of validity of two groups of pro-Willkie electors might hurt the G. O. P. nominee. Domecratic Senator Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith says he won't support the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket but neither will he vote Republican.

TENNESSEE: Normally, Tennessee has a large bloc of Republican votes, and Willkie chances for carrying this state are probably better than most other southern states. The big question mark is the Tennessee Valley Authority area. At least five major Willkie clubs have been organized. Republican leaders hoped for support by anti-New Deal Democrats after the Democratic primary August 1.

VIRGINIA: A section of anti-Roosevelt Democrats threatening to bolt the party, plus the state's record of voting for Hoover in 1928, paved the way for Willkie organization.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN .

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

At Philadelphia yesterday an "unbossed" Republican convention, which has still to choose a leader who can bring it to victory, adopted without debate the platform over which one of its committees had toiled for many hours. That platform, written in a critical hour for this democracy and for all democracies, sets forth, with such unanimity of opinion as the spokesmen of a thousand delegates have been able to achieve, the views of the party on questions of foreign and domestic policy.

New York Times 6/27/40

I. Foreign Policy

Events have been moving much too rapidly for any political party to attempt to write a statement of foreign policy so explicit and so forthright as to cover all future contingencies. No prophet would have been believed, six weeks ago, if he had then predicted that the German armies would have overrun the whole of France by the time the Philadelphia convention met. No prophet can now predict with assurance what other catastrophes lie ahead; how desperate the situation will be, either in Europe or in Asia, by the time our Presidential campaign begins; what great emergencies or what immense decisions may face the Government of the United States during the four months that lie immediately ahead, let alone the four years that will comprise the term in office of the next Administration.

In these circumstances no one could have reasonably expected the Philadelphia convention to attempt to write a completely precise, and therefore a completely inflexible, statement of foreign policy. But at such a time as this we were entitled to expect a less politically minded approach to the whole difficult and vitally important problem than that revealed by the claim made yesterday: "The Republican party stands for Americanism, preparedness and peace. We accordingly fasten upon the New Deal full responsibility for our unpreparedness and for the consequent danger of involvement in war."

A large part of this statement will not stand examination. The Republican party is not entitled to claim for itself superior virtue in the matter of "preparedness" when a majority of its spokesmen in the Senate have opposed within the last two years measures which proposed to provide 6,000 new planes for the Army, an increase in the battleship strength of the Navy and the acquisition by both services of strategic war materials. Nor is the Republican party entitled in the light of the full record to call itself the exclusive "peace party" of the United States, or even to claim that it has worked very well or done very much for the cause of peace—not when the record shows that for twenty years its representatives in Congress have thrown their influence with remarkable consistency against every proposal that has been made to create the only instrument that could have saved the peace of the modern world—a system of collective security.

So much for the record. As for the immediate alternatives that now lie ahead: the Republican plank on foreign policy declares the party to be "firmly opposed to involving this nation in foreign war"—except a war in defense of the Monroe Doctrine—but as favoring "the extension to all peoples fighting for liberty, or whose liberty is threatened, of such aid as shall not be in violation of international law or inconsistent with the requirements of our own national defense."

This statement fairly reflects what seems clearly to be present opinion of a large majority of the people of the United States. But there is good reason to regret the super-caution, or the political expediency, which prevented the party from drawing a sharp line between democracy and dictatorship in Europe. The word "dictatorship" is not even mentioned. Great Britain, upon whose seapower we depend in large measure for our own security, does not receive a word of credit or of thanks; it is merely one of the "unoffending countries" which may continue to purchase our munitions. Most important of all, it is regrettable that the platform does not emphasize the giving of such aid as the party is prepared to furnish.

For the blunt fact is that while the platform-makers have been debating fine points at Philadelphia, the world we know has been falling into ruins.

II. Domestic Policy

A party platform, as Lord Bryce declared in his "American Commonwealth," "has usually been so drawn as to conciliate every section, and avoid or treat with prudent ambiguity those questions on which opinion with the party is divided." From this weakness the domestic sections of the Republican platform do not wholly escape. The "prudent ambiguity" will be noticed in the platform's advocacy of "collective bargaining" for labor, of an "equitable balance" between labor, industry and agriculture, of tariff protection "determined by scientific methods," and of "necessary old-age benefits."

But on net balance the platform is far more vigorous, sound and outspoken than there seemed reason to hope for. It makes a true and telling indictment of many of Mr. Roosevelt's domestic policies. Its monetary plank —demanding the withdrawal of the President's arbitrary power to manipulate the currency, the repeal of the Thomas inflation amendment and of the Silver Purchase Act—is clear and excellent.

The platform is sound and sufficiently plain in advocating the reform of relief by Federal grants-in-aid under local and State administration. It shows a proper appreciation of the particular problem to be solved when it proposes to revise the Securities Acts "to keep the securities market clean without paralyzing it." There was need of the planks advocating the reduction of Federal competition with business, urging more respect for the merit system in the Federal civil service and deploring the use of licensing to establish arbitrary controls over radio broadcasting.

Among the shortcomings of the platform are the agricultural section, which, while opposing "Government-dominated production control," is otherwise vague, and the section on the tariff. The latter condemns "the manner in which the so-called reciprocal trade agreements of the New Deal have been put into effect," while it recommends exploring "every possibility of reopening the channels of international trade through negotiations so conducted as to produce genuine reciprocity and expand our exports." At least it may be said for this plank, however, that it satisfies Republican die-hards at the least sacrifice of common sense. It would leave a candidate free to follow an enlightened policy.

In short, the Republicans have shown intelligence in drafting the domestic section of their platform. It is not long-winded; it is far less foggy than the usual platform; it is vigorous and at points courageous. And perhaps this is as much as one could have reasonably expected of the platform. It will not keep a weak candidate from sinking, but it will not embarrass, and it may even help, a strong one. For the Republican party, under a forthright leader standing on this platform, could not fairly be accused of lacking a program.

New York Times 6/27/40

"Send Negroes To Africa," Urges Senator Bilbo Again

Renews Campaign To Deport Negroes

WASHINGTON — Claiming to have the support of many leading American Negroes, including Elmer A. Carter, editor of "Opportunity", and Judge Myles A. Paige Senator Bilbo of Mississippi began emphasizing his "Back to Africa" campaign last week.

Journal 6/30/40

In relating the history of his movement, Senator Bilbo attempts to place responsibility for the first movement of this kind upon Abraham Lincoln and quotes him as saying, "There is a physical difference between the white and the black races, which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality".

Journal 6/30/40

"The impression prevails in the minds of some people", said Mr. Bilbo, "that my proposal for the repatriation of the Negro is a product of so-called 'Southern prejudice'. The fact is that my record of more than 20 years in public office, including eight years as governor of Mississippi, will confirm the statement that I have always dealt fairly and sympathetically with the Negro".

Further arguments as to the logic of his plan were presented by the senator when he discussed the educational facilities for Negroes as compared with whites, and the physical and mental differences that divide the races.

"It has been said", continued Senator Bilbo, "that there are today about 20,000 Negro boys and girls annually crossing the color line. That is, to say, a Negro boy who is a mulatto and looks white, goes where he is not known and marries a white girl. The mulatto or white-colored girl, goes where she is not known and marries a white man. Who then, in the face of this, can say that we are not gradually heading for eventual amalgamation unless steps are taken for the physical separation of the two races?"

SOLOMON AND McGILL DENOUNCE FLORIDA STATE AS LILY-WHITE

Courier

By TED POSTON
(Staff Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, June 27.—Charging that the lily-white Republicans of Florida have been cooperating with the Democrats to disfranchise all colored voters in the state, Sam Solomon of Miami and Atty. S. D. McGill of Jacksonville appeared before the G.O.P. Credentials Committee Monday (June 24), to oust a Florida slate of delegates which has been seated by the National Committee.

The alleged lily-white slate is headed by J. Leonard Replogle of Palm Beach, and the two Negro leaders charged that more than 500 Negroes were not allowed to register under the Republican symbol in Replogle's own county. The Replogle slate denied the lily-white charge and pointed out that J. Leonard Lewis, a Jacksonville attorney, is a delegate with their group.

REPLOGLE IS A NORTHERNER—YES!

Both Solomon and McGill are members of the rival Florida slate headed by Allen E. Walker of Winter Haven. This group, which has insisted upon full Negro participation in all state affairs, was denied a seat in the convention Thursday by the national committee.

Members of the Credentials Committee were informed that Negroes throughout the country might resent it if the leader of the Miami Negroes and the attorney in the "Little Scottsboro Case" were denied seats at a regular Republican convention.

The Replogle slate had attempted to prevent a fight by placing Solomon on their ticket. The 35-year-old Miami undertaker who defied the Ku Klux Klan to lead 2,000 Negroes to the polls, spurned the offer and attacked the slate. He then joined the Walker group.

After the Walker group was ousted by the National Committee, the Replogle group again offered Solomon a seat on their delegation, but the young leader again spurned it and prepared his appeal to the Credentials Committee Monday.

LUGAN APPEARS BEFORE GROUP

Philadelphia

WASHINGTON, June 27.—The Republican party was asked last week to insert planks in its platform endorsing participation of colored people in the civil and military national defense programs in proportion to their numerical strength in the population of this country.

Courier

The Pittsburgh Courier's Committee on Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program approved a resolution, it wants adopted by both major political parties. It authorized Dr. Rayford W. Logan, its chairman, to go to Philadelphia and present the resolution to the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention.

The resolution is as follows:

"Negroes represent approximately one-tenth of the manpower of this nation. They have fought in every war in which this country has been engaged.

"With the motorization and mechanization of troops in modern warfare, training is even more essential, and there must be no bar to service in time of peace on account of race, creed, or color.

"We, therefore, urge that provision be made for participation by Negroes in all civil and military national defense programs in proportion to their numerical strength in the population of this country and that they be inducted and trained in all branches of the military and naval establishments."

GOP PLATFORM ON THE NEGRO

Tribune 6-27-40

Philadelphia, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA. — The following statement regarding Negro citizens was included in the GOP platform issued Wednesday at the National Republican Convention:

NEGRO

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall ge given a square deal in the economic and political life of the Nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the Army, Navy, and all other branches of the Government must cease.

"To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the Nation, and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

They Bring Along Willkie

Daily World 6/30/40 Atlanta, Ga.

WHILE the Republican National Convention sprang a huge surprise in the nominating forth of Wendell Louis Willkie as its standard bearer in the face of the Dewey and Taft booms, both many months old, it could not have sent up a stronger protest against the New Deal.

While Dewey was a hard hitter and bitterly outspoken in his fight against the New Deal, he did not have that spectacular clash which made Willkie stand out as an open challenger.

It will be remembered that Willkie, the utility magnate, without any former political background whatever, for many years has been head of a great utility corporation. He has been bitter in his excoriations against the New Deal ever since the development of Muscle Shoals and the Tennessee Valley Authority, the two outstanding projects that pioneered in the business of giving the rural people of the nation electrification at a minimum cost.

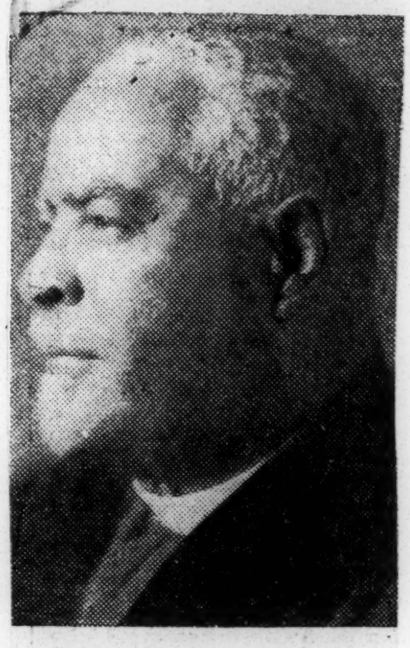
Willkie came to the fore from his resentment of what the government's entry into the power and utility business had done to his private corporations. He is an answer to the large scale in which the government was forced to encroach upon business in its effort to forestall ruin and massed unemployment and at the same time afford light and power for the rurals in an effort to make the rurals more inviting and enhancing the value and enjoyment of farm life.

With the nomination of Willkie will be seen a protest, pure and simple of the Republicans and its intention of going to the bat in a fight against government going into business. The challenge is therefore laid down and will be fought in the plebiscite.

Mr. Willkie left the Democratic party in 1936, doubtless with the intention of fighting his case out on the other side of the fence. He accordingly joined the Republican party and almost overnight like a nightmare that has captured the candidacy for the presidency of the United States on the Republican ticket.

So the battle front will shift for a time from the scarred and bleeding fields of Europe to the United States where the people will express themselves on the issues so vital to the American people.

Offers Prayer



BISHOP JOHN A. GREGG of Chicago and Kansas City offered prayer at the National Republican convention in Philadelphia Tuesday night, June 25, on the program on which ex-President Herbert Hoover was the principal speaker. Clyde Barrie, Negro baritone, led the singing of "America," at the opening session of the G. O. P. confab Monday.

POLITICAL - 1940
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REPUBLICAN

Interests Of Negro Guarded Carefully By G.O.P. Program Committee, Says Party Aide

Inquirer 4-4-40
Philadelphia Pa.

Race Protected By Program's Chapter Recommendations On Agriculture, Labor And Business

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASH., D. C.—The parallelism of the present day social system in America, as it affects whites and Negroes, is responsible for much confusion of thought when race relations are discussed.

The Negro group is to be found protesting against proscription of every kind which ignores equality of citizenship and fundamental civil and political rights The group insists that laws shall be enforced without regard to "race, creed, or color," as is so often declaimed.

There is insistence that the Negro group "is a part of the body politic," and is not to be thought of or legislated for as a group separate and apart from other citizens of the Republic. Integration into all of the main streams of American life, and the enjoyment of common benefits are the watchwords.

RACIAL PREJUDICES

Paradoxical as it may seem, the impact of racial prejudices in America forces the Negro group at times to insist upon legislation and actions of a specialized character, including planks in the platforms of political parties directly affecting them.

A recent instance of this contradictory attitude is reflected in comments upon the Report of the Glenn Frank Program Committee.

Erroneously, there has been publication in some quarters to the effect that the Report, containing approximately 30,000 words devoted only one chapter of 357 words to "the economic problems of the Negro"; and that the Program Committee had expurgated all recommendations regarding the Negro group, except and as referred to in the chapter mentioned.

Practically every chapter in the Report is based upon factual studies of a group of experts. The findings and recommendations of these experts are to be found in the program recommended by the Program Committee including Agriculture, Labor, Business and Fiscal and Social Programs.

NEW LEADERSHIP

For instance, there is in the Report a thorough-going discussion of the security and welfare of the industrial workers of the United States who can depend upon the sustained prosperity of the national economy as a whole.

In view of the effort which has been made in some quarters to prevent Negroes from working under the leadership of their own choosing, and to bargain collectively with management, the recommendations of the Committee is that "a right so basic should be guarded by law." The flagrant discriminations of organized labor, in a great many instances, forcing Negro workers to accept an imposed white and unsympathetic leadership, make this action most imperative.

The chapter is too long to quote The conclusion, however, is that:

"It is important that a new political leadership shall so restate the case for American free enterprise that a popular passion for its preservation will be aroused and its honest leaders given a sense that they are serving a significant national purpose when they mobilize investment, expand production, and provide jobs for eager millions, not only in great industries but in myriad small enterprises thruout the nation."

The Republican Campaign—I

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY.

Let me repeat a cliche: If Mr. Roosevelt runs for a third term, the voter will vote for or against the third term. If Mr. Roosevelt does not run, the campaign will be over men and issues as usual.

This unalterable equation in 1940 politics must form the basis for political thought and action on the part of the opposition. The Republicans, for instance, in the event of a campaign over the third term will benefit from a landslide or go down to a humiliating defeat no matter who the candidate may be, depending upon the degree of moral indignation in the electorate. If there is ample moral indignation, anybody can be elected, Mr. Gannett as well as Mr. Dewey, Senator Bridges as easily as Senator Taft, Governor James as readily as Governor Bricker. On the other hand, if the people are morally flatulent or the European war turns itself into a political red herring, Mr. Roosevelt will again obiter dicta from the White House in 1941.

Constitution

The logic of this situation is so clear that it is difficult to understand why politicians believe that one person rather than another would be a better candidate against Mr. Roosevelt.

But suppose we assume that Mr. Roosevelt will not run. Suppose we assume that he is sufficiently sporting to give the American people an opportunity, within the limits of American tradition, to vote for or against the New Deal. Then the choice of the Democratic party will be either Mr. Hull, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Farley, Mr. Wheeler or Supreme Court Justice Douglas.

4-28-40

WHERE ARE THE VOTES?

The Republican party would then have to select a candidate and choose an issue which would result in victory. In the first place, a careful political analyst would inquire where the shift in the votes would be, as between 1936 and 1940. That is, accepting 17,000,000 votes as the minimal residue for the Republican party, it would be necessary for 3,500,000 Americans to vote differently in 1940 than they did in 1936. For safety, assuming that in view of the European war and the emphasis on specific domestic issues, more Americans eligible to vote, assumed the obligations of citizenship in 1940 than in 1936, it might be necessary to have 4,500,000 additional Republican votes.

Where are those votes to come from? In states like New York and Illinois, where the votes are most needed, this becomes a most pressing question. The quarrel, for instance, between Kenneth Simpson and Mr. Dewey does not involve the question of local patronage nor even the psychological problem of how two stars can live in the same dressing room. It goes deeper than that. It definitely must be associated with the problem of carrying New York state for if the state is not carried, Mr. Simpson's career may be at an end as well as Mr. Dewey's. Men think of such things occasionally. There are two kinds of Republicans in New York: those who talk politics and don't vote or who live in all parts of the United States but have offices in New York, and those who live and vote in New York and belong to Republican clubs and work for the party. When Gabriel blows his trumpet on election day, only the voter count; the golf players may have contributed to campaign funds, but they don't count in the vote. Mr. Simpson's eye is apparently focussed on voters.

Obviously, the shift in votes will not occur in the proletariat—that is, the WPA workers, the lower-waged skilled or unskilled workers. In spite of the fact that one might logically establish that these workers have most to lose by a continuation of the New Deal practically all New York labor leaders, AFL as well as CIO, are more friendly to the New Deal than to the Republican party. And although the Communists, The Daily Worker, the New Masses and many front organizations oppose the New Deal, the American Labor Party will indorse it. There is a remote possibility that John Lewis may start a Communist-supported third party, which would by indirection strengthen the Republicans, but I think that it would be dangerous to calculate too much on the actual voting support that such a party would have, particularly in New York and Illinois. I believe that most of the non-Communist CIO unions will indorse Roosevelt for a third term, thus formally repudiating John Lewis' political leadership, which is now too left even for the CIO.

NOT THE NEGROES

Nor can the Republicans expect too much from the Negroes, who hold an important balance in both states. Although, again logically, the Negroes ought not to vote for the Democrats because of history, traditions, relations with the party in the south, etc., certain New Deal activities, particularly the distribution of relief and patronage, involving not only material considerations but racial pride, are likely to be an important deterrent to a shift. I do not believe that the Negro vote will be the solid block in 1940 that it was in 1936, but it will be preponderantly New Deal.

There is a further point in these large states, and that is that populations of recent foreign origin often regard the foreign policy of the administration as more immediately important than domestic questions. For instance, Republican strategists will have to reckon definitely with the vote-getting value of Myron Taylor's mission to the Vatican. Similarly, they will have to take into consideration the Jewish resentment at Hitler, and the Polish desire for vengeance and the Scandinavian reaction to Roosevelt's foreign policy. These questions cannot be ignored and they will materially affect the outcome of the election in several states. For instance, the backbone of isolationism has been the Dakotas, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois. In these states there are today probably more Scandinavians than in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. What will they think of isolation in November?

If then Mr. Roosevelt will not run for a third term, where are the Republicans to get their strength? Obviously, it must come from the lower middle class, the small distributor, the small manufacturer, the better-waged workers, the professional and white-collared people, organized women, the farmer who owns his own farm, the home-owner, the civil servant who has had an insight into New Deal methods and does not approve of them, and first and second voters in the presidential elections, that is, young people of 21 and 25.

4-28-40

IT IS NOT CLASS-CONSCIOUS

Among a people, who, since the New Deal has been advocating class-consciousness, have become more ready to think in terms of class pressures, this broad element in our population must be rallied in sufficient numbers to assure a Republican victory. Were

it class-conscious, it would obviously be Republican. Numerically, it is probably the largest voting element in America.

But this is the least class-conscious of all elements in American life. It is strongly individualistic. It is principled, and it is literate. It represents those who have something to lose and therefore are likely to be more conservative. It is the American bourgeoisie. Will it respond to a man or to an issue?

The other night I listened to a debate between Glenn Frank and Robert Jackson on the Town Meeting of the Air. Here were two men, one a responsible intellectual leader of the Republican party, the other an important member of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet; yet intellectually and ideologically there seemed to be no difference between them. Their discussion was sidetracked into certain social objectives on which all Americans have agreed for at least two decades. It would seem, from this discussion, that Dr. Frank's criticism of the New Dealers was limited to their incompetence in making the New Deal a success which the Republicans might do. Mr. Jackson's defense seemed to be that the New Dealers needed more time. A brilliant discussion on procedure, on the effects of the expansion of administrative law might have followed which would have produced a basic cleavage between the parties, but whereas the Lincoln-Douglas debates were conducted in the high realm of freedom from microphonic limitations, this particular discussion suffered from such rigidities of time and method as to give an utterly false impression of both speakers and the attitudes of both parties.

WILL HAVE TO DO BETTER

Both Mr. Dewey and Mr. Taft have done better than that, and Mr. Hoover, in a long series of speeches, has given his party a philosophic basis for opposition to the New Deal. I am convinced after traveling throughout the United States this year, and speaking to a large lumber of audiences and answering questions, that the Republican party will have to do better than anything that has yet been done to convince the literate, intellectual, property-owning class in America, that it is to their advantage to rid the country of New Dealers and let the Republicans take control.

One thing is certain: if Mr. Roosevelt does not run, it will be sufficient to depend upon personality. Although Minnesota elected a Governor just turned 30 and Milwaukee elected a mayor because he sang engagingly and Texas elected a Governor who put on a grand burlesque act, I do not believe that the American people have sunk so low that they will elect a President according to these models.

In this discussion, I hope to avoid becoming embroiled in what may appear to some of my less gentle readers as opposition or support for anyone. I fear that there is too much of that nowadays. The party in opposition faces a crisis: if we are to preserve the two-party system in this country, the Republicans should be elected in 1940. If they are defeated again, it is even possible that that party may follow the Whigs, but even more important is the probability, in that event, of a new party arising on the Left rather than on the Right—and of not being able to gain adherents in sufficient numbers to make any difference. It is impossible to maintain either a republic or a democracy on the basis of a one-party system.

Therefore, I should like to avoid in this discussion the character and qualifications of individuals, the lofty or sordid ambitions of men, and deal solely with historical forces in this campaign. No matter who is nominated by the Republicans, Dewey, Taft or Vandenberg, Mr. Hoover or Wendell Wilkie, Gannett, Bricker or Bridges, or Governor James or Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, each will face exactly the same problems and will have to meet the same issues. For the sake of argument, let us assume then that all these gentlemen are competent, able and worthy, and that if the stage were properly set, each could fill the leading role.

As Philadelphians Greeted Hoover

Daily Record

More than 1,100 members of the Philadelphia YMCA, packed the Bellevue-Stratford Athletic Club Club last week to attend the annual ~~dinner~~ of the association at which former President Herbert Hoover was principal speaker. Pictured l to r seated are Bishop David H. Sims, Dr. Leslie P. Hill, Mr. Hoover, Dr. John P. Turner, Atty. Herbert E. Millen. Standing l to r are Atty. G. Edward Dickerson, Herbert T. Miller, executive sec'y of the Y, Dr. Charles A. Lewis, Dr. Griffiths C. Brannon and Atty. E. Washington Rhodes.

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POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Church Asks GOP Spend $100,000

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON

An unexpected bombshell was hurled into the otherwise quiet sessions of the Republican National Committee at the Willard Hotel, last week, when Bob Church, of Tennessee, introduced a resolution demanding special recognition of the colored voters and an appropriation to win them back into the G.O.P. fold.

The resolution came almost at the close of the business of the day, after the committee had selected Philadelphia as the seat of the national convention and set the opening for 11 a.m., June 24.

Slipping into the meeting on a proxy, the veteran campaigner obtained the floor and presented his resolution. Condemning the action of the committee in adopting the report of Dr. Glenn Frank, program committee chairman, from which had been expurgated all recommendations concerning the colored vote.

Wants New Probe

The resolution also urged that a new committee be set up by the chairman of the national committee devoted to the gathering of factual data on the colored citizens pertaining to their political and economic security, and requested that a sum of one hundred thousand dollars be made available and a large portion be spent with the colored press.

Standing before the long table of the presiding officer, his fat boyish face, betrayed by his steel grey hair which was reflected in the dazzling light of the newsreel cameras, Mr. Church droned out his resolution above the buzzing of restless delegates from forty-eight States, peering through a pair of bone-rimmed glasses.

A sharp rap of the gavel brought the audience suddenly to pin-drop silence when Chairman Hamilton, who himself had been engaged in offsides, heard the figures rolling off with perfect nonchalance.

Watch Your Money

"You'd better listen to this," snapped Mr. Hamilton. "Do you realize this resolution is voting away one hundred thousand dollars of your money?"

Those who had been too occupied began to catch up on the previous "whereases" by inquiring from their neighbors, and general confusion reigned as Mr. Church took his seat beside Col. Roscoe Simmons and the Rev. W. H. Jernagin.

All eyes shot across the room to where Perry W. Howard and Committeewoman Mary Booze of Mississippi were seated, in anticipation of a second or endorsement of the resolution, but none was forthcoming, and the motion was made that the matter be tabled.

Seen as Slap at Race

For a moment it was not apparent what had been done — that the Republican party had slapped the colored voters of the nation in the face with one resounding blow — until Mrs. Cora Ebert, white, of West Virginia leaped to her feet and moved that the resolution be taken from the table and referred to the program committee for consideration and report. Mrs. Bertha Baugh white, of Chicago, seconded the motion and the body so voted.

Mrs. Booze's "Good Friends"

Both Mr. Howard and Mrs Booze told the AFRO that they had heartily favored the proposal

"I am in favor of anything that helps my people," said Mr. Howard.

When asked why she did not speak in favor of the resolution. Mrs. Booze said:

"I have some very good white friends who are kind enough to do such things for me."

As Mrs. Booze was in a section far removed from Mrs. Ebert, and as Mr. Church's resolution had come as a complete surprise to the entire assemblage, Mrs. Booze was asked why she herself had not proposed that the resolution be acted upon. She replied:

"Don't ask me now; I have a bad headache."

Bunche Report Recalled

The action of Mr. Church did two important things, according to those in the know. It served notice on the white committeemen and Chairman Hamilton that he bitterly resented the emasculation of the report of Dr. Ralph Bunche of Howard University and it brought out into the open the smouldering split with Committeeman Perry Howard.

The two differed on the policy of the race's participation in Republican affairs, but most of the caucuses have caught Church on the outside and he has been forced to depend on Mr. Howard for vocalization of his ideas. This Mr. Howard has refused to do. Church's proxy gave him his chance on Friday.

Rivers Blamed

Mr. Church charged that all of the information contained in the report of Dr. Bunche which dealt with the failure of the G.O.P. in its attitude toward colored voters had been suppressed, and only that portion blasting the race's grievances against the New Deal had been included.

The Bunche report, he said, was rewritten by Francis Rivers of New York and contained only those observations which the whites wanted to hear. This Mr. Church charges, will accomplish absolutely nothing in correcting the evils nor help to win back the colored vote.

Takes "White Only" Sign; Student Held

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. (ANP) — For taking a "For White Only" sign from a sandwich shop here Friday, Homer Fowler, 17, student, was held for criminal court by the city judge and his bond fixed at $250.

Negro and Republican Party Need Each Other--Payne

NEW YORK. — Aaron H. Payne, young attorney and Republican leader of Chicago, delivered one of the three major addresses at the Lincoln Day Dinner of the National Republican Club of New York, here Monday night, February 12. Chairman John Hamilton and Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Senator, were the other speakers. Mr. Payne's address was broadcast over the Mutual Broadcasting Company network from 9:45 to 10 p.m. EST.

For the first time in more than 30 years, a representative of colored Republicans was accorded a place on the speaking program. Attorney Payne called attention to this fact when, in opening his address, he said:

"Many years ago the beloved Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee was one of your guest speakers. He richly merited the distinction, for he was universally accepted as the accredited spokesman for his people. He has no successor. Able spokesman that he was, the cause of Republicanism and the love of Abraham Lincoln were no stronger in his heart than in mine; and regardless of what some few may say, the fundamental attitude of my people, North and South, is no different from my own.

"While our perspective is not yet far enough removed for all of us to see clearly and fully appreciate the true stature of Lincoln, each passing year reduces the ranks of those who would withhold from him the palm of eternal greatness."

Vicissitudes Suffered by Lincoln

In sketching the early beginnings of Lincoln, he pointed out that Lincoln was so humbly born that the most destitute could not envy the condition of his birth; and that he failed so often that few would desire to endure the vicissitudes Lincoln suffered.

He succeeded to the Presdency, Mr. Payne said, during a period of great domestic unrest. Civil War was imminent; the fate of the Union was in the balance. And in the end, so bitter was his cup that even those opposed to him prayed that it would pass him by.

The whole pattern of his life seems to have been shaped by an exacting destiny to one end, definite and divine, that end accomplished, the curtain fell. His untimely death left unhealed the wounds of war to those less wise than he.

"Therein lies the real tragedy," he said, "for Lincoln more clearly than any other of his day, keenly divined where between men to erect the monumental mark dividing just reverence for authority from just resistance to abuse.' "

GOP and the Negro

"The part that Lincoln played in the cause of freedom bound the Negro to the Republican Party with ties of affection and gratitude," he said. In discussing this relationship in the light of the present, he continued: "Soemhow, the ties have worn thin—all recognize the change—but few agree upon the cause. On the one hand, there are those who charge the Negro with ingratitude, on the other hand, those who have undergone recent poltical conversion claim that ours is not now the party of Abraham Lincoln. Neither is wholly right.

"Both the party and the Negro have come along so fast since the Civil War, that a feeling grew in the one that they were not needed and in the other that they were not wanted. The time has now come for us to put our house in order.

Ideals Where Freedom Lives

"The Negro needs the Republican Party as long as the Democrats of the South believe that we have no rights they are bound to respect. The Republican Party needs the Negro, not only for his political support, but what is more, to keep alive the ideals whereupon freedom lives.

"Because of slavery the Republican Party was conceived, and in advancing the rights of man, the Republican Party achieved its highest attainment. In supporting the Republican Party, the Negro attained his highest poltical and economic development. Each has an undisputed claim upon the other. We know, that it is not, and never

has been, the policy of the Democratic Party to admit the Negro into its folds on terms of political equality. No one is more fully aware than are we that the Democratic Party is the jarty of race and class."

To those of his race who have escaped oppressive conditions in the South, Mr. Payne addressed a special plea not to forget their own who still remain, and inquired: "Are we no longer to be thankful of those we left behind?"

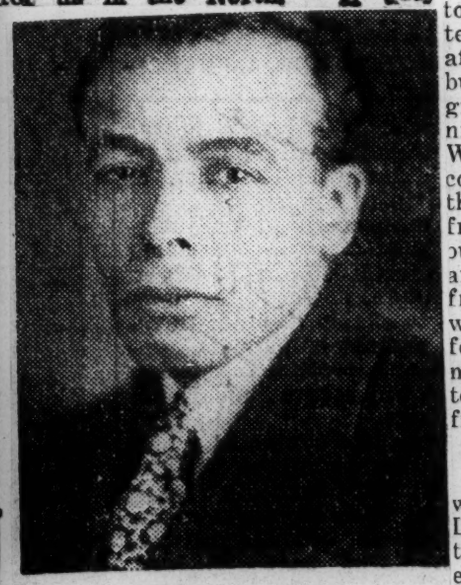
What the Negro Should Demand of The Democratic Party

"Those who now stand upon the pinnacle of temporary advantage and control the destiny of this nation, now seek our support. They cannot sustain their present advantage without it.

"To my people who have been persuaded into the Democratic Party by petty patronage and relief, I direct this plea: You are now in position to demand of that party fairer consideration than has been accorded in the past. Let the Democratic Party first demonstrate genuine concern for your welfare by respecting the plain mandates of the Constitution of our country which guarantees to you certain rights and privileges without regard to race, creed, or color.

"Demand that for every Negro Democratic vote you cast in the North, they shall give you one in the South. Demand in exchange for your vote the abolition of the jim crow system and all that it connotes in unfairness and degradation.

"In short, demand everything for the Negro in the South that the Republican Party keeps open for us in the North. If they



AARON H. PAYNE

turn you down, and you know they will, tell them that you have thought it over, and you just 'Don't want to go to heaven with that crowd.'

Cites Southern Peonage

"Tell them that you are going to vote this time as formerly, because you are convinced that the present Republican leadership is sincerely determined to bring to pass the assurances and rights promised and guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution. It is only in the Democratic South that the despicable system of peonage continues to exist, and remember, that it exists with the full approbation of that party which now seeks your support.

"I cannot and I do not contend that the Republican Party has measured up to the full extent of its possibilities in assisting the Negro to realize his highest economic and civil development, but I most emphatically do contend that every law directly beneficial to the Negro has been placed upon the statute books of this nation by the Republican Party, and that every law designed to deprive the Negro of his rights guaranteed under the Constitution has been enacted by the Democratic Party.

"If the decision of this forthcoming election rested in the hands of the Negro in the South, there is no doubt as to what the outcome would be! The record shows that our difficulties have been aggravated during the past seven years, rather than relieved: that our moral and spiritual fiber has been weakened beyond belief; that our national prestige suffers among the nations of the world."

"The Negroes of America are no less interested in these problems than are you. Dislocated industry has thrown great masses of us upon the charity of the Government, upon relief.

"No matter what you may hear to the contrary we are not content with the miserable existence afforded by a regimented, vote-buying, coercive, dole-relief program. We wish to occupy a dignified relationship to our fellows. We may not fully realize all the connotations and implications of the words 'individual initiative and free enterprise,' but we stand with our fellow-citizens of all classes and conditions when we ask for a free opportunity to do a man's work, in a work-a-day world, unfettered by economic entanglements which consign most of us to an existence not far removed from abject penury and want.

Safety from Mob Violence

"We wish, and we call upon you who hold the torch of liberty that Lincoln held so high, to help open to us equality of opportunity in education and employment. We call upon you for safety from mob violence, and the protection of our ballot, the greatest defense of freemen everywhere."

Mr. Payne insisted with great emphasis that the Republican Party was born pledged to the fundamental principles that gave life to America, and that Joseph Medill, a young man of twenty-nine, out of the Middle West, called this new Party Republican: Medill, more than any other, he said, made Lincoln's nomination possible.

With but three exceptions since Lincoln, the Republican Party, he remarked, has controlled the government, and that these three exceptions have each furnished a tragic interlude.

The Duty of the Hour

In a spirited conclusion, he called upon those present "to determine whether or not the Republican Party shall again seize the opportunity to adjust our internal differences by delegating leadership to one who has proved his courage, his honor, and his ability.

"One who knows that the primary function of government is to protect the person and property of the governed;

"One who knows that these interests are inseparable and that only the gullible are deceived when interest is arrayed against interest, religion against religion, or race against race;

"One who understands that every racial group in America is so inextricably interwoven into the fabric of this nation's life, that benefits secured separately are ultimately to the disadvantage of all;

"One who knows that that which is injurious or unfair to one finally affects us all; that where purpose of the law is not orderly fulfilled—in every instance where equal justice is denied, the victim suffers—but the social order suffers more;

"That whenever and wherever constituted authority is superceded by force and violence, society is degraded;

"One who is wise enough to realize that there has never been a 'race problem' in America or anywhere else—only 'human problems' that exist everywhere.

Washington, Jefferson, and the rest, proclaimed and defined liberty for America. Lovejoy, Medill and Lincoln were the instruments in pointing the way to its partial realization.

"They were the apostles of a new faith in man's relation to his fellowman; and guided by some inner light. Lincoln showed the way to be, 'With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right—let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, and do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.' "

"This is our common heritage. For we who live, live, but to hold the trust and then to transmit it inviolate."

GOP Chieftains Chart Plan For a "Dynamic America"

Indianapolis 2-24-40
Washington Star

Glenn Frank Program Committee Reports To National Committee; Discriminations Between Citizens by New Deal Scored

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

The long-awaited report of the Republican Program Committee, submitting a statement of Republican principles, was presented to the members of the Republican principle, was presented to the members of the Republican National Committee held here in Washington at the Willard Hotel, February 16.

The committee was created by action of the Republican National Committee on November 5, 1937 "to ascertain as fully as possible the various views held by the rank and file of the Republican Party, its national and local leaders, including auxiliaries of men, women and youth, upon such questions as may properly come before it for consideration."

Negro Members of Committee

From 1600 recommendations, some 200 representatives were chosen from varied regions, occupations, and interests of the nation. The interests of colored Republicans were represented by T. G. Nutter, West Virginia; Mrs. Joe S. Brown, Iowa; John Oliver Hopkins, Jr., Michigan; William E. King, Illinois; Joseph S. Mitchell, Massachusetts; Francis E. Rivers, New York; Frederick M. Roberts, California; Bishop D. H. Sims, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, New York; and Mrs. Lethia Fleming, Ohio.

The responsibility of writing the party platform will rest upon the platform committee of the National Convention which will meet in Philadelphia, June 24.

It will have at its disposal a reflected analysis of the philosophy, politics, and actual results of the present administration.

Also, there will be submitted recommendations of what, in the judgment of the program committee, by contrast, should be the guilding principles of national policy in dealing with the problem of getting our national economy into sustained high gear that the country may, once again, provide for the full employment of men, money and materials; for a progressive rise in living standards; and for increased security for the people of the nation.

While the various recommendations of the program committee affect and include the Negro group, as a part of the body politic, a chapter on "Discrimination Between Groups of Citizens," refers more particularly to them. This chapter, in full, follows:

Discriminations Between Citizens

"When faced with the problem of relief on a nation-wide scale, it is an obligation of organized society to see to it that there is no unfair distinction drawn between groups of citizens on economic, racial, or any other grounds. Human need is human need whether the citizen in need is employable or unemployable, whether he belongs to one race or another.

"By the distinction the New Deal leadership has drawn betwene employable and unemployables a special concern of the Federal government and leaving the unemployables as a special concern or state and local governments, New Deal relief has resulted in a gross disparity between the relief accorded those two groups.

How Negroes Have Suffered From the Depression and Racial Discrimination

"The burden of the depression has fallen with an extraordinarilly heavy impact upon our Negro citizens. This has been added to the fact that. in their sincere struggle to establish for themselves a rightful and self-respecting place in the productive enterprise of the nation, they have faced and still face the fact of racial discrimination. This is a problem which, in so far as the influence of government can directly affect, must be frankly faced.

"The New Deal has purported to give this problem special attention, primarily through the value of its relief program to the Negroes. It claims to have extended unprecedented benefits to them. The more enlightened members of the Negro citizenry of the nation, however, have begun to look skeptically at the record of the last seven years.

The New Deal Has Shunted Negroes Out of Normal Employment

"They begin to realize that, by confining its concern with Negroes so exclusively to relief and doing little to further their struggle for a rightful place in private employment in the productive enterprise of the nation, the New Deal program progressive shunting of Negroes out of formal productive

nomic and social conditions after the American people.

The exhaustive and detailed seven years of New Deal control the reasons why the New Deal has been a failure, contends that our American economy has not come to a dead end; and offers labor, farm, business, fiscal, and social programs for the restoration of national unity, prosperity, the

The report is contained in some 115 pages, and discusses, after a foreword-analysis of present conditions, chapters dealing with New Deal defeatism, economic and general security, discriminations on racial grounds, the exhaustive and detailed study of the relationship between employables and unemployables."

"A just and humane relief program will no more give government approval to, or acquiescence in, discriminatory treatment 'reservations' of public relief.

enterprise into a kind of separate relief economy, leaving them, as it were, on permanent

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REPUBLICAN

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"De noise of de wagon don't measure de load."

Paul Lawrence Dunbar's epigramtic expression leaped into our mind the other night while the voice of the noted Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for president, came into our room over the radio.

One can listen to that commanding and positive note of expression in Dewey's voice easily understanding why juries were convinced and why felons some time ago got their just deserts in New York Courts. The New Yorker was attacking the "New Deal" and he went about his task in the same manner as any prosecutor trained in seeing only one side of a subject. Most men who follow the profession of a prosecutor lean over too far in one direction. They lack the balance and the poise which comes to a judge, who every day must look at propositions from all sides and all angles.

We listened, and when Dewey said "one cannot spend himself into prosperity" we murmured to ourselves; "yes, and one cannot talk himself into prosperity." A well planned, organized program in economics may bring America out of the delimna in which we now find ourselves, but mere talk will never do the job.

One can get any common old jackass in the pasture and stand him up beside a radio, the greatest mechanical creation of man. That jackass can kick the radio all to pieces, but a jackass cannot put the radio back together.

Unquestionably Mr. Dewey kicked the New Deal all to pieces, so far as those of Republican leanings are concerned. He lamblasted all of the alphabetical designations, for which the present administration has extracted from the public funds the billions of dollars, which disturbs Mr. Dewey. Nobody will argue that a cent less has been spent on NYA, CCC, WPA, PWA, FHA, HOLC and a half dozen other New Deal projects than Mr. Dewey says has been spent, but as we listened to Mr. Dewey we waited to see what concrete, understandable something he would offer as a substitute.

Everybody who reads these lines and who is now, or has been on WPA or some other type of federal relief, should stop right here and ask this question: "What would I have done had I not received the emergency assistance I have been getting during the past few years?"

Mr. Dewey objects to government spending. He wants to stop it, but when you measure his "talk" by the yardstick we have just offered you can see that Mr. Dewey thinks more in terms of balancing the budget than he does in balancing the diet of the American people.

No criticism of Roosevelt spending can be understandable unless we put our fingers on some specific something. For instance, Mr. Dewey should have told his audience he was either for or against NYA, CCC, WPA and other expedients used by the Roosevelt administration to place spending power in the hands of the masses. And when Mr. Dewey told of a certain technique, method or policy adopted by the Roosevelt regime which he opposed, he should with clarity and lucidity explained what he would substitute.

Instead of this we hear him shout "A change in political attitude is the imperative need of our economy."

Now surely the American people are entitled to more information regarding the vital change of political attitude towards American economy that the Republican party would take. We recall that during the Hoover administration the Republican party sought to abate the depression through the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Thru this vast lending organization millions of dollars were dumped into the coffers of banks, insurance companies, railroads and other big corporations. This was the method adopted by Herbert Hoover, and the Republican party to relieve our economic pains when the nation was turned over to Democratic control.

But the millions who stood in soup lines at the close of the Hoover debacle remember that none of the millions Hoover sought to let down through our economic roof reached the masses. It was not until Roosevelt knocked a hole in the floor and shoved up his CWA and other relief palliatives that the hungry starving masses, about to revolt, filled their empty bellies.

Those of us who remember Hoover will not be led astray with a generalization about a change in our political attitudes towards American economy. We want more information about Mr. Dewey's meaning when he said "we have too long permitted government spending to run away with the national credit."

The Republican party inaugurated the program of the "dole" with big business, for it was under Republican rule we gave many billions of dollars to our railroads, our steamship lines and even today our air-lines. We have given subsidies, without thought of bankruptcy to almost every type of big business. The only time a hue and cry goes up to high heaven, is when government finally decides to keep the guts of human beings from growling.

This writer is in business and we long for some method or plan which will relieve our business of the numerous tax burdens, many of which have developed since President Roosevelt went into office. We listened the other night to Mr. Dewey because we, along with millions of other Americans want to find a way out from where we now find ourselves. We would unhitch from Roosevelt overnight and go with Communists if we were assured a Communist candidate had a relief program for our economic woes.

But we realize that if Roosevelt had not offered the temporary and emergency relief he did offer, this nation would today be in riot and revolution. Men were breaking into stores taking food down at England, Arkansas, when Roosevelt took office and no person's life was safe in the day or night until with the CCC thousands of starving youths, turned into hi-jackers over night, were given employment. Does Mr. Dewey object to this type of spending Mr. Roosevelt has been doing?

We have not only listened to Mr. Dewey, but we have also been scanning everything said by Messers Taft, Vandenburg and others of lesser importance. The man who knows the way out from our present plight is the man we are looking for.

But go back and read everything "Prosecutor" Dewey said last Wednesday night in the Municipal Auditorium. Read carefully to see whether he offered anything other than criticism of what has been done. Try if you can to find a single constructive suggestion he made, and one he or anyone else can tomorrow put to practical use.

Incidentally, in a demagogic moment the New Yorker exclaimed,

"Is Oklahoma finished? Are you through? Have you no future? Do you Oklahomans expect to spend the rest of your lives in uncertain dependence upon the political whims of a Washington bureaucracy?"

And the answer is "Yes we are through if there is no more vision in America than was projecting in the Municipal Auditorium last Wednesday night. There never was any future in a dream or a dreamer. The finish always come when we wake up.

When this writer's daddy died he left the family living in a very undesirable house. It sat on the ground without a foundation, was unpainted, porchless and had a canvass ceiling. We were very much dissatisfied with that house, and disgust arose everytime we contemplated upon the near-worthless structure.

But in spite of our displeasure and vexations because of its short-comings we never did move out of that house until several years later we were able to build a better one. It would have been foolish to move out in the rain and the weather. The house at its worst was better than out doors.

Summing up Mr. Dewey's "talk" we discover he in reality wants the American people to move out into the rain. If he has a habitable economic structure prepared for the nation, he acted like a man attempting to secure a patent on something, and is afraid some one will get possession of his idea.

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Negro Second Youngest Republican Keynoter At National Convention

New York Age
6-24-40

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Announcement by the committee of arrangemtnts of the Republican National Committee that Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota has been selected to sound the keynote address at the opening meeting of the Republican National Convention to be held in Philadelphia beginning June 24, 1940, also calls attention to the fact that Governor Stassen is the youngest keynoter ever selected.

It is held as a good omen for the Republican party that the able, liberal, aggressive Governor of Minnesota is to sound the tocsin at Philadelphia and to get the convention off to a good start.

It is also of note that in 1884, John R. Lynch, a colored delegate to the Republican National Convention from the State of Mississippi, was elected temporary chairman in the heated contest between the forces of Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont and James G. Blaine of Maine, candidates for the Republican nomintion.

Mr. Lynch was the youngest selection of the Republican Party as a keynoter up to that time and until this year's selection of Governor Stassen. The fact that Mr. Lynch was a colored Republican, being at that time only 36 years of age, was a wide departure.

The Repubican Convention of 1884 was a historic one. It was at this convention that Theodore Roosevelt, afterward Governor of New York and President of the United States, made his first appearance at a Republicn National Convention. He seconded the nomination of Mr. Lynch in a stirring speech. Mr. Lynch was elected over General Powell Clayton of Arkansas by a majority of 40 votes.

Mr. Lynch was appointed Captain and Paymaster in the regular United States Army by President William McKinley during the Spanish American War, then promoted to Major and Paymaster in 1906, and retired in 1911.

Other younger men who have served as temporary chairmen of the Republican National Convention were Carl Schurz of Missouri at 39 years of age presided over the Convention of 1868, and J. Sloat Fassett of New York who at the age of 38 years of age presided over the convention of 1892.

Demands Respect, Gets It

Journal & Guide
4-6-40

Offensive Term Resented By S. C. Republicans

Norfolk, Va.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—A dramatic incident, distinguishing the new from the old in South Carolina Republican politics, occurred here Wednesday as the State convention of the Republican party was on the eve of adjourning.

M. O. Dunning, former collector of the port of Savannah, now a practising lawyer in Washington, had concluded a brief address in the course of which he used the word "darkey."

There was a lull in the proceedings after Dunning took his seat and members were thinking of adjournment when R. A. Brooks, Aiken county delegate, arose, addressed the chairman and in a calm, dispassionate manner, began: "We feel that we were insulted when we were called 'darkies,' and we demand an apology."

Almost instantly Dunning was on his feet, shouting: "You may call yourselves what you please, and it is all right with me." Then he sat down. But his attempt to "run out" on Brooks did not succeed.

Continuing Mr. Brooks said: "That is not an apology. If we don't get an apology we'll walk out of that door 100 per cent and we will never come back.

Chairman Charles R. Witt, of Charleston, and the white delegates saw that Brooks and the colored delegates meant business, and the pressure started on Dunning, who seeing that he was alone in his attitude as well as in an embarrassing position, arose and said: "Of course, if the term 'darky' is offensive to you I'll apologize."

That ended the incident. A moment later the convention adjourned.

TWO WHITE, TWO COLORED DELEGATES

Other delegates, all elected by roll call of the 46 counties, were T. H. Pinckney of St. George, B. L. Hendrix of Estill, W. J. Peek of Anderson. The delegation is composed of two white men and two Negroes.

Alternates named were John C. Williams of Orangeburg, Dr. Frederick C. Redfern of Columbia, Charles R. Witt of Charleston, and Mrs. E. S. Hines of Spartanburg. District delegates are to be named at district meetings to be held later.

Miss Elizabeth Tolbert, national Republican committeewoman from South Carolina, presented Mr. Dunning who said that "this is the Republican party of South Carolina duly recognized by the national committee.

"We had better concentrate on electing a president rather than quarreling among ourselves," he said. "Your Republican party has been criticized? By whom? I ask you to check up and see.

"Joe Tolbert here has carried through for you during the years; it has not been an easy fight for him; he has stood by you; he has the intelligent acumen to lead; stick together and go down the line together."

He predicted that in course of time, particularly as South Carolina became industrialized, there would be two major parties in South Carolina. He punctuated his remarks with two or three humorous stories, one of which brought the repercussions.

G. O. P. Moves To 'Clean Up' Party in South

Christian Science Monitor

Districts Polling Less Than 1,000 Votes To Be Denied Delegates.

PHILADELPHIA, June 22.—(AP) Republicans took a major step to "build up" their party in the south today.

The party national committee voted unanimously for a rule which would deny delegate representation in future national conventions to any congressional district which failed to poll 1,000 votes in national or state election prior to the convention.

Although applicable to the whole country, party leaders said it was aimed primarily at the "deep south," where for years the Republicans have polled hardly enough votes to make a campaign worth while.

Discourage 'Buying.'

The change in the rule, if approved by the convention opening Monday, would make southern leaders "go to work" and also would discourage efforts to "buy up" delegates, leaders added.

Former Senator Hastings, committeeman for Delaware, who offered the rule change, told reporters it would take away approximately 75 delegates from the south unless "real" efforts were made to get out the vote.

Present rules permit each district to have one delegate regardless of the vote it polls, and one additional delegates if it runs up to 10,000 votes in a national, congressional or state election.

Deals Denied.

Leading contenders for the Republican presidential nomination arrived today denying fast-flying rumors of impending "deals," and looking forward to the party's first wide-open contest for the nomination since 1920.

Wendell Willkie, the New York utilities man risen from dark horse ranks; Thomas E. Dewey, the young New York district attorney, who swept the preference primaries, and Senator Taft, of Ohio, fresh from the firing line in Washington, reached town.

Dewey, holding a press conference, said flatly there was no truth in reports that his forces were teaming up with those of Senator Taft in an effort to "stop Willkie." Asked whether he would accept a vice presidential nomination, he said:

"I trust the question is academic."

At the same time, platform subcommittees were at work behind closed doors. Alf M. Landon, chairman of the foreign affairs subcommittee, asserted that its plank was not yet ready.

Persons close to him made it clear that he was studying the advisability of attempting to set up a new party—possibly "Democratic Union" or a "Democratic Unity Party" as a means of permitting Democrats to vote for the Republican nominee without losing their party affiliation.

Mr. Willkie lunched with J. Russell Sprague, New York Republican committeman and comanager of Thomas E. Dewey's unsuccessful campaign for the nomination. Mr. Willkie told a press conference after the luncheon that Mr. Dewey would wage "an active campaign" in his behalf.

Earlier in the day the nominee released messages from several supporters, including T. Jefferson Coolidge, former Undersecretary of the Treasury in the New Deal Administration.

Mr. Coolidge offered his "wholehearted support," and added that "an end must be made of centralized power, personal rule and uncontrollable spending.

WILLKIE CONSIDERS NEW PARTY IN SOUTH

Commercial Appeal

Democrats Could Join Without Losing Old Affiliation

COLORADO SPRINGS, July 26.—(AP)—Possibility of forming a new party in which dissident Democrats could join in support of Wendell Willkie was discussed among the Republican nominee's associates Friday.

Mr. Willkie told a press conference he would make an aggressive fight in the Democratic South.

MARTIN URGES END OF ONE-PARTY SOUTH

House Minority Leader Tells Arkansas Republicans Party Is 'Closest to Jefferson'

ASKS BUREAUCRACY FIGHT

Common Front With North Is Urged to Oppose 'Octopus' of Federal Government

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., May 11—Addressing the Republican State Convention here this afternoon, Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, Republican leader of the House, appealed to the South to forget sectionalism and to stand with the citizens of the North "as one people united in the battle to preserve States' rights and to maintain our liberties and our privileges enshrined in the constitutional Bill of Rights."

Referring to the national unity displayed in the Spanish-American War and the World War, Representative Martin said:

"So must we now stand united, the people of the South and the people of the North, you of Arkansas and we of Massachusetts, in the determination that we shall not again permit our nation to become involved in alien wars, that the boys of the South and the boys of the North shall not again march away together to sail overseas, to fight in foreign conflicts and to spill their blood in vain.

"Today," he went on, "the Republican party actually is closest to the ideals of Jefferson. The Republican party is fighting to preserve States' rights against the encroachments of a great and arrogant political bureaucracy at Washington. It has sent tentacles creeping into every nook and corner of this land, like some great octopus, preparing to crush every vestige of liberty and privilege out of the people and to suck dry the substance of our citizens."

Representative Martin said that he did not believe either the people of the South or the people of the North wanted to be educated, entertained or supported by a political bureaucracy and added that Southern Republicans "are making a mighty contribution not only to the cause of genuine Americanism, but to the welfare of the South as well.

"It is not pleasant," he continued, "for a boy or girl born south of the Mason-Dixon Line to face the prospect that no matter how able she or he may be, no matter how high in the leadership of their own section they may rise, they are practically barred from ever being President because they live in a one-party area.

"Now is the time," he said, "a particularly propitious time, for the South to throw off the chains of a one-party system. The policies of the New Deal—impairment of States' rights, the transfer of control from the community to the Federal Government, regimentation, restriction and confiscation—all these are offensive to you.

"The question confronting us is not so much whether the Democrats or the Republicans will win, but whether America shall be kept American."

Mr. Martin emphasized that the South "is demanding and is entitled to have economic equality with the North. The people of the South want, and they are entitled to have, the comforts and luxuries which make life attractive in the North."

Predicting a future of great prosperity for the South, he stated that it was standing on the threshold of a new era coming with the new science of farm chemurgy that would completely overshadow the present cotton industry and bring revenue to "free the South from the shackles of economic want and insecurity and open the doors of plenty and prosperity."

"The South is not merely a one-crop country," he went on. "Cotton is no longer King."

Negro Newspapers Favor Dewey As GOP Candidate

NEW YORK CITY—Leading Negro newspapers of the nation have pointed out Thomas E. Dewey as the leading candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in editorials and articles they have carried in recent weeks.

The Baltimore Afro-American says: 'More and more it looks as if Dewey is the man the President has to face in the November elections and that the Hulls, the Vandenbergs, the McNutts, the Garners, the Tafts and theJacksons are going to be mere spectators"

The Norfolk Journal and Guide, commenting on the Wisconsin and Nebraska primaries says: "That the up and coming New Yorker (Mr. Dewey) should make such an appeal to the farmers may be accounted for on one particular score. They believe in his integrity . . . The Western Republican farmers are evidently looking for a man who has not been polished off by political experience. They are willing, no doubt, to pin their

in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures," Judge Welsh stated that should the seal of judicial approval be placed upon such "Constitutional violations" as committed by the Dies committee, "liberty of the person and liberty of religious and political thought and action will have vanished from our land."

Meanwhile it was learned from Washington that Congressman Vito Marcantonio, representing the International Workers Order and Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, have requested Attorney General Jackson to curb repeated violations of civil liberties by the heresy-hunting committee. The Attorney General was urged to institute Federal prosecution of the Dies' agents who participated in the unlawful raids.

Sam Solomon Surprises Florida Politicians By Handing In His Resignation As G. O. P. Delegate

MIAMI, Fla. — S. Solomon, popular mortician, of Miami, who is well known in this city and considered one of the most civic-minded young men of the state sprung a big surprise when he resigned as 4th Congressional Delegate to the Republican National Convention to be held in Philadelphia beginning June 24th.

He expressed his reasons to the National Committeemen of Florida, J. Leonard Replogle and John M. Hamilton, chairman of the National Republican Committee, that he could not subscribe to the methods used in the Orlando session by the State Executive Committee when with one sweep, it disfranchised every Republican elector, white and Negro by refusing to the State law of state-wide primary or state representative convention.

Some have congratulated themselves in being the beneficiary of this high handed picking at the expense of the future of the Republican party in Florida but Solomon, true to his conviction feels that he should not allow personal aggrandizement to over-ride his judgment and the rights of those fine men and women of his county, as well as the other counties of the State, who have worked arduously and loyally to support Republican tenet.

In his letter to J. Leonard Replogle, he offered his support to him and to the Republican party in Florida, providing that the true principles of the party are to be subscribed and adhered to. He condemned vigorously the method of advantage taken at the Orlando meeting and pleaded for primary or convention so as to give to all the government in Florida. He spoke of the fine work that he and his companions had been able to do in Miami through the dynamic and powerful influence of the Republican County Chairman.

At the rival grassroot convention held in Orlando, Florida, April 29, at which there were more than seven hundred delegates representing every county in the State of Florida, Sam B. Solomon was elected as a delegate to the National Republican Convention to be held in Philadelphia in June, thereby proving his popularity among members of both races in the state of Florida. Mr. Solomon will attend the convention as a representative of this faction, which is generally believed will be seated at the National Convention.

WITH DEFEAT ALMOST CERTAIN, CAUCUS ADVISES P. G. PORTER TO WITHDRAW NAME FROM RACE

Mrs. Beatrice L. Childs Elected Alternate Delegate-at-Large; T. W. Bell of Leavenworth Is Presidential Elector

WICHITA, Kas. — The fond hope of Kansas Republicans that a Negro would be one of the "Big Four" delegates-at-large to the National Republican Convention this year proved to be only a pipe dream.

At the Republican state convention held here last week a Negro, Mrs. Beatrice L. Childs of Kansas City, Kas., was named alternate delegate-at-large, but no place was given Negroes on the regular delegation from Kansas.

The four delegates-at-large elected were Alf M. Landon, 1936 presidential nominee; John Hamilton, G.O.P. national chairman; Mrs. Will G. West of McPherson, representing Republican women; and J. Berryman of Ashland, young Republican.

Concede Two Places

With the first two places on the delegation unanimously conceded to Mr. Landon and Chairman Hamilton, the fight loomed over the other two places and three groups—women, young Republican and Negroes—contended for the two places.

P. G. Porter of Atchison, vice chairman of the state Republican committee in charge of Negro work, had been endorsed by his district convention for a place on the delegation-at-large. Many leaders at the state convention, both black and white, thought and contended that at least one out of the 18 delegates from Kansas—14 district delegates and four delegates-at-large—should be a Negro.

But the women wanted a place and the young Republicans wanted to be represented.

Group Solid

All of the Negro delegates to the state convention and many whites were solidly behind Porter. But when it became evident that the women's group and the young Republicans would win the two places and that a Negro would not be elected, the Negro delegates, in caucus, voted that Porter should withdraw from the race.

Four years ago, Negroes found difficulty in uniting behind any one man for a place on the delegation. This division of opinion worked against the securing of a Negro delegate. But this year, the Negroes were unanimously behind Porter. At a caucus on Wednesday night of Negro delegates gathered from all over the state, after a discussion led by Bishop J. A. Hamlett, Kansas City, Dr. W. M. Blount, Kansas City, Attorney Fred C. Helm of Wichita, Dr. A. Porter Davis, Milton Collins, Alex Beasley and others, two unanimous votes were taken.

Endorse Porter

One was that "We present our desire and request to have representation on the delegation to the Republican National convention at Philadelphia." The other was that "We unite behind P. G. Porter, vice chairman of the State Central committee, as the man to be presented for that place." The unanimous endorsement of Porter represented progress as four years ago, the Negro committee sought in vain to interview leaders at the state convention on the possibility of a Negro delegate.

P. G. PORTER

Despite the solidarity of the Negro delegates, however, it was apparent that there was slight chance of a Negro's getting elected to the delegation because it required about 690 votes for election. The majority of these votes would have to come from the white delegates who had been committed in one way or another to a young Republican and a woman.

Before the voting, the Negro delegtaes held another caucus to discuss the wisdom of carrying the fight to the floor in the face of almost inevitable defeat. On this question, the sentiment was divided, some contending a fight should be made no matter what the outcome might be. Others thought that with a marked increase in interest in this question from the white leaders and the friendly attitude of many of them but with almost inevitable defeat in view, it might be better for Porter to withdraw.

With Bishop Hamlett presiding, the caucus after much heated discussion voted almost uanimously that the fight for a Negro delegate-at-large be carried no further and at this time and Mr. Porter's name was not presented to the convention.

Elect Mrs. Childs

Mrs. Childs, prominent in the social and club circles throughout the state, was elected one of the four alternate delegates-at-large.

Attorney T. W. Bell of Leavenworth, was one of the two nominated as Presidential Electors. The other elector is Miss Phillis Obee of Hutchinson, vice chairman of the Reno county Republican committee.

In a statement to The Call on his withdrawal from the race for delegate-at-large, Mr. Porter said:

"I was unfortunate to be a canidate from the first congressional district for delegate-at-large for the reason that aside from myself, three candidates, all from the first district, for these positions had been endorsed; namely, the titular head of the Republican party, the National Chairman, and the state president of the Woman's Republican clubs.

"Aside from this, a majority of the counties in the other six districts had endorsed besides these leaders, a woman and a young Republican. Therefore, with my vote split in the first district, and their vote solid, the Negro leaders assembled at the state convention were quick to see the condition, namely, that I could not win.

"Hence, a caucus was called during the noon hour and by and with their advice which was taken by vote, I followed their recommendation that my name not go before the convention, because of my position as vice-chairman in charge of Negro work and in the interest of party harmony."

Make Progress

Despite the failure to elect a Negro deelgate-at-large, however, Kansas Republican leaders feel that definite progress has been made. They recall that four years ago they tried in vain to get the ear of the state convention leaders to even propose the presentation of a Negro's name. In 1936, there was not much sentiment favoring a Negro delegate to the national convention and no solidarity of opinion among the Negro Republican themselves. This year serious concern was given to the matter. The concern showed itself in endorsement in tha direction. Mr. Porter was endorsed by his county central committee as one of the Big Four.

Endorse Blount

Dr. W. M. Blount of Kansas City, Kas., was endorsed by the Wyandotte county central committee to the district convention as a district delegate to the national convention. This endorsement carried with it 92 votes. At the district convention of the second district held in Ottawa, when it was seen that Dr. Blount could not be elected, he withdrew upon counsel of some of the leaders with the understanding that the second district would make recommendations to the state convention for consideration of a Negro delegate.

Contrasted with four years ago this year, Negroes had no difficulty in getting a conference with Walter Fess, chairman of the state central committtee and other figures who dominated the state convention. In 1936, Dr. Blount tried in vain to get the floor to nominate a colored person for delegate-at-large only to be ignored by the presiding officer, who stated two times while Blount was on the floor that he would recognize another man whose name was called but who was not even in the convention hall at the time.

This year, Chairman Fees held the nomination open until everyone who wanted to make a nomination had an opportunity to do so.

Another sign of progress this year was that an outstanding young white man, chairman of the Mr. Porter's delegation, had volunteered to make the nomination speech for Mr. Porter and many white delegates had pledged their support.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Roxborough And Diggs Named G.O.P. Delegates

DETROIT.—Atty. Charles A. Roxborough and State Senator Charles C. Diggs will be the two Negro delegates from Michigan at the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

Roxborough was selected to represent the First Congressional district at the state Republican convention held last week in Grand Rapids. Diggs was chosen by the Wayne County Democrats at a district caucus to nominate delegates. He will have half vote as representative from the thirteenth district.

Roxborough is a former state senator from the third senatorial district, winning the position in 1930. He was defeated in 1932 under the Democratic landslide which swept Michigan into Democratic ranks.

He is now a member of the appeal board of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission, having been appointed in 1939 by the late Governor Frank Fitzgerald. He was recently re-appointed for six years by Governor Luren D. Dickinson.

Diggs was elected to the state senate four years ago on the Democratic ticket from the Third Senatorial district. He recently announced his candidacy for a third term.

Hager G.O.P. Delegates Retain Seats

Daily Herald 5/18/40

Efforts of another Fulton County Republican faction to unseat the "Hager delegation" Friday afternoon failed to materialize following a heated session held in a second-floor room of the Fulton County courthouse.

The protesting group, described as the "Turner faction", declared that the "Hager delegation" had elected four delegates who are not qualified voters.

When finally put to a vote, the "Hager delegation" was accepted without opposition.

Ben Davis, fiery Republican, was constantly on the floor defending the "Hager group".

Klan Link Charged to S.C. Old-Line GOP's

COLUMBIA, S.C.—Headquarters of the newly organized South Carolina Republican party, headed by Colonel J. Bates Gerald, this week issued charges that leaders of the old-line GOP forces in the State are in sympathy with the Ku Klux Klan.

The announcement said that M. O. Dunning, who allegedly referred to colored delegates to the State Republican Convention here on March 30 as "n——s," was once grand dragon of the Klan, and that Joseph W. Tolbert, State chairman, is "allied with the Klan movement in sympathy and in former association."

The new group, which some 16,000 colored Republicans are said to have left the old party to join, will send a competitive delegation to the national convention in Philadelphia.

Many Mixed Delegations Due at GOP Meet

By ANP

WASHINGTON

Delegations from a large number of States to the Republican National Convention, which opens in Philadelphia on June 24, will contain members of both races, according to the official roster now partially compiled by the Republican National Committee.

Delegates and alternates whose names have been certified by the committee include:

Joseph Lewis, Jr., Dr. J. H. Lowery and Dr. J. A. Harden, all of New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Carrie M. Piper, Wilmington, Del.;

Florida Faces Contest

From Florida, where there is a contest between two factions, are J. Leonard Lewis, of Jacksonville; Sam B. Solomon, of Miami; Samuel B. McGee, of Jacksonville; David H. Dwight, of Jacksonville, and C. H. Williams, of Orlando;

Mrs. W. G. West from Kansas;

From Mississippi, Perry W. Howard, of Jackson; S. D. Redmond, E. L. Patton, Mary C. Booze, of Mound Bayou; W. J. Box, of Corinth; Fred Miller, of Mound Bayou; C. T. Butler, J. B. Woods, of Hattiesburg; A. M. Redmond, of Jackson; S. W. Rogers, of Oxford; D. M. P. Hazeley; Dr. Johnson, of Meridian, and Dr. Lee M. Owens, of Vicksburg;

In New York, Dr. Lorenzo H. King and George E. Wibecan, of Brooklyn were named;

South Carolina

South Carolina named I. M. A. Myers, of Columbia, as an alternate with T. H. Pinckney, of St. Georges; B. J. Nickson, of Orangeburg, as delegates on another ticket with Dr. H. C. Gibbs, of Greenville, and Willis Peake as laternates on the same ticket.

Contests are noted in Louisiana Florida and in South Carolina but thus far all of the States which have held their conventions have named colored members on both tickets, the regulars and the insurgents.

Washington, D.C., although votless, has its political organizations and on Saturday, named J. Franklin Wilson, an attorney a delegate, and Dr. Francis as alternate.

Dewey's Colored Record

New York City—Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for president, prefers to stand on his record in the matter of appointing members of all minority groups to office, including the Negro.

Citizens seeking an answer to the question: "What will Mr. Dewey as president do when it comes to the matter of colored appointments or appointments of any racial minority?" can find the answer at 137 Center Street, New York. There, Dewey as District Attorney of the County of New York has provided an answer that cannot be questioned.

District Attorney has 72 assistants in his office. When he made those appointments he did so without consciousness of the color issue. He knew Francis E. Rivers as a brilliant lawyer and Phi Beta Kappa man who had made a splendid record in New York public life. He immediately named him a full-fledged Assistant District Attorney at $7,500 a year. His was an appointment made for the ability alone. Mr. Rivers prosecutes cases in all the General Sessions Courts without regard to the color of the defendants. In fact, he is more often prosecuting white than colored defendants. Only recently was Dewey's confidence in Mr. Rivers proved in the dramatic William ("Wally") Paige murder trial. During the month-long trial of the slayer of a Lincoln University student, Robert Forbes, Rivers conducted the State's case against Paige with such perfect technique that law students of both races crowded the courtroom to hear him and to witness the blue ribbon jury convict Paige of murder in the first degree.

Dewey also knew Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, one of the nation's most brilliant women lawyers. He placed her in complete charge of the Special Sessions Bureau at $6,500 a year. It was Mrs. Carter who aided in laying the groundwork for the conviction of former Tammany leader James J. Hines on charges of protecting the late Dutch Schultz number racket.

Later Dewey learned of James Yeargin, a young colored lawyer who was placed in the Homicide Bureau at $2,000 a year to begin. Last week Mr. Yeargin made his first murder prosecution.

Dewey's appointments are not made in the spirit which most prosecutors in other cities name colored lawyers to their staffs. In most cases such appointments are "inactive" ones. That is, the appointee is never permitted to actually prosecute cases. He is comparable to a prosecutor's investigator. In Mr. Dewey's offices, Mr. Rivers, Mrs. Carter and Mr Yeargin are on the job, **IN COURT,** before judges.

Never before in New York's history have colored appointees in the District Attorney's office been active ones. They have been on the staff, but they never prosecuted cases before juries.

Ben Davis, Fred Gassett Named GOP Delegates

By ROBERT RATCLIFFE

Georgia Republicans elected Ben J. Davis and Fred Gassett Saturday as delegates-at-large to the National Convention which meets June 24 in Philadelphia. Their alternates are B. F. Cofer, of Atlanta, and Sidney A. Jones, of Savannah.

5-19-40

The convention also elected two white men as delegates-at-large. They were Clint W. Hager and James W. Arnold. Their alternates are Judge W. G. Cornett, of Athens, and J. T. Bone.

Election of the four delegates-at-large gives the state a total of 14 delegates. Each of the 10 congressional districts of the state elected a single delegate.

W. L. Shaw, who served as secretary of the convention held Saturday in the Atlanta Theatre, revealed that other than the two colored delegates at large and their colored alternates, one Negro will serve as a delegate from one of the congressional districts. Two colored men have been elected as alternate delegates from congressional districts.

Mr. Shaw said that C. S. Wigfal, of Augusta, is a delegate from the tenth district. The other colorde alternates are Dr. H. Van Buren, of the first district, and W. L. Hughes, of the sixth district.

The Georgia delegates will go to the National Convention uninstructed.

Colored delegates to the convention held Saturday were successful in their attempt to place the names of 22 Negroes on the Republican State Central Committee. Forty white persons were elected. Purpose of the committee is to function as a governing body between conventions during the next two years.

Colored members of the committee are S. A. Jones, B. J. Davis, W. J. Shaw, B. F. Cofer, Fred Gassett, W. S. Hollomon, John C. Long, Sr., R. C. Eberhardt and Mesdames Toby Grant, Mae Yates and C. M. Pearson, of Atlanta, and Thad Eubanks, Savannah; Dr. H. Van Buren, Statesboro; H. S. Dickson, Bainbridge; Dr. R. H. Cobb, Columbus; M. C. Smith, of the fourth district; A. T. Atwater, Rome; Sol Clemon, Macon; H. H. Dudley, Dublin; Chauncey Hudson, Valdosta; C. S. Wigfall, Augusta, and R. S. Harris, Athens.

More than 300 delegates attended the convention at the Atlanta Theatre and 56 of these were colored. J. M. Crumey, white, served as chairman.

Although the convention had a rather heated beginning when a North Georgia group tried to test the strength of the administration, the session on a whole was harmonious.

The state officers of the Georgia Republicans are C. W. Hager, chairman; Dr. H. J. Carswell, first vice-chairman; Roscoe Tucker, second vice-chairman; Wilson Williams, secretary, and Harry Sommers, treasurer.

DEWEY'S ADDRESS IN LOUISVILLE, KY. PLEASES FRIENDS

Colored G. O. P. Leaders On Committee Which Welcomed Candidate To State

LOUISVILLE, KY.—The next administration at Washington "must set this country on its true course after seven years of New Deal misguidance," Thomas E. Dewey, candidate for the Republican nomination for President, told the Lincoln Republican Club here Saturday night.

To do this the next administration must give the American economic machine the signal to go ahead," so that new employment, equitable taxes, release of capital and financial soundness will result, Mr. Dewey said.

The New York District Attorney was heard by many Negro citizens and personally met James Edwards and Samuel Petrie, members of the general committee of entertainment of which Judge J. J. Kavanagh of Louisville was chairman.

Mr. Dewey called the New Deal administration "the seven lean years." Under its regime national income, farm income, agricultural exports, farm prices, wages, dividend payments, new capital invested and new building have all gone down, he declared. On the other hand employees on the Federal payroll, taxes, government expenditures, government deficit and industrial disputes have all gone up, Mr. Dewey added.

"Prophets of despair" at Washington "have fumbled with unemployment and want," he said. The New Deal "has only succeeded in redistributing poverty," he added.

"Every child born in this country will have that New Deal mortgage stamped across his birth certificate for years to come," Mr. Dewey went on. He termed the New Deal advisors "brilliant nonentities" and said the administration "has a vested interest in depression."

People on relief have had to "vote right" and contribute campaign funds, Mr. Dewey asserted. "Men out of work were denied assistance unless they voted at the bidding of the administration."

He said "relief funds are auctioned off for votes."

Discussing the war he said:

"We are determined that no American forces shall ever again be sent to fight in Europe."

PRESS LAUDS HIM

NEW YORK CITY—Leading Negro newspapers of the nation have pointed out Thomas E. Dewey as the leading candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in editorials and articles they have carried in recent weeks.

The Baltimore Afro American says: "More and more it looks as if Dewey is the man the President has to face in the November elections and that the Hulls, the Vandenbergs, the McNutts, the Garners, the Tafts and the Jacksons are going to be mere spectators....."

The Norfolk Journal and Guide, commenting on the Wisconsin and Nebraska primaries says: "That the up and coming New Yorker (Mr. Dewey) should make such an appeal to the farmers may be accounted for on one particular score. They believe in his integrity....The Western Republican farmers are evidently looking for a man who has not been polished off by political experience. They are willing, no doubt, to pin their hopes to a man with courage, ability and initiative. After all it is more important that a man should be right in head and heart than he should be learned in the devious ways of politics."

The California Eagle said following Mr. Dewey's recent visit to that state:

"The most important of the candidate's oratorical innovations insofar as standard Republican statements are concerned is his curious ability to wade into the myth of New Deal 'liberalism' and reveal its incompetence and ineffectiveness. The New Yorker thus has brought himself the distinction of becoming the first Republican leader of national importance who has realized the serious damage done the party through the prevailing public misconception that it is opposed to the various forms of social legislation that have come into being within the past decade."

The Eagle also stated enthusiastically: "Thomas E. Dewey came to town last week and left the city panting for breath. The vitality and energy of the New York District Attorney completely swept reception committees, official greeters and the thirty thousand people that crammed the Hollywood Bowl to hear him Saturday evening."

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Willkie Pledges Opportunity And Justice To Colored Citizens; Is Noted For Fight On K. K. K.

Plaindealer

BY EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The nomination of Wendell L. Willkie for President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia has been hailed by Colored Republicans throughout the country with enthusiasm.

7-12-40

Telegrams by the hundreds were received by the nominee at Philadelphia, and at Republican National Headquarters, from Colored citizen expressing gratification that such a prominent a warrior has been commissioned to carry the Republican standard during the coming months of the Presidential campaign.

Kansas City, Kansas

What particularly commends Mr. Willkie to the favor of Colored Republicans is the attitude he took in 1924 in opposing the Ku Klux Klan. FORTUNE MAGAZINE for April, 1940, calls attention to the fact that he "led and won the battle against the Ku Klux Klan 1924-26."

CURRENT HISTORY, for February 1940, also called attention to Mr. Willkie's attitude toward the Ku Klux Klan in the following: "As delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1924 he fought for the nomination of Al Smith over William Gibbs McAdoo, because Mr. McAdoo was backed by the Ku Klux Klan." During the proceedings, the Ohio Delegation of which he was a member, was polled and Mr. Willkie was recorded as favoring the adoption of the following resolution: "We pledge the Democratic Party to oppose any effort on the part of the Ku Klux Klan or any organization to interfere with the religious liberty or political freedom of any citizen."

This position was taken by him 16 years ago when he had no thought or idea of even being considered, for the Presidency.

In the CURRENT HISTORY article as far back as the early part of this year, he was being referred to as "a good, shrewd, able business man to unscramble the tax and business situation the country is in."

As a forthright man, he declared that he did n[illegible]ish, for the sake o[illegible] conformity to catalogue himself with a label as his political philosophy places country above party.

He was one of those who joined the revolt against the abuses of big business. He is reported to have remarked that "the greatest joy in life is to keep one's thoughts uncontrolled by formulas. I won't be dropped into a mould," he said.

"I want to be a free spirit,' he continued. "If I wasn't one, I would be still sitting on a cracker box in Indiana."

Promises Justice to Colored Delegates

In an informal interview with a room-full of Colored delegates at Philadelphia during the Convention. Mr. Willkie was subjected to a bit of frank questioning by them. He did not equivocate or evade. He said to them:

"Look. I want your support. I need it. But get this: irrespective of whether Negroes go down the line for me, they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair proportion of appointments, their fair representation in policy making. They'll get the same consideration that every other citizen gets.

"Now I want you to be with me But I'll treat yau squarely and fairly even if everyone of you goes against me. My record will show that."

"What about the discrimination against Negroes in the Army, the Navy and the Air Corps?" he was asked

"I'm against all that kind of bunk" he replied. "You are citizens like everybody else and you ought to be treated like citizens. IF I AM ELECTED PRESIDENT I WILL SEEK TO REMOVE ALL KINDS OF DISCRIMINATION FROM ALL KINDS OF GROUPS."

"A democracy," he said, "is that system of government in which all people regardless of color are given the opportunity to have and to enjoy the best things of life."

The above recital indicates that, in Wendell Willkie, Colored voters have presented to them for support a candidate whose past record shows him to have fought for the things he regards as being fair and just, and for whom they can vote without hesitation or reservation. He will undertake to live up to whatever promises he makes and when he enters the White House in January, 1941, he will not forget the discriminations practiced against Colored citizens in Government service and in many sections of our country.

The portent of the hour is that we shall WIN WITH WILLKIE.

Seldom has opportunity been presented for those of the Negro race so heartily to join with their fellow citizens in support of a dynamic personality who has enlisted to lead an aggressive crusade in the cause of democracy and liberty.

The largest minority group in the United States will welcome an opportunity of this character, and particularly the extension of democracy and liberty to those who so long have suffered from racial and economic discriminations, and curtailed opportunities.

With Senator McNary as the Vice Presidential nominee, Mr. Willkie will have at hand one of the ablest and keenest political strategists of the country.

Victory is in the air!

ONLY ONE LILY WHITE GROUP WINS GOP SEAT

Bee

Delegation Victor After Long Debate

7-7-40

PHILADELPHIA, July 6—(ANP)—Fourteen hours of debate settled the fate of the contesting delegations which arrived here seeking seats in the Republican National convention. And the contesting states included Florida, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana as far as Negroes were concerned. Bitter indeed was the battle and it was a death struggle between the forces which admit Negroes into their delegations as arrayed against the lily-whites of Dixie.

Chicago, Ill.

In one instance only was the lily-white group successful in putting over its program and this was in the Florida case where the complete reversal of a Negro on the delegation aided the case against a regularly constituted delegation which had been formed by the due processes of the law under the Florida code.

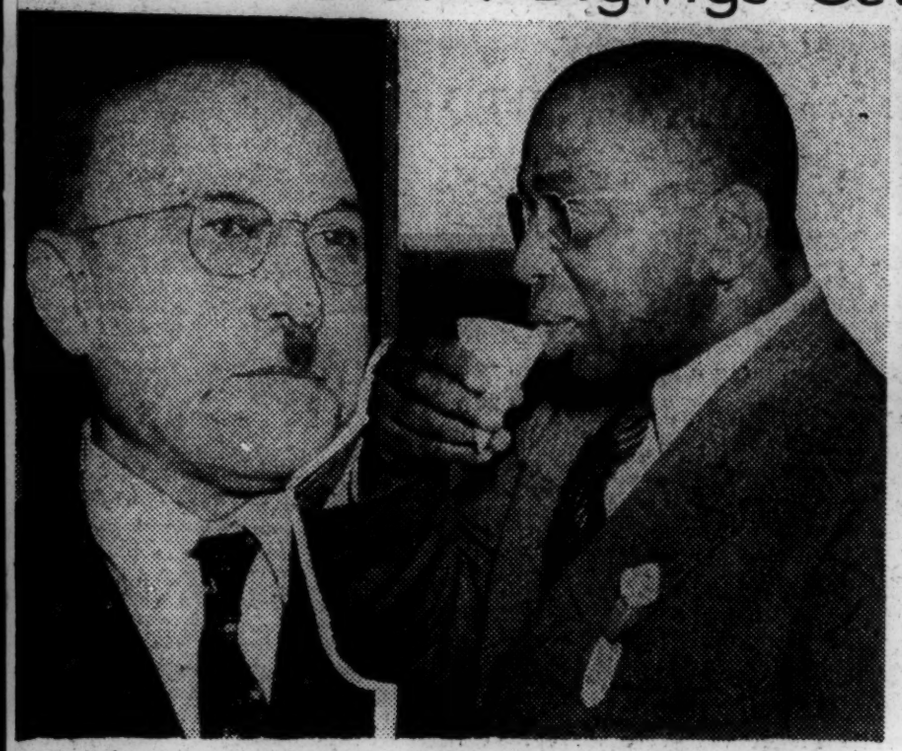
Wins by One Vote Only

Only one vote won the decision for this lily-white group in Florida, for the final count in the executive session was 25 to 24 for the J. Leonard Replogle group of lily-whites, which used J. Leonard Lewis, a young Negro lawyer, as the alibi against the accusation that it was a lily-white group.

"There is no Negro problem in Florida," said Mr. Lewis, whose testimony was to the effect that Negroes participated in all political activities in his state. This statement was met with cat-calls, boos and jeers from the crowded room, making the chairman, Mr. Bernard of Michigan, warn against demonstrations.

In this three way contest one Joseph Q. Stokes, a Jacksonville resident, who had been battling for a position as delegate-at-large brought to the atttention of the committee several startling facts, one being that the delegation which sought to hold its seat had been illegally appointed under laws which had been superseded in 1939. He, as a Negro, had experienced difficulty in having has name put on the ballot for election but finally did so and came to Philadelphia in an effort to test the legality of the former committee.

G.O.P. Bigwigs Get Heads Together at Nomi



Judging from the smile that adorns the face of Perry W. Howard (left) he has a rather optimistic outlook on his party's Presidential chances this fall. (At right) Baltimore's Republican leader, Marse Callaway, took time out to refresh himself with a drink of water.

Clyde Barrie (left) baritone of the Columbia Broadcasting System's artist bureau, led the entire Republican National Convention in "America," when the sessions opened. On the right is the Rev. Dr. Albert J. McCartney of Washington, D.C., who led the prayer.

Wilkie's Intrusion Causes Fear Party Has Been Injured

Globe-6/28/40

Globe Editor In Philadelphia To Interpret Republican Party's Deliberations, Says Dewey And Taft Are Favorites Of Negro Delegates

By L. D. Williams

Philadelphia, Pa., June 25—Delegates from all of the 48 states of the Union, from the territories and the District of Columbia met here on Monday, June 24 in what promised to be the most momentous convention the party has held since the Civil War.

By time this issue of the Nashville Globe reaches its readers they will have heard of the outcome of the convention as pertains to nominees and platform declarations. Those readers who have listened in on the radio have as good a knowledge of what went on in the convention as we who are here in the Convention hall.

But what those who are absent do not know is the [illegible] that the warring [illegible] waged outside the co[illegible]

The Republicans [illegible] confident when they met here for their 22nd quadrennial convention. But there was fear among many leaders that the bitterness that was injected into the fight for the Presidential nomination as result of the candidacy of Wendell Wilkie, may have upset plans for a harmonious ending of the convention's deliberations.

Mr. Wilkie, a 2-year old Republican, has made quite a spectacular campaign for the highest honor of the party. This has been resented by the rank and file Republicans and it became necessary to take drastic steps to stop the Wilkie boom. Many of the members of Congress up for re-election went on record publicly in an appeal to the delegates, saying that Mr. Wilkie's nomination would split the party. Most Republicans believe in party loyalty and in giving the high honors to those who always support party nominees. Wilkie was a New Dealer in 1932 and is looked upon as a sort of Roosevelt "Fifth Columnist" who has been entered in the Republican contest for a sinister purpose.

Colored Republicans here were largely divided between Thomas E. Dewey and Senator Robert A. Taft. Both men are powerful vote-getters among Colored citizens and both enjoy the highest confidence of the Negro race.

Colored party leaders were conspicuous around the headquarters of Senator Taft in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, and in the Dewey Headquarters in the Walton Hotel.

The Hon. Perry W. Howard, National Committeeman from Mississippi was the most prominent Colored leader for the Taft forces, while Frances E. Rivers, an assistant to District Attorney Dewey, was the New Yorker's key man. Mrs. Eunice Carter, brilliant woman assistant to Mr. Dewey, was also an active member of the Dewey board of strategy.

Senator William E. King, candidate for Congress from Chicago headed the Illinois delegation of Colored boosters for Dewey and had the important assignment of seconding Dewey's nomination. Under the leadership of the Hon. B. Carroll Reece, Tennessee played a conspicuous part in the convention's deliberations. Mr. Reece joined the group of Congressmen who protested against nominating Mr. Wilkie for President.

One of the real big men at this convention is Dr. Emmett J. Scott, a member of the Publicity staff of the Republican National Committee. Dr. Scott had an office in the Bellevue-Stratton Hotel, and did a fine job of providing accommodations for the Negro Press at the Convention.

Republicans of Tennessee and all other parts of the South need to take note of the action this convention has taken regarding "Voteless districts." The convention unanimously adopted a rule requiring a minimum of 1,000 votes to give a district a delegate. That number may be raised in the future, and unless Southern Republicans begin to cast votes on election day in something like the numbers cast in districts of the North, the South will find itself deprived of any real strength in the Republican party. Get citizens to qualify to vote and see to it that they vote on election day is this convention's warning to the South and it deserves to become the South's watchword for the future.

A full report of the convention, with interpretation of the significance of what takes place, as it applies to Negro citizens is the purpose of the Nashville Globe in sending its own representative to Philadelp

RACIAL BANS IN DEFENSE FORCES SCORED

By TED POSTON
(Staff Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, July 3.—As predicted exclusively by The Pittsburgh Courier, the Republican party was on record this week with the strongest plank in its history for the abolition of discrimination against Negroes.

Unqualified opposition to bans against Negroes in the armed forces of the country, universal suffrage and anti-lynching legislation were featured in the plank which was included in the 1940 G. O. P platform Wednesday.

LOGAN INSISTED UPON PLANK

The Pittsburgh Courier's Committee on Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program was credited with the stress which the Republican platform placed on the question of discrimination in the armed forces. Dr. Rayford Logan, chairman of the committee, insisted upon the insertion of the plank by the G. O. P. Resolutions Committee.

The Negro plank, as adopted last Wednesday, reads:

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the army, navy and all other branches of the government must cease.

"To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

The plank was loudly applauded when the platform was read to the assembled delegates in Convention Hall.

The Committee will seek the inclusion of a similar plank in the Democratic platform as a means of furthering its fight on discrimination against Negroes in the country's armed forces.

Klan Fight Recalled By Dr. Scott In Supporting Willkie

Says He Has Pledged Justice To Negroes

Daily World

BY EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The nomination of Wendell L. Willkie for President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia has been hailed by Colored Republicans throughout the country with enthusiasm.

Telegrams by the hundreds were received by the nominee at Philadelphia, and at Republican National Headquarters, from Colored citizens expressing gratification that so militant a warrior has been commissioned to carry the Republican standard during the coming months of the Presidential campaign.

What particularly commends Mr. Willkie to the favor of Colored Republicans is the attitude he took in 1924 in opposing the Ku Klux Klan FORTUNE MAGAZINE for April, 1940, calls attention to the fact that he "led and won the battle against the Ku Klux Klan 1924-26".

FOUGHT FOR SMITH

CURRENT HISTORY, for Feb. 1940, also called attention to Mr. Willkie's attitude toward the Ku Klux Klan in the following: "As delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1924, he fought for the nomination of Al Smith over William Gibbs McAdoo, because Mr. McAdoo was backed by the Ku Klux Klan." During the proceedings, the Ohio Delegation of which he was a member, was polled and Mr. Willkie was recorded as favoring the adoption of the following resolution: "We pledge the Democratic Party to oppose any effort on the part of the Ku Klux Klan or any organization to interfere with the religious liberty or political freedom of any citizen."

This position was taken by him 16 years ago when he had no thought or idea of even being considered, for the Presidency.

In an informal interview with a room-full of Colored delegates at Philadelphia during the Convention, Mr. Willkie was subjected to a bit of frank questioning by him. He did not equivocate or evade. He said to them:

"Look. I want your support. I need it. But get this: irrespective of whether Negroes go down the lane for me, they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair proportion of appointments. their fair representation in policy making. They'll get the same consideration that every other citizen gets.

"Now I want you to be with me organization's position." He said

"Our country faces the world challenge to democracy. To achieve the united whole necessary to meet this challenge we must make our largest outstanding minority feel that they are included as an organic part.

"We cannot exist" said Abraham Lincoln, 'half slave and half free' and we are called now to remove the last remnants of slavery from the consciousness of all our citizens.

"The need of maintaining the faith of the Negro in American institutions on the one hand and of removing the cause of racial friction on the other was never so great as now."

NEGRO STILL IDLE

The League's statement dwelt on the fact that although in many centers private employers are beginning to take workers back in increasing numbers, nowhere is the organization receiving any indication of impartiality by these employers. "Negroes are not returning to private industry in the same proportion as whites are being reemployed," it pointed out.

"This is due not only to the attitude of employers but also to that of many labor unions and employment agencies, public and private, which have refused often to register Negroes in certain categories and to recommend them to employers if registered, although frequently employers have not expressed a preference as to race."

A vigorous protest also was lodged against the discrimnation practiced by the Federal government in the matter of giving employment to its citizens.

"The merit system, fairly administered, in civil employment, is a concomitant of democracy," the statement said. "Negroes should be given the opportunity to serve in every avenue of public service, whether they are in the civil departments of the Government or in the armed forces."

Disappointed Lilywhites Line Up Behind W. Wilkie When Perry Howard Loses

Dispatch

Allege That New Organization Will Help Save The State of Mississippi for White Supremacy

7-13-40

Anti-New Deal Democrats To Join

Oklahoma City

JACKSON.—(ANP)—A movement, launched by George Shelden, former member of the Mississippi legislature, and others of the lily white faction of Republicans in this state, got under way this week to promote the candidacy of Wendell Wilkie for the presidency.

The lily whites failed to get recognition at the Philadelphia convention, when Perry Howard and his group won the fight before the credentials committee, but reallying for the nomination of Wilkie ,they came out ahead when Howard and his delegation went down in defeat with Taft as their candidate up to the last ballot.

Lily white leaders declare that it is their idea that thousands of conservative Democrats and anti-New Dealers in Mississippi would prefer Wilkie to Roosevelt or any other man the Democratic party is likely to nominate at the Chicago convention. Inviting this group to join the Wilkie-for-President movement, a mass meeting has been arranged to convene here soon.

Race Active As Nat'l GOP Convention Opens

Nine Bishops Sit On Rostrum

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP)— This city put on its best manners for the Republican National convention which opened here officially Monday morning. Negro delegates and visitors are welcome everywhere and many are guests at the Quaker City's leading hotels. Restaurants, theatres and policemen are exercising the utmost courtesy.

However, Philadelphia is proving to be a poor convention site because of the lack of sufficient hotel accommodations and taxicabs for the huge throngs present.

The clergy was well represented, with no fewer than nine bishops sitting upon the platform at various times through arrangements made by Perry Howard and Dr. Emmett J. Scott. Bishops Sims, Gregg and Green of the AME Church; M. E. Bishops Jones, Shaw and King; and Bishops Kyle, Wallace and Brown of the AME Zions were those present.

COL. DAVIS PRESENT

In addition to the bishops, others on the platform were Col. B. O. Davis, highest ranking Negro army officer, and President E. Shepard of North Carolina College, Durham.

Clyde Barrie, famous radio and concert singer whose programs over CBS have attracted wide attention, was the first colored American on the convention program. He sang 'America' immediately after Chairman John Hamilton called the meeting to order, and was heartily applauded.

A spirit, cooperative and hopeful pervaded the colored delegates; nearly everyone seemed satisfied with the consideration being given and the attention showered upon them. Even the contests went off amicably for the most part. The Perry Howard faction in Mississippi won out after a hearing in which pathos, humor and the usual contest charges flew. The two colored alternates at large from South Carolina were given the proxies of the white delegates at large and sat proudly with their white brethren; Louisiana's lily-white contestants did not show up and Georgia for once had little friction. Florida seated two delegates and two alternates.

MRS. CARTER ACTIVE

Dewey's headquarters in the Walton Hotel, presided over by Francis Ellis Rivers and Eunice Hunton Carter with many assistants and plenty of refreshments, was a rendezvous downtown. Sara Pelham Speaks, Mrs. Hays, Norman Johnson and Harry Webber were among the welcoming committee.

Taft Headquarters in the Bellevue Stafford where everyone was welcome and also headquarters out in the Douglass Hotel where Perry Howard, Col. E. L. Patton and Dr. Redmond were in evidence attracted many persons. Headquarters sprang up over night in the colored district for Gannett and Wilkie with unknowns manning them and George Harris boosting for Wilkie.

Bob Church, one of the significant political figures, is associated with Joe Pew, Philadelphia boss. Mr. Church is working for Governor James with Mr. Hoover in the background.

Accredited Negro delegates and alternates seated were: S. A. Jones, Arkansas; J. Leonard Lewis, Sam B. Solomon, Florida; Ben J. Davis, F. C. Gassett, Georgia; Clarence S. Wigfall, William E. King, Illinois; George R. Tipper, G. W. Saffell, Kentucky; James Lewis, Jr. Louisiana; Dr. J. H. Lowery, Dr. J. A. Hardin, Dr. J. Leslie Jones, Maryland; Chas. A. Roxborough, Michigan; Perry W. Howard, Mississippi; S. D. Redmond, E. L. Patton, M. H. Daily, W. J. Box, Fed H. Miller, C. T. Butler, J. B. Woods, Mississippi; A. M. Redmond, William A. Morant, Missouri; Rev. Lorenzo H. King, New York; Lawrence O. Payne, Ohio; Perry Brooks Jackson, J. Harvey Batts, Pennsylvania; Robert R. Church, Tennessee; J. Franklin Wilson, District of Columbia; I. M. A. Myers, South Carolina; James Bier, South Carolina.

Alternates were: Bishop S. L. Green, Arkansas; John L. Webb, S. A. Hibbler, Fred Roberts. California; Mrs. Carie M. Pipes, Delaware; David S. Dwight, Florida; C. T. Williams, B. F. Cofer, Georgia; Dr. H. Van Buren, W. L. Hughes, Adolphus N. Gordon, Illinois; Mrs. Grace Evans, Indiana; Mrs. Beatrice Childs, Kansas; Dr. W. P. Offutt, Kentucky; Dr. R. P. Creuzot, Louisiana; J. L. Hatcher, Herbert S. Wilson, Maryland; Calvin Anderson, William Randall Mrs. Mary C. Booze, Mississippi; Mrs. Carl Crome, Missouri; Mrs. Gladys Stewart; Mrs. Maude T. Oswald, George W. Fields; Dr. Marcus Wheatland, New Jersey; Mrs. Sarah S. Washington, Malvin B. Johnson, George E. Bibecan, New York; A. W. G. Sango Oklahoma; Charles Chandler, John R. Logan, Pennsylvania; Price Edwoods, R. C. Grant, Tennessee; Dr. J. T. Walson, Texas; G. E. Ferguson West Virginia; William Sanders, Dr. John R. Francis, District of Columbia.

MINISTERS AS POLITICIANS

THE BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN asked editorially last week, "How smart are Mr. Willkie's advisers?" and intimated that if they are smart they will not mix politics and religion in this campaign by naming a bishop or minister to lead the drive for Negro votes. There is no grave moral or religious issue in this campaign, and most bishops are too busy with church administration to hire themselves out as campaign directors and political agents, The Afro concludes.

We happen to know that despite this assurance, a number of ministers are aspiring for leadership in the setup of the Republican national campaign. A petition was being circulated in Harlem last week in which the name of a prominent churchman was being offered as the ideal person to head the Republican campaign among Negroes. We refused to sign the petition. not because of any personal dislike for the party in question but because we, like The Afro-American, believe that it is unwise to mix politics and religion.

In our opinion, ministers can best serve their people in an advisory capacity on spiritual affairs rather than by trying to direct them in temporal matters. Ministers should be men of peace. Politics stirs up strife and bitter partisanship and usually divides people who are ordinarily friends into warring camps during the heat of the campaign. Ministers who partcipate in these fights usually find that they have created factionalism within their own religious group that may require years to end.

All citizens have the right and civic duty to take a stand on all questions of interest to the general welfare of the people but we don't think that a minister has the time or should have the inclination to lead a political battle which oft-times is not conducted according to the Marquis of Queensbury rules. The kind of politics played in the church is not the kind played by such political machines as Tammany Hall, or is it?

SAY REPUBLICANS READY TO APPOINT NEGRO PARTY HEADS

CHICAGO. —(ANP)— Increased activity in Republican political circles was noticeable this week as reports were circulated that the Negro personnel of the GOP campaign organization was about to be selected and soon would be announced. The rumors probably started because former Chairman John Hamilton came into town and opened headquarters at 120 South LaSalle street. Mr. Hamilton who has reshuffled his official position to become assistant chairman will have charge of the entire western area. Mr. Hamilton did not confer with any of the colored leaders but various political stalwarts are presenting plans, outlining effective personnal and quietly urging their own availability.

It appears that former state Senator William E. King of Chicago, who with Thomas J. Nutter of West Virginia, was named on the Willkie advisory committee, is not ambitious for leadership in the campaign, eastern or western. Mr. King is a candidate for congress and his friends point out that the enmities collected as head of a bureau rarely benefit a candidate. Mr. King would like, however, so it is reported, to have a hand in naming the director.

Dr. Williams Declines

Dr. L. K. Williams, who was chairman of the entire colored division four years ago, declines to permit his name to be mentioned for the post. Dr Williams, who is reputedly Senator King's political mentor, is said to be interested in any slant which affairs may take toward activity among religious bodies and would expect to be an influence in that direction.

The most active candidate for the post is Oscar DePriest, former congressman. Mr. DePriest began early, right at the Republican convention. He was one of the first Negro leaders to meet Candidate Wilkie at Philadelphia and it is said that DePriest made a most favorable impression upon the presidential aspirant. Age and the fact that he has lost his last several political battle are said to be DePriest's chief deterrents. He has lined up every force at his command, however, and had a mutual white friend arrange a conference last week with Senator King, lone one of his political enemies, to ask King's support.

A formidable and popular figure for the leadership is Attorney Cornelius R. Richardson of Richmond of the colored Republican state committee in Indiana. In the 1936 campaign he was assistant to Dr. L. K. Williams and has figured largely in several national campigns.

Other Chicagoans Mentioned

Numerous other Chicago leaders are being mentioned for various posts, among them being Atty. Joseph D. Bibb, former editor of the Chicago Whip; Atty Patrick D. Prescott who was associated with the same paper and recently was defeated when he ran for the Republican nomination for congress. All of these are encouraged by Mr. Willkie's declaration that new faces are needed in the headquarter's set-up. This is taken to mean that Messrs. Church, Simmons and Howard will not be in control. It is hard to see how Mr. Howard can be counted out since he is a full-fledged member of the national committee but these rumors are part of the fantastic stories floating around about the financial and bizzare activities which took place in the last campaign.

Ind. Richardson has charge of arrangements at Elwood, Ind. for the Willkie notification ceremony. For eight or 10 years he was chairman

Army Jim-Crowism Important Question For GOP Convention

Pittsburgh Courier 6/28/40

THE Assistant Adjutant General of the Third Corps Area of the United States Army, whose headquarters are in Baltimore, Md., has sent to the press a chart in which is described in glowing terms the advantages of enlistment in the United States Army.

Philadelphia, Pa.

This chart, beginning at the age a lad enlists, arbitrarily placed at 18, shows the various stages through which it is possible for him to rise in 30 years, when he will be eligible for retirement on pension for life and "still young enough to follow in civilian life the trade learned in the U. S. Army, with monthly pension coming in on the side."

Salaries are listed beginning with the raw recruit's pay of $21.00 per month, up to the master sergeant's pay of $157.50. There is, the chart shows, an opportunity to learn trades having to do with the engineering corps, the signal corps, the medical department, the quartermaster corps, the air corps, the ordnance department, the finance department, cavalry, C. W. S. infantry, field artillery and C.A.C.

Unfortunately, this chart, which we are asked to display "on a bulletin board or show window" is not intended for colored men. Colored applicants for enlistment in the U. S. Army are turned down constantly by the recruiting offices in Philadelphia, or are referred to some recruiting station hundreds of miles away.

The present colored army units, stationed in the South, are being gradually reduced to service groups, despite their splendid war record. Most of the men are servants for officers and their wives and are assigned to the most menial occupations. In addition, they are not given the training in modern military methods and in the use of modern equipment in the various corps areas when maneuvers are held. Few, if any, of them will attain the master sergeant's rating, no matter how long they remain in the service. Within the past few weeks a colored man with considerably more than 30 years' service was retired with the rank of corporal.

The Republican National Convention meets in Philadelphia. This convention has a Resolutions committee, before which there appear men and women with all kinds of propositions which they would like to have written into the party's platform.

Colored leaders should appear before this Resolutions committee, with propositions carefully thought out and reduced to writing, and with recommendations for the specific betterment of the colored American citizen for insertion in the platform which the Convention will be asked to adopt.

This matter of jim-crowism in the armed forces of the United States is one of the matters well worth attention and one on which the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties should be given an opportunity to take a stand.

Republicans Plan For Campaign

WHEN the Republicans meet in Philadelphia next Monday to write a platform and nominate their candidates for President and Vice-President they will be faced with a task more difficult than any which has confronted the party in recent years.

Jackson Sun

But the Republicans have been preparing for difficult tasks. The party's national organization has been working hard during the past four years, for just such a day as this, although until recently it was thought it would be the New Deal singly with which the party would have to do battle, and not the New Deal plus a war consciousness with its dislike for partisan politics.

6-22-40

In view of present world conditions it is safe to say that when the Republicans have formulated their platform it will be a document which most Americans will regard as being sound. That is to say that it will not differ, except as to methods, with the sort of platform the Democrats may be expected to adopt at Chicago next month.

It will not propose to abolish the New Deal's social security system, although some modifications may be suggested. It will not vary a great deal from the foreign policy of the present administration, and it will call no halt to preparations for national defense, but the present administration may be denounced for not spending some of the Public Works billions which have been disbursed for relief purposes on building up the army and navy. The Republicans may be expected to capitalize our present unpreparedness for defense against the European war lords.

Leading the list of contenders for the nomination for President are Thomas E. Dewey, of New York; Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio; Wendell Willkie, of New York, and Senator Arthur Vandenburg, of Michigan. In recent weeks Mr. Wilkie's star has been rising, while Mr. Dewey's has been declining. Senator Taft is an in-between conservative.

Colored Republicans from the northern states will figure more largely than ever as a factor in this convention. The party's idea is to recapture the important colored vote. Barring America's actual involvement in the European war there is going to be an exciting campaign. If war comes closer, the campaign will be milder, and the Republicans will concentrate upon capturing as many new seats in Congress as possible.

Republicans Begin 1940 Convention

Daily World

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.— (SNS)— The Republican national convention got off to a flying start here Monday. The keynote address was sounded Monday night by young Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, who criticized the New Deal at several instances and pledged the Republicans to bring back "real American" government to the United States.

Atlanta Ga.

Wendell Willkie, utilities executive, was making a big bid for the presidential nomination, despite the "sewed up" delegations for Thomas E. Dewey and Senator Robert A. Taft. A "stop Wilkie" drove was launched after several congressmen and others signed statements that he was not a "real Republican".

Scores of colored delegates from the south are here attending the convention session, as well as the large numbers from the northern sectors.

Maryville, Tenn. Times
October 31, 1940

NEGRO REPUBLICAN RALLY ON SATURDAY

A negro Republican rally will be held Saturday afternoon at 1:30 at the Hale High school. James C. Bussell and Charles Davis of Knoxville will be the speakers. Free eats wil be served.

Maryville, Tenn. Times
October 31, 1940

Willkie, Lynch Bill

Joe Louis, the negro heavyweight boxing champion, and a native of Alabama, took the political stump yesterday.

He blamed Mr. Roosevelt for blocking enactment of a federal anti-lynching law, and urged negroes to vote for Mr. Willkie, "because he will do what the President has failed to accomplish."

This, we know, will be good news to some of our good ex-Democrats around here who see in Mr. Willkie the nation's political salvation.

Yet now they are lined up for Willkie who, according to Joe Louis —and he apparently knows what he is talking about—is for the notorious Gahagan bill that would strip states and counties of all sovereignty when a lynching occurs in them, transfer the case to a federal court, and make a county liable for a $10,000 fine, payable to the family of the man lynched.

Some of our foreign friends are sort o' broken up because we haven't had any draft riots.

* * *

Japan, with regard to war materials, is now put on a progressive reducing diet.

* * *

Rural electrification has been extended to 100,000 of New York state's 168.000 farms.

Race To Be Active In GOP Convention

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Republican National Convention which meets in Philadelphia beginning June 24 will be called to order at noon Monday by the Hon. John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican national committee.

This is the twenty-first quadrennial gathering of the members of the Republican Party to nominate candidates for president and vice-president of the United States. It is the fourth Republican convention to be held in Philadelphia.

BISHOP TO PRAY

Bishop John A. Gregg of the fourth episcopal district, African Methodist Episcopal Church, is to be one of the chaplains of the convention and an outstanding musical representative of the race will be asked to sing "America," or some other patriotic selections, at one of the opening sessions.

There has been compiled at Republican national committee headquarters a list of 83 colored delegates and alternates, regular and contesting, who will be attending the convention. These colored delegates and alternates will come from Arkansas, California, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Maryland, Michigan, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas and West Virginia.

PROMINENT DELGATES

Among these delegates and alternates will be some of the most prominent members of the race including one Republican national committeeman and one Republican national committeewoman — Perry W. Howard and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, both of Mississippi; Bishop S. L. Greene, of the A. M. E. Church of Little Rock, Arkansas, as an alternate-delegate-at-large; J. Leonard Lewis, business man of Jacksonville, as a delegate-at-large from Florida. Contesting from the same state is Attorney Samuel D. McGill and Joe H. James.

Georgia is sending two delegates-at-large, the redoubtable Benjamin J. Davis and F. C. Gassett, and two colored alternates-at-large, with Clarence S. Wigfall of Augusta as a district delegate.

Jacob R. Tipper, editor of the Chicago World, will be representing the first congressional district of Illinois; G. W. Saffell is the delegate-at-large from Kentucky.

Among the delegates and alternates from Louisiana are James Lewis, Jr., New Orleans, and Dr. J. H. Lowery of Donaldsonville, delegates-at-large; Dr. P. P. Cruezot and J. L. Hatcher, both of New Orleans, with Dr. R. M. Baranco of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, delegate, contesting.

LARGEST CONTINGENT

S. D. Redmond, Republican state chairman of Mississippi, is a delegate-at-large. The Mississippi delegation has the largest colored contingent. Missouri is sending a delegate-at-large, William A. Morant of St. Louis and a district delegate, Sidney R. Redmond of St. Louis.

Attorney Charles A. Roxborough of Detroit, chosen from the first congressional district, is the only colored representative from Michigan. Mr. Roxborough is at present chairman of the United District Congressional Organization and was recently appointed by Governor Dickinson a member of the appeal board of the Unemployment Compensation Commission of Michigan for a term of six years.

NEW YORK REPRESENTED

Dr. Lorenzo H. King of St. Marks M. E. Church comes from the 21st congressional district of New York City. Lawrence O. Payne, delegate-at-large and Perry Brooks Jackson, district delegate, both of Cleveland, are the colored representation on the Ohio delegation.

Texas sends an alternate delegate-at-large, Dr. J. T. Walton of San Antonio.

West Virginia will be represented by Capt. J. E. Ferguson of Charleston as an alternate-at-large, and by W. W. Sanders, also of Charleston, district alternate. Both of the contesting delegations from South Carolina have colored representation.

ENTERTAINMENT

Elaborate preparations are being made for the entertainment of colored delegates and their friends by representative local arrangement committees. There is very assurance that these delegates will receive all the courtesies accorded other delegates and visitors in attendance at the Convention. Banquets, garden parties, dances and speech-making gatherings are being provided for the enjoyment of all who will be present.

Other entertainments provided for the hosts of persons who will descend upon the city will include a repetition of the Annual New Year's Day event, the "Mummer's Parade," a Water Pageant on the Schuylkill River, also visits to Philadelphia's places of historical interest, including Independence Hall with its famed Liberty Bell and Declaration Room, the Betsy Ross House and Old Christ Church. Opportunity will also be offered delegates to visit Valley Forge.

"PATRIOTISM"

One of the most notable of these special events will occur at 5 p. m. on Monday, June 24, the opening day of the convention, when all the delegates and officers of the convention will assemble in Independence Square before Independence Hall, with the doors of that edifice open, exposing the Liberty Bell to the view of the audience.

The theme of this meeting is to be "Patriotism and Americanism." Short addresses will be made by Chairman John Hamilton, and Former U. S. Senator George Wharton Pepper of Pennsylvania. Richard Crooks, of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will sing a new song especially composed for the occasion, the "Cradle of Liberty." There will also be special music by Lulu Temple Shrine Band of 100 pieces and by the Philadelphia Orpheus Club.

Distinguished colored men and women from all parts of the country, representing achievements in many fields of activity, are among those who have indicated their intention of being present during the deliberations of the convention.

The convention will be in session, beginning Monday, June 24, for at least four days and probably also, if necessary, through June 28. Colored delegates undoubtedly will serve on all convention committees and will be well represented in the deliberations of the convention. One thousand delegates will constitute the full convention personnel and precisely the same number of alternates.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
June 26, 1940

Strife Rocks Georgia G. O. P. At Philadelphia

Delegates Get Good Posts But Choice of Candidate Is Problem.

Members of the Georgia delegation to the Republican national convention in Philadelphia yesterday had been assigned to important posts on convention committees, but strife within the group had blocked selection of a national committeeman and left the delegation at odds over which candidate to support, according to Associated Press dispatches.

Wilson Williams, Woodbury farmer and secretary of the state committee, was named to the resolutions committee; Ben J. Davis, Atlanta Negro and national committeeman under Harding and Coolidge, went on the credentials committee, while J. O. Hipp, of Ellijay, was assigned to the rules committee.

Candidates for the post of national committeeman are Harry Sommers, chairman of the group, Atlanta automobile dealer and personal friend of Thomas E. Dewey; J. H. Crummey, of Rochelle, partisan of Frank Gannett, and James W. Arnold, of Athens, the incumbent. Arnold has been proposed by the state committee for re-election.

An early caucus which resulted in Sommers' election as chairman of the delegation failed to elect a national committeeman and showed the delegation divided in their allegiance to the candidates. Senators Taft and Vandenberg, Dewey and Gannett all received some support. What effect the Wendell Willkie drive would have on the split was not indicated.

WILLKIE BACKER DENOUNCES BILBO STORY AS FALSE

Offers $1000 for Red Cross If Senator Can Prove Allegation

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Jackson, Miss., Oct. 19.—The organization of "Willkie Democrats of Mississippi," through Cocampaign Manager Sam V. Anderson, Greenville, attorney, today offered to contribute $1000 to the American Red Cross for "proof" of an assertion by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo that Wendell L. Willkie's father once lived in Columbus, Miss., under the name of John Stover about 1894.

Text of Mr. Anderson's statement follows:

"Senator Bilbo's statement which appeared last Sunday caused dozens of requests for comment by the headquarters, but knowing it to be Mr. Willkie's policy to ignore the many scurrilous attacks being made on his family over the country, we remained silent. The matter has now taken a turn which requires answer.

"Several papers printed a story asserting that Senator Bilbo charged Mr. Willkie's father resided at Columbus in 1894 under the alias of John Stover and that Bilbo declined to go further for quotation.

"As responsible head of the Willkie Democrats of Mississippi I charge that Senator Bilbo said to the press in addition to his quoted words, that Mr. Willkie's father was in 1894 hiding out at Columbus, a refugee from Indiana to escape the consequences of a crime involving a real estate deal and that he was extradited and taken to Indiana under the name of John Stover. Further, I brand the report as an utter falsehood, and a manifestation of the wave of hoodlumism which has swept over the country and is just now reaching Mississippi.

"The Willkie Democrats of Mississippi will give $1000 to the American Red Cross for proof of the Bilbo story or any substantial part thereof. Being under obligation to observe a decent restraint even if our opposition does not, I cannot characterize this episode as it deserves.

"Stories are coming in daily about like smears of our candidate's family in other sections. No wonder the nationwide polls show that the tide has with a great roar turned toward Willkie."

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Spingarn Says Negro Will Not Accept Meaningless Platitudes In Platforms

Herbert Hyde Hears Head of Militant Organization Argue for Real GOP Platform

N. A. A. C. P. Gets Hearing

PHILADELPHIA.—"The 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States are not going to be satisfied with a lot of meaningless platitudes and empty phrases this year", declared Arthur Spingarn, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, during a conversation last Friday evening with Herbert K. Hyde, temporary chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention.

"Unless you put something into the platform which indicates definitely how you stand on the anti-lynching bill, the poll tax and the right of the Negro to be integrated into every branch of the armed forces of the nation you are not going to impress the black man who has at last become of age so far as voting is concerned," Spingarn continued.

Before the Association Committee could arrange to appear before the Republican Resolutions Committee it had adjourned. Editor Roscoe Dunjee, a personal friend of Hyde, arranged a conference with the Committee Chairman. Hyde and Roy, St. Louis, former U. S. District Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma, now a Washington lawyer, came to Editor Dunjee's room at the Attucks and walked to the Tindley Temple, where the conference was held.

Hyde assured Spingarn that the Resolutions tho late would be given consideration by him.

There follows the text of the N. A. A. C. P. statement to the Republican National Resolutions Committee:

TO THE REPUBLICAN NAT'L CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA, Pa., JUNE 24, 1940:

Upon no part of the American population are the repercussions of the European War so immediate or far-reaching as upon millions American Negroes due to the handicaps and disadvantages to which one-tenth of our national population has been subjected for the past three centuries. As steps towards remedying these disparities, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on behalf of its national board and its 600 branches, youth councils and college chapters located in 41 states and the District of Columbia, urges upon the platform committee and the convention of the Republican Party the inclusion of planks setting forth the following principles:

1. Armed Service

We urge that Negroes be integrated into every branch of the armed service of our government without discrimination. There is open and notorious discrimination against colored Americans in every branch of the armed forces. It is obvious that it is treasonable folly to exclude from the potential strength of our country one-tenth of its population at a time when our maximum defense strength is so urgently needed.

2. Anti-Lynching Bill

We urge the immediate passage of the federal anti-lynching bill and the nivoking of cloture in the United States Senate if necessary to overcome a filibuster. This issue of mob violence transcends race and color, though Negroes have been the chief sufferers from this loathsome evil. All of the three lynchings during 1940 have been of white Americans, and many of the narrowly avoided mobbings have also been of white persons. Subversive forces will take advantage of the disregard of the duly constituted agencies of law enforcement unless the power of the federal government is brought to bear against dangerous mob violence at a time like this.

3. The Vote

We condemn the legal and extra-legal methods by which most Negro Americans and many white Americans are denied the right to vote in certain sections of our country. We urge vigorous action, legislative and of every other nature, to end disfranchisement by means of the poll tax, the exclusion from so-called white democratic primaries, and by force, intimidation, and fraud. We condemn all vestiges of lily-whitism.

4. Employment

We urge abolition of the color line in employment in all tax financed projects. We urge active support of legislation by the Congress to prohibit discrimination on account of race, creed or color in such projects. We further urge amendment of the National Labor Relations Act to prohibit any labor union which habitually discriminates in the matter of membership on account of race, creed, or color by constitutional provision, ritualistic practice or otherwise, from being designated as the sole bargaining agency for workers.

5. Federal Aid

We urge the inclusion of effective safeguards in all legislation providing for federal aid to education, health, housing, relief, tenant and farm aid programs, and other services.

6. Social Security Act

We urge amendment of the Social Security Act to extend its benefits to agriculture, domestic, and casual labor.

7. Federal Appointments

Under all administrations for several decades there has been a steady decline in the number of qualified Negroes appointed to administrative policy making posts in the national government. We urge the abolition of a color bar in such appointments to the end that the American government may have the services of trained, loyal, Negro Americans.

8. Civil Rights

Throughout certain sections of the United States, Negroes are denied their full citizenship rights in flagrant violation of the Civil Rights Acts of the United States. The Department of Justice has been in many instances notoriously reluctant to enforce these statutes when the rights of Negroes are involved. We urge that the Department of Justice and the United States attorney generals take all necessary steps uncompromisingly to insure full enforcement of the present federal statutes prohibiting the denial of citizenship of the United States all their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

WILLKIE IS GUEST AT REPUBLICAN HARMONY DINNER

Tribune 7-13-40

Thomas G. Nutter and William King Named On Advisory Board

Washington, D.C.

Thomas G. Nutter, of Charleston, W.Va., and William King, of Chicago, were among the ten new persons named to the advisory committee of the Republican party, announced Monday at the G.O.P. congressional harmony dinner at the Willard Hotel.

Youthful Gov. Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota will play a prominent part in the campaign as chairman of the committee.

All Republican Senators and Congressmen were present, including Senators Robert A. Taft, Arthur H. Vandenberg and Styles Bridges, recent contestants, with Wendell Willkie for the Republican presidential nomination.

Mr. Willkie and Senator Charles L. McNary, vice-presidential nominee, were the guests of honor. Congressman Joseph W. Martin, Jr., House minority leader, presided as toastmaster.

Mr. Martin has been chosen by the nominee as national chairman and campaign manager, with John Hamilton, former national chairman, as executive director of the national committee.

To Represent Willkie

Russell Davenport, former managing editor of Fortune Magazine, who left his job to work for Willkie before the Philadelphia convention, will be the nominee's personal representative to work with Mr. Martin.

Oren Root, Jr., New York lawyer and grand-nephew of the late Elihu Root, will continue to organize independent clubs for Willkie.

It was a lively, rollicking gathering, with victory forecasts the order of the evennig.

In addition to the congressional group, the twelve members of the advisory committee set up by Mr. Willkie were present, including: Frank O. Horton of Wyoming, Ezra R. Whitla of Idaho, Mrs. Worthington Scranton of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Grace B. Reynolds of Indiana, William F. Knowland of California, Walter S. Hallanan of West Virginia;

Henry P. Fletcher of Rhode Island, counsel of the national committee; Werner W. Schroeder of Illinois, Sinclair Weeks of Massachusetts, Harrison E. Spangler of Iowa, Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., of Connecticut, and William Stern of North Dakota.

A lone representative of the Negro group, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, of the Republican National Committee staff, was present.

Dr. Scott was seated with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, Senator James J. Davis of Pennsylvania, Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, Senator Chan Gurney of South Dakota, Senator John A. Danaher of Connecticut, Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, and Walter S. Steele, managing editor of the National Republican.

Other Papers Say

The Republican Party And the Negro

Once again, as it did in 1856 during the first Presidential election which it contested, the Republican Party comes before Negro Americans at a time of national crisis. Our period is, in many respects, even graver than those fateful years which preceded the final break-up of the Southern oligarchy who sought to preserve and extend chattel slavery. We look out daily upon a morrow of the greatest uncertainty whether our country may become involved in the European war. (We share inevitably the international anxiety which Hitlerism has brought to Europe with its triumph over France and its serious challenge to Britain.

Organized section of Negro America are committed to no one political party, and fissures in their united organizational front always appear when such political unity is assumed. Negro America responds sensitively to every reaction that is characteristic of white America in shifting their traditional party allegiances and in making new alliances with those forces which they deem best able or most willing to advance their interests. It is, therefore, encouraging to see that the framers of the Republican Party platform have paid due heed to this truism. The plank on the Negro reads as follows:

"We pledge that our citizens of Negro descent shall be given a Square Deal in the economic and political life of this nation.

"Discrimination in the Civil Service, the Army, Navy, and all other branches of the Government must cease.

"To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be effective for the Negro citizen.

"Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil must be enacted."

While this enunciates a liberal and progressive attitude to the aspirations and grievances of the Negro people, it will require the acutest vigilance on the part of Negro Republicans to see that it is implemented. For example, the reference to mob violence would have gained by a forthrigh denunciation of lynching, which not even the chief executive, the leader of the rival Democratic Party, has found expedient to denounce for the evil that it is. In this way would be scotched the feelings which the actions of the late Senator William E. Borah gave rise to, that the Republican in Congress would never wholeheartedly vote for a federal anti-lynching bill during a Democratic administration, because the passage of such legislation at such a time would only make political capital for the Democrats.

Furthermore, nothing is said definitely about the abolition of the poll tax which deprives millions of Negro and white citizens of their constitutional right to vote. Fear of offending the South is hardly a legitimate motive, for the voting South has abhorred the Republican Party as the party of Abraham Lincoln, who won the undying gratitude of the Negro people by abolishing chattel slavery; when some Southern Democrats have opposed Roosevelt, it is not through love of the Republican Party, it is because his progressivism has benefited Negroes.

Only the full implementing of the party platform on the Negro will make the Republican Party once more point the way, as it did in the days of Frederick Douglass, who declared that: "the Republican Party is the ship, all else is the sea."—Boston Chronicle.

The Republican Platform

It is going to be interesting to watch the developments of the national political campaigns, because of the promising Republican platform.

Eight years ago the party under Hoover's guidance, attempting to hold the solid south who voted for him in 1928 solely because of Al Smith's religious affiliation, threw the Negro out of the window and sold him down the river. He awoke to his plight and gave his support to the New Deal which was promising anything to any one.

Under the leadership of the old guard of standpats, nothing was done to bring back this once controlled vote. They suffered defeat after defeat and the party sank to its lowest depths in history. Finally new faces got in the picture and they found out the Negro vote is a factor in 281 electoral votes, so what is the result; the best and clearest plank on the Negro question since the 13th and 14th amendments were adopted.

We must not be satisfied with this. We must watch and see what the New Deal is going to counter offer. After this is done, then we must weigh each promise against the record of the ones who make the promises.

Finally, we must vote our convictions and after delivering we must stand up and demand this plank be carried. Eternal vigilance from noy on must be our watchword to see that our gains must not be lost. —*Iowa Observer.*

Indianapolis Recorder 7-16-40

Daily Word 7-16-40 Atlanta

Enthusiastic Republicans Attend Willkie Ceremonies

By Call Staff Member

ELWOOD, Ind.—This little Willkie town of 10,000 may not be the home town of any Negroes, but the 2,000 or more colored Republicans who attended the notification ceremonies here Saturday, August 17, were made to feel as welcome as the prodigal son.

A policy of courtesy toward all, discrimination toward none prevailed throughout the city, from the leading hotel to the humblest home. Republicans who desired to do so stopped in the downtown Sidwell hotel which served meals to all who sat at its tables without the customary stares which sometimes come in downtown hotels.

There were no separate facilities or entertainment features for Negroes. Persons of all races ate at the same places, sat side by side on the platform and in the audience at the program in Callaway park. Negro and white ushers worked together to seat the multitude.

Many Negroes sat on the speakers' platform, among them George Burrs, New Jersey; Charles Roxborough and James Anderson, Detroit; Dr. Emmet J. Scott, Edgar Brown and Judge James A. Cobb, Washington; Ald. S. D. Jourdain, Evanston, Ill.; Joe Mitchell, Boston; Atty. Sara P. Speaks, New York; Osacr DePriest, William Booker, William E. King, Bishop James A. Bray and Joseph D. Bibb, Chicago.

Dr. S. D. Redmond of Jackson, Miss., was a member of the notification committee.

Confidence in Willkie

Enthusiasm over Willkie and confidence that the former Indiana boy will be the country's next President were at their highest pitch. Negro Republicans are equally enthusiastic and confident that if Willkie is the next President the same policy of non-discrimination which prevailed at Elwood will be injected into all phases of national life.

Negro Republicans believe that Willkie is sincere when he says, "I don't believe in such bunk" speaking of discrimination. They are confident that he will do something about it when he goes to the White House.

The "white house" in Elwood where Willkie was born some 40-odd years ago at 900 South A street, was a center of interest Saturday as was the Elwood high school where Willkie attended as a boy and of which his father was principal. Arrows from all parts of the town led visitors to the Willkie home and school. The Willkie frame home has been freshly painted white.

The enormous crowd of a quarter million people was handled in a most efficient manner, thanks to weeks of planning and preparing for the event. During the day, no cars were permitted on the streets of Elwood except those marked "official," "press," "service" or "guest." The cars of Mr. Average Republican were parked in super-parking lots prepared near Calloway park. Cars were routed out of the parking lots so efficiently that it was not long after the notification speech was over before hundreds were wending their way home.

It was a happy contrast to the situation in Kansas City, Mo., last Thursday when cars were jammed like sardines in a can at the Kansas City airport when Willkie landed there a few moments on his way to Indiana. Cars were bottled in the airport for an hour and a half before they could begin to find their way home.

An Interesting Spectacle

Driving through the streets of Elwood about an hour or so after the ceremonies found Willkie town an interesting spectacle. Streets were filled with spectators in motor cars and on foot. Great crowds lined the walks around the railway station where tired delegates were waiting for their special trains to leave. So many special cars crowded the tracks leading to Elwood that the train bearing the Indianapolis delegation had to take a circular route home through Richmond, Ind., traveling 140 miles one way and 280 miles round trip to get 43 miles.

Negroes formed parts of the delegations from many towns in Indiana, including Gary, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Albany, Cleveland, Louisville, and other towns.

In the parade, the Marion county, Ind., delegation was led by the Senate Street Y.M.C.A. band, of Indianapolis.

Among the prominent Republicans who were here were: Emmett J. Scott, director of publicity for the Republican party among Negroes who stopped at the Sidwell hotel: J. Finley Wilson, Exalted Ruler of the Elks; Bishop James A. Bray of Chicago; N. G. Nutter of West Virginia, and William E. King of Chicago, members of Willkie Advisory committee; Sidney R. Redmond, N. A. Sweets, William Morant, Judge Crittenden Clark. Langston Harrison, and Harold Young, the photographer, all of St. Louis.

Dr. and Mrs. McGrew, Buffalo, N. Y.; Thomas W. Miles, Los Angeles; Marse Calloway, Sr. and Jr., Baltimore; Judge Edward Henry, Earnest Wright and Robert Jackson, Philadelphia.

Scipio Jones of Little Rock, Mrs C. Booze, national committeewoman from Mississippi; Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, New York; Mrs Lethia Fleming, Cleveland; Ernest J. Patillo, I. Willis Cole, Louisville; P. G. Porter, Atchison, Kas., vice chairman of the Kansas Republican committee: Judge James A. Cobb, Washington; Oscar DePriest Chicago; Senator William King of Illinois, and many others.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Columbia, S. C. State
June 20, 1940

GOP Wrangles Over Florida Delegation

Philadelphia, June 19—(AP)—The Republican national committee failed to reach a decision today in a three-hour hearing on a contest involving the seating of the entire Florida delegation of 12 at the party's national convention.

Arguments will continue tomorrow.

The so-called "regular group" from Florida, headed by National Committeeman J. Leonard Replogle and State Chairman C. H. McNulty, contended their delegation had the right under state law and opinions of the state attorney general to be chosen by the Republican state executive committee instead of a primary.

The contesting delegation, headed by Allen E. Walker, of Winter Haven, disputed this, saying the state law provided for a primary and failed to mention selection by party committee. This group selected by the state convention agreed with the Replogle attorneys that the method was optional, but that under the national committee rules the only option is by convention where state law does not mention choice by the state committee.

E. E. Gallaway, of Lakeland, an alternate on the Replogle delegation, said Replogle (of Palm Beach and New York) had contributed thousands of dollars to "build up" the party in Florida and that Replogle "can do nore to elect a Republican president in Florida than any man in the state."

Samuel D. McGill, Jacksonville Negro, member of the Walker group, charged that Negroes "had no voice in the selection" of the Replogle delegates. Counsel for Replogle denied "any Negro question" is involved.

A telegram was read from Frank M. Gleason, Roosville, Ga., withdrawing a contest with DeWitt C. Cole, Marietta, as delegate from the Seventh Georgia district, but a decision was deferred pending confirmation of the message.

The committee is considering ten state and district challenges involving the seating of delegates. In addition to Florida and Georgia, the states include Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. The only other dispute heard today was one in Illinois.

Atlanta Republican Urges Party Nominate Roosevelt

Telegram Sent To Philadelphia Seeks National Unity

Plaindealer 6/28/40

As a move to national unity, A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney, in a telegram forwarded to Chairman John D. Hamilton, of the Republican National Committee Wednesday night urged that party now in convention at Philadelphia to nominate Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the presidency.

Mr. Walden has been for years known in Atlanta as a staunch Republican.

The telegram sent directly to the Republican Convention Headquarters read as follows:

Hon. John D. Hamilton, Chairman
Republican National Committee
Republican National Convention
Headquarters
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"If the Republican party now in National Convention assembled at this crucial period in our history desires to rise to the eminence of statesmanship, thereby making the the nation its eternal debtor it will nominate Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the presidency, and a tion to name the same candidates, thereby adjourning partisanism forward looking Republican acceptable to him as his running mate. Then we may confidently rely upon the solid dependable judgment of mass America to compel the Democratic National Convention to name the same candidates, thereby adjourning partisanism and unifying the Nation over against the Armageddon in which the life of Democracy in our world is at stake. Millions of your fellow citizens though unvocal pray that you will accept the challenge.

Signed: "Austin T. Walden
Atlanta, Georgia

G.O.P. Adopts '1,000 Rule For South

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. 6/26/40

By Associated Press

PHILADELPHIA, June 25.—Without debate, the Republican national convention seated contested Southern delegates today and quickly adopted the "thousand rule," designed to develop a two-party South.

Chairman Representative Joseph W. Martin, of Massachusetts, banged through the credentials committee report which denied seats to the South Carolina delegation headed by "Tireless Joe" Tolbert. The successful group is headed by J. Bates Gerland, of Summerton, S. C.

The same action gave seats to the Florida delegation headed by J. Leonard Replogle of Palm Beach, Fla., ousting a group headed by Allen W. Walker, of Winter Haven, Fla.

The 1,000-rule, recommended by the rules committee, is a Republican attempt to remove the South's one-party system and deny representation to districts failing to produce a consequential Republican vote.

Aimed at "cleaning up" the delegate situation in the South, where leaders have been charged with "buying" delegates in the past, and at building up the Republican party in tha tsection, the rule change had been a goal of party chieftains for more than 25 years. Other sections had complained the South had more voice in the national convention than the size of its Republican vote justified.

Under the new rule, the next convention will deny delegate representation to a congressional district failing to poll 1,000 and more Republican votes in a preceding nationol or State election. On the basis of 1936 returns, Republicans said this probably would affect only Mississippi and South Carolina. Some predicted the threat would cause the party throughout the South to poll enough votes to overcome the rule.

Republican Nominees

Tribune Washington, D.C. 6/16/40

Wendell L. Willkie and Charles L. McNary, the Republican nominees for President and Vice-President, are gaining favor each day as Negro voters study the political situation.

The Negro plank in the platform is hailed as the strongest ever included in a political party platform. The work done by the colored members of the platform committee during the past few months and the follow-up at Philadelphia last week is hailed on all sides as outstanding.

Mr. Willkie is quoted as saying at Philadelphia:

"I do not care whether the Negro delegates go down the line for me or not. The Negroes will get a fair share of appointments if I'm elected President. Furthermore, if all the Negro delegates vote against me, that stands."

"I stood up for civil liberties in this country when it was extremely unpopular to do so. I led the fight against the Ku Klux Klan in Akron, Ohio, in 1924, when every judge on the bench in that city was a member of the Klan."

Walter Johnson, the well-known former baseball pitcher and Republican nominee for Congress in the Sixth Maryland District, is counted on to win in the coming election.

WENDALL WILLKIE PLEDGES EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL GROUPS AND SEEKS SUPPORT OF NATION'S BLACK VOTERS

Labor News

By C. W. RICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—With the nomination of Wendell L. Willkie, a liberal, as the standard bearer of the Republican party and the recognizing the Negro both as a problem and as a voter by denoting a plank in its platform to the race, the Republican party unmistakeably makes a bid for the support of the Negro, who deserted the party for the New Deal in 1932 and 1936.

It is said for the first time that the Party of Lincoln, which gave the Negro his freedom has mentionel the race its platfrom. In reference to the Negro the following declaration wa made.

Negro

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be give a square deal in the economic an political life of this nation.

Discrimination in the civil service the Army, Navy and all other branches of the government must cease.

To enjoy the full benefits of life liberty and pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen.

Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

Labor

The Republican Party has always protected the American worker.

"We shall maintain labor's rights of free organization and collective bargaining.

We believe that peace and prosperity at home require harmony teamwork, and understanding in al relations between worker and employer when difference arise, they should be settled directly and voluntarily across the table.

Recent disclosures respecting the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. require that this ac be amended in fairness to employ and all groups of employees so as to provide true freedom for, and orderliness in, self-organization and collective bargaining."

A great inspiration has been revived among the Negroes already since Willkie outlined his policy towards the race and all groups in a conference with delegates and alternates just a day before his nomination. At the conference Mr. Willkie told some forty Negro delegates that he would work for the abolition of all discrimination in employment, the franchise and civil liberties. When asked about the Negro labor question, the candidate declared, "There is no reason why Negroes should be denied employment by utilties. We employ about 30,000 workers and a great number of them are colored." He said, "We have labor contracts with the American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organization and even with some independent groups." When asked if he thought labor would support him, he said, "I bet that out of the 30,000 workers employed, 29,900 will vote for me William Green, president of the A. F. of L., has already endorsed my candidacy." Mr. Willkie said in reply to the question on his position on the "Ban against Negroes in the Army and Navy and the Air forces" that, "I'm against all that kind of bunk, you are citizens like everybody else. If I'm elected President, I will seek to remove all kinds of discrimination from all groups. Look at my record, he said, I fought the Klu Klux Klan in Ohio in 1924, when all the judges were klansmen. I've stood for civil liberties and for all minorities at times when I was damned unpopular." Mr. Willkie said, "I want your support, I need it. But irrespective whether Negroes go down the line with me or not they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair proportion of appointments, fair representation on policy making bodies. They willl get the same consideration as other citizens get."

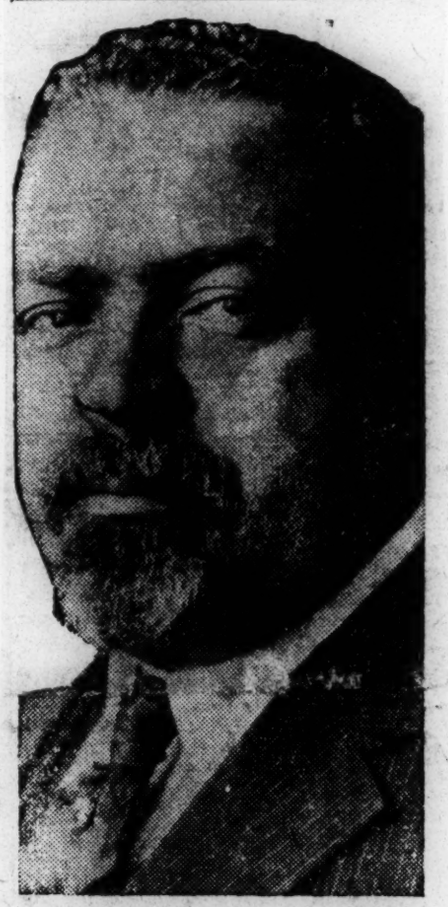
Negroes Given Recognition At Convention

The Republican party lived up to its record in previous years of giving recognition to the Negro members of the Convention. Bishop J. A. Gregg of Kansas City delivered the invocation at the Tuesday evening meeting of the Convention when Herbert Hoover was the principal speaker. William E. King, candidate for Congress from the first district of Illinois, in the most eloquent manner, seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey. There were some Negro reading clerks and ushers at the Convention. All of the delegation from Negro sections had race representatives.

The First From Texas In 24 Years

All eyes as well as praises were on the Texas delegation for having included three Negroes, Dr. T. J. Walton of San Antonio, alternate-at-large. Rev. Richard Lowe of Dallas, and C. W. Rice of Houston as members of the Advisory Comittee of 26. Mr. R. B. Creager, national committeeman from Texas said that he was mighty glad to have the colored to come back and take an active part in party of Texas. "I don't think there should be any separate organizations we all are Republicans." The Negro delegates in the North and East congratulated Mr. Creager for his liberal views on the Negro in the Party.

Prays For GOP



Bishop J. A. Gregg, Kansas City, prelate of the AME Church, had the distinction of delivering the invocation at the Tuesday evening meeting of the Republican National Convention when Herbert Hoover was the featured speaker.

OPINION

Willkie's Acceptance Speech

You cannot read Wendell Willkie's speech accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency without thrilling to the challenge he offers.

We do not refer to the defy to President Roosevelt to meet him in joint debate on a public platform, although that offer is made in good faith.

But the real challenge of Willkie's address was his invitation to the nation to follow him down what he calls a road of "sacrifice and service," and what Winston Churchill termed, "toil and sweat."

You can't buy freedom, he said—you must make it. Only the productive people can be strong, and only the strong can be free.

Willkie says we have spent sixty billion dollars in eight years and haven't put the people back to work.

He charges Roosevelt with soaking the rich to help the poor (dividing what we have) instead of trying to produce more money for everybody.

He asks, regarding the people who are on relief, has the government given them enough, and wouldn't they prefer prosperous industry that would give them a chance to earn more?

He wants to know how a government that claims business is wicked can hope to help business men employ those out of work. He points to our banks, which are loaded with money which business men, because of New Deal hostility, fear to invest in productive enterprises.

And his answer to the stagnation which at present envelops the country is a program of work.

Willkie promises, if elected, that everybody shall have to work a little harder and feel the burden of taxes.

If America is to be armed to defend itself, and if it is to do something about the staggering debts of the past eight years, Willkie believes that the Democratic party must be defeated.

To colored people, Willkie makes an especially strong appeal when he says:

"The only soil in which liberty can grow is that of a united people. We must have faith that the welfare of one is the welfare of all. . . .We must acknowledge that all are equal before God and the law."

We have heard language like that from political candidates but never before from one who has been a teacher in a mixed public school.

But he goes further when he pledges himself to "preserve our country as a land free of hate and bitterness of racial and class distinction."

No Presidential candidate has gone that far in our day and we like to believe that the G.O.P. nominee honestly and sincerely means what he says.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Wendell Willkie Names W. E. King Of Ill. And T. G. Nutter of W. Va. To Campaign Advisory Committee

WASHINGTON, D. C.—T. Gillis Nutter of Charleston, W. Va., and William E. King of Chicago, Ill., in Washington for the first meeting of the Republican Campaign Advisory Committee Thursday, July 11, called at Republican National Committee Headquarters during their visit, and issued the following joint statement respecting the GOP nominee and the part Negroes are called upon to play in the coming Presidential Campaign:

"We are greatly honored in being appointed members of the Campaign Advisory Committee of the Republican Party. We shall put forth every effort possible in supporting Wendell L. Willkie's aggressive crusade against New Dealism. The streamlined and potent campaign which is contemplated by the presidential nominee and Joseph W. Martin, jr., new chairman of the Republican National Committee and campaign manager, will have our most ardent and unselfish support.

"We are all the more disposed to work whole-heartedly with Mr. Willkie because he is on record as being opposed to race hatred and bigotry and because he 'believes in liberty, equality and brotherly love', as declared by him in a recent interview. Our candidate has caught the imagination of the American people and, as Mr. Martin has said, he has color and personality, in addition to the sound judgment and experience demanded of a President of the United States.

"It is evident that under Mr. Willkie's leadership greater consideration is being given by the Republican Party to the welfare of colored citizens than at any time during the last 40 years.

"We agree with Mr. Willkie that the issue in this campaign is the New Deal. Domestic conditions rather than Foreign Affairs will engage the attention of the American people. Particularly is this true of the Negro group which has suffered so greatly under the discrimination and injustices of New Deal administration.

"Politics, under the New Deal, has been played with relief and human misery systematically and ruthlessly, and to such an extent, especially among our people, that they have, in large measure, lost the spirit of independence which makes for free men and free women.

"Mr. Willkie believes in a government of competence and efficiency—a thing we have not had during the past seven years. If unity is to be brought about in America it must include the colored people, who are the chief victims of the Democratic oligarchies in the South, where the votes of our people are suppressed by the most brutal methods, equal only to those employed by the Totalitarian Governments of Europe.

Against Discrimination

"He has taken a stand no other Presidential Nominee has taken with regard to discriminations against colored citizens in the Armed Services of the Government—including the Army, Navy and Air Corps, and with respect to the employment of colored persons in government service generally.

"We believe with Mr. Willkie that we must have a government which regards itself as the servant of the people, and not its master; a government without prejudices, and a government under which we can move forward again as a united nation made up of men and women of confidence and good will.

"The colored people have, under the New Deal been consistenly eliminated from the productive life of the nation and have been shunted to relief as a substitute for regular jobs.

"What the Negro people of the United States desire more than anything else, aside from spiritual rejuvenation, is relief from economic suffering. They wish jobs provided that they may work out their own destiny, and these jobs cannot be provided until the brakes are taken off industry, and until present hostilities against American business are abandoned.

"Under a Republican Administration and only under a Republican Administration, is a just solution of the problems confronting our people to be expected."

Both Are Outstanding

For many years, Mr. Nutter has been an outstanding citizen of West Virginia. He was a member of the Glenn Frank Program Committee which prepared the report entitled "A Program For A Dynamic America", a statement on Republican principles.

Mr. Nutter is a practicing attorney; has served as president of the local branch, NAACP; was a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates for four years; was Land Clerk of the State Auditor's Office of West Virginia for six years; Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of West Virginia; Supreme Master of Exchequer, Knights of Pythias; and Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks Organization. He is also a member of the Masonic Fraternity, of Kappa Alpha Psi, and of the Greek Letter Fraternity, Sigma Pi Phi.

During his term as a member of the House of Delegates, West Virginia Legislature he was author of a number of Bills, including one which led to the establishment of the West Virginia Colored Insane Asylum. For many years he has held places of leadership in the affairs of the race.

The other Negro member of the Campaign Advisory Committee is William E. King, also a practicing attorney. Mr. King has served as Assistant Corporation Counsel, and as Assistant States Attorney, Cook County, Chicago, Illinois; as an Assemblyman, State of Illinois; as State Senator, and is, at this time, the Republican candidate for Congress from the First Congressional District of Illinois, and Republican Commiteeman of the Second Ward, largest political unit of the State of Illinois.

Mr. King is a forceful speaker and is one of those who seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey at the recent Republican National Convention. He also was a member of the Glenn Frank Program Committee.

Colored Leaders Gain Posts on GOP Advisory Group

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Wendell L. Willkie, Republican Nominee for President of the United States, sometime ago announced that he was "riding the crest of a trend", said trend being apparent desire of the American people to banish the New Deal from control of the Government.

This trend was accelerated here in Washington when the Nominee met with a Special Committee of the Republican National Committee to select the personnel to conduct the campaign.

Organization plans contemplate that Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican leader in the House of Representatives, as National Chairman, Will conduct the campaign, with the assistance of John Hamilton, former National Chairman, as Executive Director of the National Committee. A group of 14 members was selected to comprise the Executive Committee.

In New Your City, Mr. Willkie named a Campaign Advisory Committee composed of 12 members.

In Washington, he named 10 additional members, including two outstanding Republicans of the Negro group—T. G. Nutter of Charleston, West Virginia and William E. King of Chicago, Ill.

These two representatives are wholly acceptable to the Colored people. It has been indicated authoritatively that "the Nominee is conscious of the need for new faces to represent the Negro viewpoint."

Seeks New Blood In Campaign

The other additions to the Campaign Advisory Committee are of a kind and type similar to the appointments of Messrs. Nutter and King, Mr. Willkie having declared that he wishes to bring "some new blood" into the Organization.

For many years, Mr. Nutter has been an outstanding citizen of West Virginia. He was a member of the Glenn Frank Program Committee which prepared the Report entitled "A Program For A Dynamic America", a statement on Republican principles. Mr Nutter is a practicing attorney; has served as President of the local branch, NAACP; was a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates for four years; was Land Clerk of the State Auditor's Office of West Virginia for six years; Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of West Virginia; Supreme Master of Exchequer, Knights of Pythias; and Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks Organization. He is also a member of the Masonic Fraternity, of Kappa Alpha Psi, and of the Greek Letter Fraternity, Sigma Pi Phi.

During his term as a member of the House of Delegates, West Virginia Legislature he was author of a number of Bills, including one which led to the establishment of the West Virginia Colored Insane Asylum. For many years he has held places of leadership in the affairs of the race.

The other Colored member of the Campaign Advisory Committee is William E. King, also a practicing attorney. Mr. King has served as an Assistant Corporation Counsel, and as Assistant States Attorney, Cook County, Chicago, Ill.; as an Assemblyman, State of Illinois; as State Senator, and is, at this time, the Republican candidate for Congress from the First Congressional District of Illinois, and Republican Committeeman of the Second, largest political unit of the State of Ill.

Mr. King is a forceful speaker and is one of those who seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey at the recent Republican National Convention. He also was a member of the Glenn Frank Program Committee.

Messrs. Nutter and King met with the Campaign Advisory Committee at its first called meeting Thursday, July 11, at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, with youthful Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, Chairman presiding.

Mr. Willike has announced that the Campaign Advisory Committee will serve througout the Campaign regardless of the setup of the actual Campaign management.

Republican Nominee for President Speaks Against Racial Discrimination

Iowa Bystander 8-8-40

Des Moines, Iowa

By Marie Ross

In the crowd of more than 5,000 persons who cheered, and applauded the Republican nominee for president, Wendell L. Willkie, as he addressed them from the steaehouse steps at noon Monday, there were many Negro Republicans as well as Democrats scattered throughout the crowd.

Contrary to statements made at a meeting this week in which well-known Negro leaders spoke against Willkie, local as well as state Negro Republicans were warmly received and given equal recognition at the Willkie meetings and conferences.

At the Willkie one o'clock luncheon at Hotel Savory, Mrs. Sarah E. Jett, vice chairman of the Negro Republican organization; and Mr. A. A. Alexander, were guests.

At the 3 o'clock press conference attended by 60 or more weekly editors, were Atty. M. F. Fields of Waterloo, Atty. C. H Howard and Miss Marie Ross of the Bystander.

During this conference Mr. Willkie answered inquiries regarding "the Negro" and "the Negro vote"' made by Att. Howard and Miss Ross respectively.

Regarding the "Negro question"' Mr. Willkie said he had already quoted his views. "No man in America has spoken any stronger against racial discrimination,"' than he has, he commented.

Asked he had any "special plans for getting—what was so often referred to as—the Negro vote," he replied "I don't believe in that approach. I like to approach all people as Americans." He received an aplause from the group.

After four o'clock Mr. Willkiee met a group of Negro Republicans in which were: Mrs. S. Joe Brown, J. G. Brown, Rev. G W. Robinson, Atty. M. F. Fields of Waterloo, Dr. Ferguson of Waterloo, Coleman Pruitt and J. S. Harrison of Perry.

Mrs. Brown, president of the Central Association of Colored Women, and member of Republican National program committee, commented, about Mr. Willkie.

"I was in a brief conference with Mr. Willkie when he was here last May seeking the nomination as Republican candidate for President, and, it was, therefore. quite a pleasure to have the privilege of meeting him this time; and, to hear him as the nominee for this high office declare that he stood one hundred per cent upon the Negro plank, which is the strongest that has been in the Republican platform since the days of Abraham Lincoln."

When Mr. Willkie went to the airport Wednesday morning to make his departure, Freddie Hawkins, state chairman of Young Negro Republicans, accompanied him.

He said Willkie was still "wearing the tiny red elephant that I presented him on his first visit here this spring."

No Jim Crow Features at Willkie Notification

afro-American 8-10-40

Baltimore, Md.

ELWOOD, Ind. — Reports that plans were on foot to bar colored visitors from active participation in all but ceremonial phases of the Willkie notification ceremonies here on August 17, were refuted, this week, by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, special consultant at Republican national headquarters in Washington.

Dr. Scott spent three days here, at the instance of Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican National Committee chairman, checking these reports.

"These statements are not true," he said. "There are no programs of separation or segregation for colored visitors. I have found the white citizenry of Elwood most friendly and co-operative in welcoming all visitors

NEGRO REPUBLICANS SHOULD HELP RAISE CAMPAIGN FUNDS

SEP 1 1940

Negro Republicans and Willkie supporters in Texas should set up machinery immediately to help raise campaign funds. We believe that such a move on the part of the Negro will demonstrate his interest and confidence in the attitude the Republican Party has shown towards the Negro this year. It certainly will express his appreciation of the outspoken position that Mr. Willkie has taken on the Negro question. The Negro Republicans in Texas have no excuse to offer for not lending their fullest support and cooperation. For the first time in twenty- four years the party has given recognition to the Negro in it's affairs from precinct conventions to representation on the delegation to the National Convention at Philadelphia.

Without a doubt, the GOP nominee, Wendell L Willkie is more outspoken on the racial question than any candidate for the presidency since the days of that great emancipator, Abe Lincoln. He has not been evasive of questions asked him. He has made definite promises that no other man in similiar position has made. Among these, he has promised that the Negroes will be included in every policy making bodies of the Government, there will be no discrimination in the Army or Navy; in fact, he has promised the Negro equal rights and privileges in so far as the Government is concerned.

The Negro leadership in other States is returning to the Republican Party, taking Mr. Willkie at his word and giving time and financial aid in the interest of his campaign. We believe that Texas Negroes can at least show their appreciation of Mr. Willkie's fair minded policy by joining this movement. They are and have alway been liberal in their contribution to causes designated to better their conditions, whether political or otherwise.

Just a few months ago, a group of citizens met at Houston and pledged themselves to raise the startling sum of $8,000 to move the color bar in the Texas Democratic Party through Court procedure. Among these pledgees are some strong Republicans, who, no doubt, would never vote a Democratic ticket, but they want all citizens to have their rights regardless of party affiliations.

We believe that if the proper set-up for rasing money were instituted among the Negro people, the Negroes in Texas would contribute their share to push the Republican campaign. We suggest that the Negro Republican leaders confer with the State Central Committee and have qualified Negroes named on the financial committee to be an integral part of the State Republican Party, rsponsible to the State organization for what-so-ever monies raised in the interest of the campaign.

Houston Texas

Sept 1, 1940

Young Republican Group Organized

New York Amsterdam News

George E. Wibecan, Negro Republican County Leader and former confidential inspector to the late Borough President Ingersoll, heads a group of outstanding Negro Republicans who have agreed to serve as members of the honorary advisory committee of the newly-organized Kings County Young Republican League, it was announced this week by Reuben Rutledge, Executive Secretary of the organization.

Among the other advisors, some of whom have buried personal differences to work together for a Wilkie win, are Dr. A. M. Jacobs and Arthur Q. Martin, Negro leaders in the 5th ad 10th A. D. respectively; Past Grand Exalted Ruler Benjamin F. Williams of the Colored Elks; the Rev. James B. Adams, pastor, Concord Baptist Church; the Rev. Mansfield E. Jackson, pastor, Bridge Street A.M.E. Church; Jesse L. Vann; Ludlow W. Werner, managing editor, The New York Age; L. Johnson Warner, of the 17th A. D.; also Edward W. Wright, President, The Brooklyn Young Republican Club. County Leader John Crews has also been asked to join the advisory committee.

Officers of the League elected recently include J. Seldon Wesley, president; Robert Carrington, vice-president; Charles Rencher, treasurer; Reuben Rutledge, executive secretary and Wilford Sttokley, sergeant-at-arms. Alfred A. Duckett is chairman of the League's Executive Committee.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Illinois GOP Optimistic As Willkie Enters Race

Defender

With the selection of Wendell Willkie and Senator Charles L. McNary to head the national Republican ticket, Illinois party leaders are unanimous in expressing optimism over the outlook for the fall campaign.

"Under the Willkie-McNary banner, Illinois, with its outstanding state ticket, will return to the Republican fold this fall," said Ben L. Berve, chairman of the State Central committee.

"I predict the Republicans will sweep Illinois and that our state will lead the party in a national victory march."

At the national convention in Philadelphia, Illinois leaders turned out in full force and played a prominent part in shaping the destiny of the party.

C. Wayland Brooks, nominee for the United States Senate, and a member of the important resolutions committee, which wrote the national platform, took the lead in the fight which resulted in the famous peace plank, viz:

"The Republican party stands for Americanism, preparedness and peace."

Dwight H. Green, chairman of the Illinois delegates and nominee for governor, in a statement issued during the convention, called upon Illinois Republicans to rid the state of the blight of the Kelly-Nash political machine, which, he said, has grown into a national evil.

He called attention of the delegates to the fact that Illinois was singled out by Gov. Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, in the convention keynote speech, as one of states still in the iron grip of a corrupt Democratic political machine.

Mr. Green said in part:

"We in Illinois have the hardest job. A long and deeply entrenched political machine has the state in an iron grip. We who have fought in Illinois for years against the Kelly-Nash machine, have realized that this cancer has grown nationally.

"To us from Illinois it is rather unpleasant and embarrassing that we have been singled out by the keynote speech when Governor **Stassen referred to the Kelly-Nash machine. We are determined to carry on the fight until this evil of Chicago and Illinois which is now a national evil, is erased forever."**

On the evening preceding the formal opening of the national convention, the Illinois delegates meeting in caucus selected Werner C. Schroeder as national committeeman.

Throughout the convention sessions, Illinois leaders, both Cook county and downstate, played an important part. In addition to Green and Brooks, the other state candidates who were active in the convention work included Justus L. Johnson, candidate for secretary of state; Arthur C. Lueder, candidate for auditor of public accounts; Warren Wright, candidate for attorney general; Stephen A. Day and William G. Stratton, candidates for representative in congress-at-large.

Others were Clement A. Nance, secretary of the State Central committee who assisted Chairman Berve in convention work and Ernest H. Pool of Ottowa, secretary of the Illinois delegation.

Mississippi Lily Whites to Back Willkie

JACKSON, Miss., July 11—(AN P)—A movement, launched by George Sheldon, former member of the Mississippi legislature and other leaders of the lily white faction of Republicans in this state, got underway this week to promote the candidacy of Wendell Willkie for the presidency.

The lily whites failed to get recognition at the Philadelphia convention when Perry Howard and his group won the fight before the credentials committee, but rallying for the nomination of Willkie, they came out ahead when Howard and his delegation went down in defeat with Taft as their candidate up to the last ballot.

Lily white leaders declare that it is their idea that thousands of conservative Democrats and anti-New Dealers in Mississippi would prefer Willkie to Roosevelt or any other man the Democratic party is likely to nominate at the Chicago convention. Inviting this group to join the Willkie-for-President movement, a mass meeting has been arranged to convene here soon.

Willkie Club Organized By Atlanta G.O.P.

Daily World

A "Willkie-for-President" club has been organized in Fulton county following a meeting of Atlanta's Negro Republicans, it was announced Friday by Dr. L. M. Hill, chairman. Others named to the committee include Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, Mrs. Dollie Alexander, Mrs. Georgia Washburn, William Westmoreland, Jack Ingram and E. L. Collier.

The purpose of the organization, according to Dr. Hill is to encourage Atlanta's voters to cast their ballots for the Republican nominee and to register a sufficient number of local Republicans to entitle the local organization to two delegates in the next Republican National Convention.

"We are pleased with the new resolution made by the Republican Party in its national convention at Philadelphia." Dr. Hill said. "It is an advancement in the direction toward representative government. In the future delegates will represent votes cast This will help to stimulate the Republicans to build up a two party system in the southern states, just as it exists elsewhere in this country. The two party system is good for all citizens.

"The time has come for the Republicans of the South to cease having a "paper party," which every four years calls state conventions to send to the national convention delegates whose votes counted in the nomination but never in the election of a president. Moreover it is not right for the Democratic party in south that disfranchises part of the citizens to dominate the northern Democrats," he added.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
July 14, 1940

Republicans Plan Seven Rallies

Knox County Republicans have scheduled seven campaign rallies for this week, including two for Negro voters, it was announced yesterday by officials at campaign headquarters.

The schedule:

Monday, at 7:30 p. m., Moses School.
Tuesday, at 7:30 p. m. Powell High School.
Wednesday, at 7:30 p. m., Maynard School (for Negroes).
Thursday, at 7:30 p. m., Fairgarden School (Burlington).
Thursday, at 7:30 p. m., Dr. J. H. Presnell's office, 503 East Vine Avenue (for Negroes).
Friday, at 7:30 p. m., Harden Valley School.
Saturday, at 7:30 p. m., Farragut School.

Mrs. Taft Calls On Youth to Aid Willkie's Cause

OCT 2 1940

Tells Republican Women It Means Jobs; Mrs. McNary Talks at Closing Session

By Emma Bugbee
A Staff Correspondent

DETROIT, Oct. 1.—The National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs adjourned here today after a brisk two-day session, in which the delegates heard the Republican candidate for President, Wendell L. Willkie, summon them to save the faith of young America in democracy. This was the primary purpose of the convention and the reason it was held at Detroit at just this time, when it would best fit into Mr. Willkie's schedule. Never before has a large gathering of Republican women from every state in the Union had the opportunity to greet their party's candidate in the heat of a campaign and receive from him directly an interpretation of their role in the battle.

Echoing the candidate's emphasis on youth, Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Republican Senator from Ohio, gave the delegates their final message today.

OCT 2 1940

"Throughout our history," she said, "to be a young American has been the greatest thing in the world. The challenge to us is to make it again a great and hopeful thing to be a young American.

"Under the New Deal that has disappeared. In other depressions youth's chance was postponed a year or even two, but under New Deal methods it has been postponed for so long that youth itself has passed with it for millions of young people.

"Special youth programs have benefited a few hundred thousand out of many millions. They are good as a makeshift. But young Americans don't want programs. They want jobs. They want to get started on the real road of life."

Pleads for Negro Youths

A fervent plea for underprivileged youth, especially that of the Negro race, was made by Miss Bertha Swindall, of Chicago. She pictured 280,000 young people walking the highways from city to city desperately seeking employment, while thousands of Negro children stayed home from school because they lacked clothing.

Mrs. Ruth DeYoung Kohler, of Kohler, Wis., former Chicago newspaper woman, stressed the importance of labor in the defense program and the necessity of stimulating business so that the working man of America would contribute his share gladly in the preparedness program.

"The most important soldier in the United States today carries a dinner pail, not a gun," she said. "Democracy and satisfied labor are indispensable."

Miss Marion E. Martin, director of women's activities of the Republican National Committee, gave the women concrete directions for their part in the closing weeks of the campaign.

Mrs. McNary Says Good By

Mrs. Charles L. McNary, wife of the Republican candidate for Vice-President, spoke a few words of farewell to the delegates just before flying back to her home in Oregon. Both she and Mrs. Willkie had been official guests of the convention yesterday, but had not been heard at all, in accordance with their campaign policy. However, Mrs. McNary had to say good by today.

"It has been an inspiration to see so many thinking women and know they are helping in the campaign," she said. "I came a long way, but I'm so glad I came. Good luck to you."

Mrs. Charles W. Weis jr., of Rochester, newly-elected president of the federation, promised Mrs. Taft and Miss Swindall that the women would not let youth down.

"We all saw that magnificent man, Wendell Willkie, last night," she added. "He is doing all in the power of a great man to win in this crusade, but he needs us all desperately. We will do our utmost to help him."

GOP PLANK, RACE VOTE, PUT PLATFORM MAKERS 'ON SPOT'

Courier 7-13-40 Pittsburgh - Pa.

CHICAGO, July 11.—Early arrivals for the Democratic National Convention starting here next Monday, checked in this week, took off their coats and prepared to get busy in the caucus of Negro Democratic delegates and leaders, styled the Colored Democratic convention.

Biggest job on their hands as these powers-to-be in the forthcoming big show gathered was that of persuading the varied elements which now are attempting to control the party to take an advanced position, calculated to hold or attract the Negro vote.

So far as platforms go, the Republicans at their Philadelphia convention gave the Democrats something to shoot at.

Republicans were told what Negroes wanted and they answered "All right!" in the Republican platform.

Negro leadership which went before the Republican party resolutions committee did not represent Republican Negroes only. They represented Negro citizens as a whole.

The same Negro leadership which went to the Republicans at Philadelphia is going to place the same issues up to the Democratic party in Chicago.

All Negroes — Republican and Democratic — want discrimination in the Army, the Navy, the Civil Service and all government offices abolished. The Republican party platform said this discrimination must cease.

Dr. Rayford Logan, chairman of the Courier Committee for Participation in National Defense, the editor of The Courier, Robert L. Vann, and numerous other individuals and organizations, inspired by this newspaper's campaign, put the above issue up to the Republicans, and they accepted the challenge.

Atty. Charles H. Houston, also a member of The Courier Committee, and the editor of this newspaper are coming to this city to place the same issue before the Democrats.

The Republicans were told that suffrage must be universal. They agreed.

The Democratic party is going to be told the same thing.

The Republicans were told that action must be taken to curb mob violence. They agreed.

All these issues, and others, the Democratic party is to be asked to take a position on.

The burden of responsibility for getting action rests upon Negro Democratic leaders throughout the country, such men as Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, the Rev. Marshall Shepperd of Philadelphia, Atty. Julian Rainey of Boston, Atty. Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, Atty. William L. Dawson of Chicago, Senator Charles C. Diggs of Michigan, Atty. William H. Houston, Special Assistant to the Attorney General; Henry Fleming of Indianapolis and Atty. H. Louis Moore of Indianapolis.

Negro voters and these Democratic leaders share certain knowledge in common. That knowledge is the fact that regardless of all the big foreign and domestic issues, the Democratic party this year must win or lose by virtue of the support which it attracts from Negroes in the big borde

THIRD TERM WOULD TRANSFORM GOVERNMENT BEYOND RECALL

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D.C.—That "the degeneration of democracy, and the devitalization of the people of America' 'are involved in the coming campaign was the remark of a prominent Republican at Colorado Springs, Col., as he conferred with Wendell Willkie, Republican Nominee for President of the United States.

"Another four years of it," he declared, "will see this Government transformed beyond recall."

Thoughtful men and women throughout the country are voicing opinions of the same import. They are deeply concerned about the future of this America of ours.

They know how laboriously it has been fashioned and how it has been governed during the 150 years of its existence. They view with jealous eye anything and everything that tends to whittle away the fundamental tenets of this Republic which they prize, and which they are determined shall be made to work in this land of the free and home of the brave!

How New Deal Has Failed Average Man

As we come once again to appraise the policies, philosophies and actual results of the New Deal administration, under our two-party system, the opposition is called upon to state wherein the New Deal has failed to meet the needs of everyday men and women who love their country, and who wish it to provide for them the full employment of our men, our money, and our materials, a progressive rise in our living standards and increased security of our people.

In stating its criticisms, the opposition is called upon to be constructive. It must not simply register captious fault-findings. It must be exact and factual.

It must document its citations of those policies which it believes threaten the future of the United States, and point out in clear-cut, unevasive language those disastrous consequences and menaces which it thinks are in store for us if New Deal policies are continued.

Under Wendell Willkie, its new leader, the opposition is prepared to marshal and present comprehensively a record of failures not matched by any administration in the history of our Government: Government budgets remain unbalanced; unemployment continues after nearly 8 years of trial and error, with 10,000 000 men desperate and in despair because they cannot properly care for their wives and children; the national debt had reached an astronomical level even before we began our defense preparations; mounting taxes, direct and hidden, are higher than ever before in our history; the Federal Government is "on the road to bankruptcy," to use President Roosevelt's own words; and finally, chaos and confusion attend every desperate expedient and experiment of New Dealism.

Colored Citizens Mainly Affected

This recital comes home to Colored citizens probably more closely than to other groups made up mainly of low-income groups.

All of these things wherein our Government has so lamentably failed, are of deepest concern to them.

Their future is more clearly menaced for they have also racial and economic discriminations and prejudices to overcome while they struggle for their place in the sun.

The burdens of depression, as the Glenn Frank Committee Report pointed out, have fallen "with an extraordinary heavy impact" upon them. Relief programs are played up by the administration as the chief solvent of their difficulties and salvation.

The future of the Negro people in America is involved in this contest of the two parties. It will be for them to decide if they wish further to acquiesce in the discriminatory treatments on racial grounds now meted out to them.

They cannot permit themselves to gamble with another four years of New Deal promises and failures, which during the past seven and one-half years have brought them only a deadening sense of hopefulness and desperation.

Their course of action is clear and unmistakable.

He's For Willkie

OCT 27 1940

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER —noted Philadelphia attorney, who last week indicated his unwillingness longer to follow the New Deal which he supported in 1936. In a communication to the Republican National Committee, Alexander said the New Deal has given only lip service to Negro aspirations in this country. He said the New Deal has stood by and not raised a hand toward passage of the Anti-Poll Tax and Anti-Lynching Bills, which would help the race most.

Louis Stumps For Willkie

OCT 29 1940

NEW YORK.—(SNS)—World Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis who came out over the week-end for Wendell Willkie, Republican presidential nominee, will take the stump at least six times this week for Mr. Willkie, Francis E. Rivers, director of the colored division of the Republican National Committee, announced Monday.

The boxing champion will speak in Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, New York, Cleveland, Chicago and Baltimore.

POLITICAL - 1940 REPUBLICAN
PARTY AFFILIATION

Negro Leaders Protest Third Term Nomination of President Roosevelt

Editor's Note: Herewith are the views of a number of important Colored Leaders on The Third Term Issue. These are but a fraction of similiar non-partisan expressions from other Colored Leaders received at Republican National Committee Headquarters of similiar character and import. From time to time, additional Statement of Protest already received against the Third Term will be issued.

Colored leaders throughout the country are deeply stirred by the Third Term issue that has been precipitated by the re-nomination of President Roosevelt by the Democratic National Convention at Chicago.

These men make clear plain their well-founded fears that Mr. Roosevelt's re-election in November will mean the continuance of every New Deal policy, every New Deal excess, and every New Deal threat to the continued existence of Constitutional Government in the United States.

Also, they see in a Third Term added harshness in connection with the administration of New Deal Agencies as they affect the Negro group. They resent the apparent persistence of the effort of the Democratic Administration to make Colored citizens permanent "wards of the nation" by placing them on direct and work-relief rolls instead of opening the doors of opportunity for employment at regular jobs in industry.

Extracts at this time from a few of th edozens of letters which have come to Republican National Committee Headquarters, which follow, indicate the present state of feeling among Colored citizens as the Third Term Issue becomes almost the paramount controversy in the struggle which lies ahead:

PILLARS OF DEMOCRACY ENDANGERED

JAMES A. COBB—Washington, D.C. former Special Assistant U.S. District Attorney, and former Municipal Judge of the District of Columbia: "While it is not a technical violation of the Constitution of the United States for a person to be nominated and elected for a Third Term, it certainly is in violation of the spirit and the custom that has existed ever since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States . . . To say that the present President of the United States is the only one capable of heading the Government in an emergency is to admit that Democracy is a failure . . . I do not believe the American people are ready to sacrifice this great unwritten principle of the Constitution of the United States. If so, one of the strongest pillars of American Democracy has fallen.

EXPANSION OF NEW DEALISM THREATENED

KARL F. PHILLIPS — Baltimore, Md., former Director of Conciliation, Department of Labor: "In his 'sacrificial' acceptance of the Presidential nomination for a Third Term, President Roosevelt has unforgettingly established himself as the Super-Presidential egoist of all times. Thus, if elected he flatly promises the American people a general expansion of New Dealism in the continued and graver forms of futile social and economic experimentation, increased taxation, heavier public debt, the increased stifling of free enterprise, new threats to the Masters of Industry, scorn for Constitutional government, and last, but by no means least, larger beads of sweat on the brow of every laborer. It is good, indeed, that we have an adequate defense against Mr. Roosevelt's offense."

A THREAT TO CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

PERRY W. HOWARD—Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, and former Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States: "I regard the Third Term Issue precipitated by the President's re-nomination the greatest threat that Constitutional government has had since the effort to pack the Supreme Court. It is even a greater threat to the safety of the American Negro because of its near approach to tampering with the Constitution. Next to this, we shall be further chained to the iniquities of the New Deal."

DEMOCRACY ON THE WAY OUT

CHESTER K. GILLESPIE — member Ohio House of Representatives, Columbus, Ohio: "If the President can be elected for a Third Term, it clearly means that our democracy is ended . . . Negroes in this country should cooperate fully with the people who have built the United States and who have something the Negro must have, to wit, employment. The President apparently hates the people of the United States who can help us advance properly."

SPEAKS AS A CITIZEN, VOTER AND TAX-PAYER

HENRY A. BOYD—Nashville, Tennessee, president, Nashville Globe Publishing Company: "As an American citizen, a taxplayer and voter I believe in the principles of our Grand Republican Party. I consider it unprecedented, un-American in principle and out of harmony with our procedures, to submit a Third-termer to the Presidency of our Republic. It would be setting a precedent as well as shattering a tradition that would border on to a calamity, as I see it. I travel constantly, and I have yet to find any public-spirited business man, professional or even the sane layman, but who shares this view. I further believe that it is a threat to the continuation of our free American Republic.

Columbia, S. C. Record
September 18, 1940

SEP 12 1940

Mrs. Marjorie DeVere Tucker addressing Women-For-Willkie meeting. Mrs. C. Reinold, sitting on steps, presided.

Invitation.

Wendell Willkie, beginning his campaign, stopped off at Chicago to tell 15,000 prospective Negro supporters in Chicago that he favored the enactment of the federal anti-lynching bill.

The Charleston News and Courier, bitterly opposed to the anti-lynching bill and critical of President Roosevelt who has made no public declaration either for or against it because his failure to oppose it, is cordially invited to explain why South Carolina opponents of federal anti-lynching legislation should now support The News and Courier's candidate Wendell Willkie.

Dean Pickens Confers With Willkie

DEAN WILLIAM PICKENS shown as he conferred with Wendell L. Willkie, Republican candidate, at Rushville, Ind., for whose candidacy he announced formation of a Colored Citizens Committee.

The NAACP announced this week that Mr. Pickens' action does not represent in any way "an expression of policy of the N. A. A. C. P."

of New York, scholar, writer and manager of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is

Wendell L. Willkie In Address To Negroes Scores Lynching, Pledges Fight On Racial Discrimination

SEP 21 1940

Text of address of Wendell L. Willkie before Negro citizens in American Giants baseball park, Chicago, Ill., September 13th:

Senator King—my voice is a little husky from constant talking, but what I was about to say was Mr. DePriest, Senator King, and my fellow Americans:

I want you to send Senator King down to Washington to help me. I thought so highly of him that I appointed him a member of my Advisory Committee in this campaign, and I want him to be a member of my Advisory Committee when I become President of the United States.

You know, we talk a great deal of democracy in this country, and we have more of democracy in this country than in any other country in the world, but there are some things that we must do before this democracy can claim to be in any ways near perfection. And one of those things is to completely eliminate, in this country, any discrimination between people because of race or religion.

Although up to four or five months ago no man in the United States had less notion that he would ever occupy public office than I had, at every place of my life, from the day I was conscious of things, every time the opportunity has come to me, whether as a boy in Elwood, or a lawyer in Akron, or a businessman in New York, I have struck at every type of intolerance that has come in my way, and have done so publicly.

I have written out a few things here today, merely because I want them much to be quoted. The real test whether our leadership is making democracy work is whether it excludes any portion of its citizens from full participation in the opportunities and responsibilities of government on account of race.

Now, the Negro people of this country are citizens, and entitled to every right that any other citizen is entitled to entitled to. And those of us that are so unfortunate as to be on relief, are entitled to the same treatment on relief, are entitled to the same treatment on relief as anybody else. And if you elect me President of the United States I shall see to it that relief is continued until we can again start the wheels of industry working, so that men will have jobs instead of relief. And I will see to it while relief lasts, that there shall be no discrimination between persons on it by reason of their color.

SEP 21 1940

Now, I have written it out, I want to make it exact, so that no man can doubt what I say. If elected I should continue relief for those who cannot secure gainful employment. It is not right, however, that America shall continue the practice where the Negro is the last hired and the first to be fired. The Negro has little hope if he must wait until every unemployed white man has been employed, at least, under this administration. I promise to do away with the theory relief is a Negro reservation.

I will abolish discrimination in I will abolish discrimination in the administration of relief, and shall strive to find creative work for the Negro, as well as any other American. It is indispensable that the leadership of America, both in government, industry, and in labor, give the Negro an opportunity to be creative and to participate in the great enterprises of American life. I hope that the government, capital, and labor will cooperate in providing such opportunities.

Now a second question: I want to say that no man in America looks upon the hideous crime of lynching with more marked condemnation that do I. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation, and legislation to crush this evil must be enacted.

Now, in addition to that, in the administration of the affairs of government during this administration, they have talked in fine words about democracy, but practiced little of it. In certain departments in Washington, regular Jim Crow departments have been created. I say to you, under my administration there shall be no discrimination between people because of race, creed or color, in the appointment of federal positions; and that any man who serves as my subordinate who makes any such discrimination shall be fired on the spot.

Now, if there is anything about my language—it is just simple language—anybody doesn't understand, there is no Harvard lilt to it, but if you do not understand, speak up and I will restate it.

I will carry out the Republican platform pledge to the Negroes by seeing to it that Jim Crow departments in the Federal Government—a device which the New Deal created by executive decree—should be eliminated and colored citizens appointed to any branch of the Federal civil service to which they are qualified. I will give the Negro a chance to be heard before government makes its decisions affecting his welfare—a right denied under the New Deal. It is my profound conviction that the Democratic Party is incapable of protecting the civil liberties of this country in times of stress, and I believe that the colored citizen above all others needs a leadership which can protect the civil liberties of every group. I pledge myself to give you such leadership.

Now let me say to you that I am a complete believer in democracy. I think it not alone the most pleasant way of life, but I think it the most effective way of life. I think we must make it so effective that no totalitarian dictator will seek to destroy this great democracy of ours. But we cannot possibly make it so effective against those totalitarian leaders if we deprive ourselves of the abilities and enterprises of ten per cent of our population.

Scores Intolerance

I pledge to you what I want to do with America is to stop boondoggling; stop extravagant expenditures, stop theories, stop words and start to work. I want to start to turn the wheels of industry, and produce, produce, produce. The reason Hitler crushed France is because Hitler produced and France failed to produce. The reason that London failed under the regime of Chamberlain is because they talked and Germany produced, and produced. And I want to turn America into a great production, a great production of defense material, a great production of those things that create the satisfaction in life and are really the wealth of the people.

POLITICAL-1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

State Republicans Appoint Two Young Negroes to Serve on Central Committee

The Iowa State Young Republican Convention met at the Savory hotel in a one-day session. Thursday July 11, presided over by State chairman I. W. Myers of Des Moines.

1,500 delegates attended about thirteen of which were Negroes from the county and city.

Highlights of the convention were the changing of the constitution of the Young Republican organization, the banquet in the evening at which Governor Wilson was principal speaker, the election of new officers.

Constitution

The constitution was changed in order to admit two Negro members on the state central committee. They are Miss Evelyn Brooks, vice chairman of the Negro Young Republicans; and Freddie Hawkins, state chairman of the Negro Young Republicans.

Their title in the state central committee will be vice chairman and each will have one vote on the central committee.

At the banquet attended by 300 delegates Governor Wilson stressed the importance of the Republican party getting a leader like Wendell L. Willkie who expresses the trend of American people.

Mr. Hawkins following the Governor extended his appreciation for having an opportunity to work with the young republicans and praised the cooperation of the young republicans in their dealing with the Negroes.

Miss Brooks and Mr. Hawkins were appointed on the constitution committee.

Young Negro G. O. P. delegates were: William Bailey, Ottumwa; Murray Walder, Marshallaown; William Martin, Mason City; Betty Jean Arnett, Clarinda; Chester McBay. Creston; Mrs. Eddistien Richards, Council Bluffs; Gilbert Randle, Miss Evelyn Brooks, Mrs. Minnie McGuire Mrs. Leona Kelly, Freddie L. Hawkine, Mrs. Gladys Carr, J. S. Thomas. David Windsor Des Moines.

Nutter and King Make Statements

Washington, D. C.—T. G. Nutter of Charleston, West Virginia, and William E. King of Chicago, Ill., in Washington for the first meeting of the Republican Campaign Advisory Committee Thursday, July 11, called at Republican National Committee Headquarters during their visit, and issued the following joint statement respecting the GOP Nominee, and the part Colored Americans are called upon to play in the coming Presidential Campaign.

"We are greatly honored in being appointed members of the Campaign Advisory Committee of the Republican Party. We shall put forth every effort possible in supporting Wendell L. Willkie's aggressive crusade against New Dealism. The streamlined and potent campaign which is contemplated by the Presidential Nominee and Joseph W. Martin, Jr., new Chairman of the Republican National Committee and Campaign Manager, will have our most ardent and unselfish support.

"We are all the more disposed to work whole-heartedly with Mr. Willkie because he is on record as being opposed to race hatred and bigotry and because he believes in liberty, equality and brotherly love', as declared by him in a recent interview. Our candidate has caught the imagination of the American people and, as Mr. Martin has said, he has color and personality, in addition to the sound judgment and experience demanded of a President of the United States.

Fair Play

The Young Republicans of Iowa have shown from the beginning that they propose to give the Negro members every opportunity for full participation in their program. Last week at its state meeting, their constitution was amended so as to add a Negro man and woman to the executive committee.

It was a fair thing to have done; it was fine. And the Bystander congratulates the organization on its unselfishness. In proportion that Negroes get on executive committees will their chances be better to enjoy other things offered by organizations.

AFRO WEEK

By RALPH MATTHEWS

"This was my greatest convention," Dr. Emmett J. Scott, director of publicity for the Republican National Committee, told the AFRO this week.

Dr. Scott, a widower, white of head, has been a national figure for nearly a half century, starting long before most young men began to think seriously. He is best known as the secretary to the late Booker T. Washington, in which connection he was thrown in contact with the biggest names in American life.

Dr. Scott

He served as special assistant to the Secretary of War during the World War and as secretary-treasurer of Howard University; but few people know that his first baptism in politics came when he was secretary to the late Norris Wright Cuney, the political boss of Texas, and he attended his first G.O.P. national convention in 1896, which picked William McKinley to run. He has missed few.

I'M AGAINST ALL SORTS OF DISCRIMINATIONS AND SEGREGATIONS-WENDELL WILLKIE

By Emmett J. Scott

Washington, D. C.,—Charles P. Howard, Editor and Publisher of The Howard News Syndicate—The Iowa Observer, Des Moines; The Tri-State Observer, Davenport; and The Waterloo Observer, Waterloo; has sent a report to Republican National Committee Headquarters of certain explicit statements made by Wendell Willkie, Republican Nominee for President of the United States, on the occasion of his visit to Des Moines, Mr. Howard's report follows:

Des Moines, Iowa—Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential Nominee, emphasized in Des Moines last Monday that he believes that "Negroes are just American citizens,' and that "the approach to them for their political support should be the same approach as to other American citizens."

Mr. Willkie was in Des Moines August 5, for a conference with Mid-Western Governors and farmers.

During the day however he was interviewed by other interests. His attitude on the Negro was disclosed at a Press Conference attended by more than one hundred Iowa newspaper editors, among these were three Colored representatives.

On being asked if he desired to say anything with reference to the Negro Question, Mr. Willkie immediately replied: "I don't think there is any man in America who has spoken or written more strongly on the Negro Question than I have and I did it at a time when I had no idea of occupying my present position."

Mr. Willkie was later asked if he had any special plan for getting the Negro vote. He replied: "I don't believe in any plan to get the Negro vote; I think they are all American citizens."

Following the Press Conference, Mr. Willkie held an informal interview with a group of Negro Republican leaders from the state of

Iowa, wherein he said:

"If I am elected, I will carry out the platform of the Republican Party as it dealt with the Negro; I am behind the Republican Platform on this Plank 100 per cent."

Further inquiry was made of Mr. Willkie as to whether or not, as President of the United States, he would see that the National Government led the way in eliminating discrimination and segregation against the Negro citizens of the country. Mr. Willkie replied:

"I am for that and against all sorts of discrimination and segregation, lock stock and barrel; you may quote me on this."

Mr. Willkie disclosed during his stay here that he plans to campaign extensively. Said he:

"I am going out and let the people see me; I'm going all over the country."

The Willkie party arrived in Des Moines from Colorado Springs, Colorado, aboard two chartered United Air Line Planes, Sunday evening, and departed Tuesday morning for Chicago before returning to Colorado Springs.

The Negro representatives who attended the conference with Mr. Willkie stated they were deeply impressed with his sincerity and fortirightness on all questions affecting the Negro people of the United States.

Kansas Editor Speaks On Air at Willkie Reception

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(ANP)—James A. Hamlett jr., editor of tre Plaindeader, spoke words of greetings here Thursday at the Kansas City Municipal airport over a nation-wide hookup during the preliminary reception ceremonies held for presidential candidate, Wendell L. Willkie. He spoke along with Gov. Payne Ratner, lieutenant governor of Kansas; Jay S. Parker, ttorney general of Kansas, and Atty. Edgar Powells, chairman of the Wyandotte County Young Republicans of Kansas City, and said, "I am sure from the demonstration and the wonderful enthusiasm demonstrated here this afternoon that the Republican party is off to a good start for victory in November." Tre broadcast was sent over station WREN.

More than 12,000 people had assembled at the airport awaiting the arrival of the Willkie party. Hamlett and Bertram Leonard, Republican leader of Kansas City, Kans., were the only two Negroes on tre platform. Mr. Willkie's visit was brief and his eight-minute address was received amid enthusiasm that planted a new spirit of Republicanism in Missouri and the middlewest. Thousands of Willkie buttons and bodges popped up spontaneously at the airport during the ceremonies.

Kansas City Times Sep 5 1940

LILY-WHITES BEGIN DRIVE TO RULE OVER DIXIE REPUBLICANS

Less Than 200 Whites In New Orleans Seek to Exclude 600 Colored Party Members

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 5 (By Leon Lewis for ANP)—Among the many strange happenings within Southern Lily-white Republican ranks was a cry-out defense against Secretary of Interior Ickes' charge "the southern Republican machine constitutes the greatest scandal in American politics." This defense came from Louisiana's Republican dictator, John E. Jackson, who most recently organized a lily-white Young Republican club.

Sept. 6, 1940

Negroes were completely left out of the renewed attempt to agitate Republicanism in the state of Louisiana, particularly New Orleans. Even James Lewis, Jr., and Dr. J. A. Hardin, Negro delegates to the Philadelphia convention and stalwarts in the Republican regime since the days of Walter Cohen, were side tracked in this particular setup.

Nashville Globe and

The sad part about this lily-white move is the fact that of the 800 Republican votes in this city less than 200 are white. The remaining are Negroes.

Independent

The Seventh ward of New Orleans, reputedly a Republican stronghold and under the influence of Dr. Hardin, contains a majority of the GOP votes of the city. The lily-whiters set up an all-white organization in this ward last week leaving the Negro constituent out of the picture. They say the Negroes would form their own organization.

No one can explain the sudden doublecross to Dr. Hardin and Mr. Lewis, who has held the reigns of GOP initiative for years. They murmur that it is no doublecross. The public wonders why they are not included in the setup.

It is the consensus of opinion that Jackson's move to form the Young Republican club is an attempt to discredit the fine efforts of James Woods to build up the party last spring, during which time he included Negroes on a primary ticket from several wards and went to the front in getting Negroes registered to vote.

Willkie Behind Anti-Jim Crow Plank 100 P. C.

DES MOINES, Iowa. — GOP Presidential Nominee Wendell L. Willkie, during a recent visit here, expressed a firm stand on his party's plank pledging a square deal in the nation's economic and political life to colored Americans.

Chicago Defender Sept 7 1940

"If I am elected," he told a group of party leaders, "I will carry out the platform of the Republican party as it dealt with the colored citizens. I am behind the Republican platform on this plank 100 per cent."

Thinks U. S. Should Lead

Asked further whether he would see that the Federal Government led the way in eliminating discrimination and segregation, he said: "I am for that and against all sorts of discrimination and segregation."

Previously, during a press conference attended principally by white newspaper editors, Willkie was asked whether he wished to say anything with reference to the race question.

All American Citizens

"I don't think there is any man in America," he replied, "who has spoken or written more strongly on the race question than I have, and I did it at a time when I had no idea of occupying my present position."

He answered a question as to his plans for getting the colored vote by saying: "I don't believe in any plan to get the colored vote; I think they are all American citizens...and the approach to them for their political support should be the same approach as to any other American citizens."

GOP LEADER ATTEMPTS TO DEFEND NEGRO INACTIVITY

SEP 8 1940

By LEON LEWIS

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 5—(ANP)—Among the many strange happenings within southern lily-white Republican ranks was a cry-out defense against Secretary of Interior Ickes' charge that "the southern Republican machine constitutes the greatest scandal in American politics." This defense came from Louisiana's Republican dictator, John E. Jackson, who most recently organized a lily-white Young Republican club.

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Refuse To Register Negroes For Voting

NEW YORK — The NAACP has asked United States Attorney General Robert Jackson to investigate the refusal of Gaffney, S. C. election officials to register eligible Negro voters for the 1940 presidential election.

Chicago Defender Sept 7 1940

According to a report in the hands of the NAACP, a copy which was sent to Jackson, election officials in Gaffney twice refused to allow Negroes to register on August 6 and 7 despite the fact that the county attorney advised them that the Negroes were as eligible to vote as he was.

According to the report, the election officials are said to have told prospective Negro voters that "D—— ies have never registered in South Carolina, and especially in Cherokee county. Unless the law is given, we will not register you." The report stated that on a second attempt on the part of Negro voters to register the election officials "slammed the door" in their faces.

South Carolinian To Notify McNary Of Vice-Presidency

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Seymour Carroll, former field director of the American Red Cross and Negro Republican national committeeman, will go to Salem, Oregon, Wednesday to notify U. S. Senator Charles L. McNary of his nomination by the Republicans as their candidate for Vice-President.

Baltimore Afro-American Sept 7 1940

A native of Columbia, he is widely known in the South as a field representative of the American Humane Education Society of Boston. He is a World War veteran., was named on President Harding's Committee of 100 distinguished Americans for Near East relief, and is founder and president of the Brookgreen Welfare conference

Lewis, who have held the reins of GOP initiative for years. They murmur that it is no doublecross. The public wonders why they are not included in the setup.

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POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

N.A.A.C.P. Presents Platform Planks To National Republican Committee

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The 31st annual Conference in session here Thursday, June 20, presented the following planks to the national Republican Platform Committee for inclusion in the 1940 Republican national platform. (The conference voted to present identical resolutions to the forthcoming Democratic convention in Chicago.)

The resolutions follow:

"Upon no part of the American population are the repercussions of European War so immediate or far-reaching as upon twelve million American Negroes due to the handicaps and disadvantages to which one-tenth of our national population has been subjected for the past three centuries. As steps towards remedying these disparities the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on behalf of its national board and its 600 branches, youth councils and college chapters located in 41 states and the district of Columbia, urges upon the platform committee and the convention of the Republican Party the inclusion of planks setting forth the following principles:

Armed Service

"We urge that Negroes be integrated into every branch of the armed service of our government without discrimination against colored Americans in every branch of the armed forces. It is obvious that it is treasonable folly to exclude from the potential strength of our country one-tenth of its population on the basis of complexion at a time when our maximum defense strength is so urgently needed.

Anti-Lynching Bill

"We urge the immediate passage of the federal anti-lynching bill and the invoking of cloture in the United States Senate if necessary to overcome filibuster. This issue of mob violence transcends race and color, though Negroes have been the chief sufferers from this loathsome evil. All of the three lynchings during 1940 have been of white Americans, and many of the narrowly avoided mobbings have also been of white persons. Subcersive forces will take advantage of the disregard of the duly constituted agencies of law enforcement unless the power of the federal government is brought to bear against dangerous mob violence at a time like this.

The Vote

"We condemn the legal and extra legal methods by which most Negro Americans and many white Americans are denied the right to vote in certain section of our country. We urge vigorous action, legislative and of every other nature, to end disfranchisement by means of the poll tax, the exclusion from so-called 'white primaries,' and by force, intimidation, and fraud. We condemn all vestiges of lilywhiteism.

Employment

"We urge abolition of the color line in employment in all tax-financed projects. We urge active support of legislation by the Congress to prohibit discrimination on account of race, creed or color in such projects. We further urge amendment of the National Labor Relations Act to prohibit any labor union which habitually discriminates in the matter of membership on account of race, creed, or color by constitutional provision, ritualistic practice or otherwise, from being designated as the sole bargaining agency for workers.

Federal Aid

"We urge the inclusion of effective safeguards against racial discrimination and segregation in all legislation providing for federal aid to education, health, housing, relief tenant and farm aid programs, and other services.

Social Security Act

"We urge amendment of the Social Security Act to extend its benefits to agricultural and domestic labor.

Federal Appointments

"Under all administrations for several decades there has been a steady decline in the number of qualified Negroes appointed to administrative policy making posts in the national government. We urge the abolition of a color bar in such appointments to the end that the American government may have the services of trained, loyal Negro Americans.

Civil Rights

"Throughout certain sections of the United States, Negroes are denied their full citizenship rights in flagrant violation of the Civil Rights Act of the United States. The Department of Justice has been in many instances notoriously reluctant to enforce these statutes when the rights of Negroes are involved We urge that the Department of Justice and the United States district attorneys take all necessary steps uncompromisingly to insure full enforcement of the present federal statutes prohibiting the denial of citizens of the U.S. all their rights as guranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

"We have found universally that Negro Americans are heartily sick of the lip service which many politicians of all parties seem to feel is all that is necessary to beguile Negro voters. We, therefore, respectfully insist not only that the above planks be included in the party platform, but that they be remembered as solemn pledges after next November and carried out in every detail."

Who Is Willkie?

On every hand people ask this question: "Who is Willkie?" The Republican National Convention, either played, unwittingly, a master stroke or committed a colossal blunder in the nomination of a man about whom the average man knows absolutely nothing. What he has said, since he came into the picture, sounds good and we must confess he sort of gets into one's hair. Further, we think we are going to like him fine.

But just the same we have been wondering by what process of reasoning do these Republicans assume that a man, however skilled in the management of big business, can be a successful president of this great nation, without any experience whatsoever in the intricacies of government. Maybe he will be a better one just because he is not tainted with experience in politics. If, by the same token, President Roosevelt, an astute politician, has, as the Republicans maitain, gummed up the works, then Nominee Willkie has a good chance of becoming the president, who was a "man nobody knows."

Somebody has remarked that Mr. Willkie's campaign was so hurriedly gotten under way that not a single "Negro was in his camp." That fact, if true, need not be alarming, for we are not greatly concerned about his stand with respect to us as we are with the greater question of his sense of justice for all Americans. If he is a true patriot, if he stands for a Square Deal for all citizens; if he is independent, but not a dictator, he might be the next president.

We should say that he ought to be a Christian, but we have begun to discover that Christians, as we have known them, do not have a monopoly on justice and brotherhood. Being a Christian ought to enhance his values in these respects, but not knowing we shall have to wait. Meanwhile, "we shall see what we shall see."

BISHOP GREGG DELIVERS INVOCATION FOR G. O. P.

Bishop John Alexander Gregg, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, of Kansas City, Kansas, offering prayer at the Tuesday evening session of the Republican National Convention, June 25, 1940. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Permanent Chairman, in rear.

Willkie Pledges Justice and Opportunity

AN EXCERPT

(By EMMETT J. SCOTT)

Washington, D. C.—The nomination of Wendell L. Willkie for President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia has been hailed by colored Republicans throughout the country with enthusiasm.

Telegrams by the hundreds were received by the nominee at Philadelphia, and at Republican National Headquarters, from colored citizens expressing gratification that so militant a warrior has been commissioned to carry the Republican standard during the coming months of the Presidential campaign.

What particularly commends Mr. Willkie to the favor of colored Republicans is the attitude he took in 1924 in opposing the Ku Klux Klan. Fortune Magazine for April, 1940, calls attention to the fact that he "led and won the battle against the Ku Klux Klan 1924-26."

* * *

He was one of those who joined the revolt against the abuses of big business. He is reported to have remarked that "the greatest joy in life is to keep one's thoughts uncontrolled by formulas. I won't be dropped into a mould," he said.

"I want to be a free spirit," he continued. "If I wasn't one, I would be still sitting on a cracker box in Indiana."

Promises Justice to Colored Delegates

In an informal interview with a room-full of colored delegates at Philadelphia during the convention, Mr. Willkie was subjected to a bit of frank questioning by them. He did not equivocate or evade. He said to them:

"Look. I want your support. I need it. But get this: irrespective of whether Negroes go down the line for me, they can expect every consideration. They will get their fair proportion of appointments, their fair representation in policy making. They'll get the same consideration that every other citizen gets.

"Now I want you to be with me. But I'll treat you squarely and fairly even if everyone of you goes against me. My record will show that."

"What about the discrimination against Negroes in the Army, the Navy and the Air Corps?" he was asked.

"I'm against all that kind of bunk," he replied. "You are citizens like everybody else and you ought to be treated like citizens. IF I AM ELECTED PRESIDENT I WILL SEEK TO REMOVE ALL KINDS OF DISCRIMINATION FROM ALL KINDS OF GROUPS." ***

THE PORTENT OF THE HOUR IS THAT WE SHALL WIN WITH

WILLKIE!

GEORGIA DELEGATION AND WHAT HAPPENED IN PHILADELPHIA

Globe & Independent 8-9-40

Georgia was entitled to fourteen delegates and alternate delegates, thirteen delegates and their alternates attended the Convention from time to time. At no time were all delegates present. Nashville, Tenn. responded to their names when called. The delegates and alternates did not leave home in a body, but like sheep scattered from the fold. Nobody thought anything of this phenomena, everything being in harmony as far your reporter knew.

J. W. Arnold called the delegation together in his rooms in the Bell-Strafford Hotel. He stated the object of the meeting and nominated C. W. Hager, State Chairman for chairman of the delegation. Secretary Williams nominated Harry Sommers in opposition. Mr. Sommers was elected over Mr. Hager. It was then we learned that the delegation was split and that Mr. Williams' friends were in charge. Mr. Williams was unanimously elected secretary. Committee places were agreed upon, and Mr. Arnold moved that the delegation meet back in his room the next day to select a National Committeeman and committeewoman and to transact such other business that might come along to be heard. The delegation met promptly; the roll called and seven members answered present, namely: Davis, Williams, Gassett, Sommers, Hobbs, Rush and Jordan. Mr. Williams announced that in the absence of a quorum, the delegation could only adjourn and call another meeting. The chairman was notified that Hager, Phillips and Crummey were outside; the chairman went outside and invited them in, Messrs. Hager, Crummey and Phillips stated that they would not attend and preferred to stay out rather than enter to make a quorum. The chairman ordered the secretary to enter upon the minutes that the delegation adjourned on account of a lack of a quorum.

No further effort was made to hold a meeting. It was reported that Mr. Hager had left for home and would call a meeting of the State Central Committee and tender his resignation as chairman. That would have been far better than what he and his executive committee attempted to do later.

Mr. Arnold insulted every Negro delegate in Philadelphia, when he announced that he would see to it that no Negro would attend another Republican Convention from Georgia. When Ben Davis received this message, he said tell Mr. Arnold to remember the President's threat to Senator George, and tell him the Negroes of Georgia accept his challenge and will meet him at Philippi. Later, an apology was received from Mr. Arnold; Ben Davis replied our answer is still we accept your challenge, for the reason, some times men commit crimes against one another that cannot be forgiven or forgotten.

"BRONZE MAYOR" OF MEMPHIS GETS OFFICE SPACE

Negro Labor News 8-10-40

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—History was made here recently when Mayor Walter Chandler, white, Memphis took the lead in a drive that netted funds sufficient to establish a well-equipped office in Church Park auditorium for the "Bronze Mayor" of Memphis, Matthew Thornton. Houston, Texas

Enough space was made available in the "mayor's" new office to provide for other members of his official staff.

Many view the acquisition of the new office for the "Bronze Mayor" as proof of the high esteem he holds in the community among both the white and colored people. On several occasions Thornton has led movements which have directly affected the betterment of conditons in Memphis.

"Mayor" Thornton is planning soon to invite the "Bronze Mayors" of other cities to Memphis, to a national convention to discuss the problems they are facing in their respective communities and to also review the progress that has been made since the position of "Bronze Mayor" was considered a joke and thrown up for ridicule.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Whole Situation Still Unsettled

Daily world

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Until after the Republican convention in Philadelphia the status of the Negro remains just as it has been for some time with no particular effort aimed at recovering the votes which the party lost in the past eight years, excepting the continuing of the activities of the publicity division.

This division, headed by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, has been for the last few months, busy sending out releases to Negro newspapers pointing out as far as possible the failures of the New Deal to improve the condition of the Negroes who flocked to the Roosevelt standard.

MERELY RUMORS

All possibilities of naming persons to head up various divisions, East and West and Women's division, are confined, it is officially stated, to rumors coming from uninformed persons. There has been no assignment to any such post and according to those in the office of the National Republican committee, there will be no such appointments until after a candidate has been named.

When asked point blank whether or not he was to head the Eastern division of the campaign, Dr. Scott answered in the negative and intimated he wouldn't accept such a position, even if it were tendered him.

Many suggestions have been received in the headquarters concerning "planks" relating to Negroes to be adopted in the convention, and some discussion on these suggestions has been held, but nothing definite in this category has as yet been decided upon.

Declaring he would not accept any position where he would have to act as "buffer" for any higher-up, Dr. Scott said he was engaged in the publicity division under Franklyn Waltman and in this department it was his duty to furnish papers with information and releases on the activities of the party and on the shortcomings of the opposition party.

SEE NO CHANGE

There are many who believe that the attitude of the Republican party toward the Negro has not undergone any change and they further contend that the same attitude will prevail through the entire campaign, with a selected few holding down positions of importance and the real workers of the campaign ignored.

It is generally conceded that the chairman of the committee scarcely knows where he will be in the general shake-up which may be expected to follow the selection of a candidate in Philadelphia. One writer has even gone so far as to name the new chairman according to the election of the candidate saying that David Ingalls of Cleveland will be the chairman if Taft wins the nomination and Strange will be chairman if Dewey wins the nomination.

At present, the whole situation is unsettled and uncertainty rules the office as it wouldn't be fair for Mr. Hamilton to burden his successor, if he has one, with any obligations committed while he held the office, nor is it likely that Mr. Hamilton will saddle whoever comes to the office with any campaign plan. All, of course, being contingent upon whether or not Mr. Hamilton is continued in office.

Many Negroes Named As GOP Convention Delegates

WASHINGTON, May 31. — (ANP) — Among the Negro delegates and alternates named to the Republican National convention in Philadelphia on June 24, are Joseph Lewis Jr., of New Orleans; Dr. J. H. Lowery of New Orleans; Dr. J. A. Harden of the same place.

From Wilmington, Del., Mrs. Carrie M. Piper. From Florida, where there is a contest between two factions there are J. Leonard Lewis of Jacksonville; Sam B. Solomon of Miami; Samuel B. McGee of Jacksonville; David H. Dwight of Jacksonville and C. H. Williams of Orlando.

Mrs. W. G. West was elected in Kansas. From Mississippi, Perry W. Howard of Jackson; S. D. Redmond, E. L. Patton, Mary C. Booze of Mound Bayou; W. J. Box of Corinth; Fred Miller of Mound Bayou; C. T. Butler, J. B. Woods of Hattiesburg; A. M. Redmond of Jackson; S. W. Rogers of Oxford; D. M. P. Hazeley; Dr. Johnson of Meridian and Dr. Lee M. Owens of Vicksburg.

In New York, Lorenzo H. King, D. D., and George E. Wibecan of Brooklyn were named with the latter an alternate from Brooklyn.

South Carolina named I. M. A. Myers of Columbia as an alternate with T. H. Pinckney of St. Georges, B. J. Nickson of Orangeburg as delegates on another ticket with Dr. H. C. Gibbs of Greenville and Willis Peake as alternates on the same ticket.

Contests are noted in Louisiana, Florida and in South Carolina, but thus far all of the states which have held their conventions have named Negroes on both tickets, the regulars and the insurgents.

As fast as their names are certified to the Republican National committee they are listed in the official roster of delegates and the list handed out to committeemen throughout the country.

Washington, D. C., although voteless, has its political organizations and on Saturday last named J. Franklin Wilson delegate and Dr. Francis as alternate. Wilson is a well known lawyer and has been active in American legion affairs for years.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS BASIC ISSUE

Defender

Truth Of Statements Made At Convention Is Questioned

7-27-40

Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Incensed by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell's address before the Democratic convention, Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman from Mississippi, challenged Mitchell to a joint debate on the presidential campaign in a letter this week. Howard's letter follows:

"Although we are very personal and social friends, I must challenge you to a joint debate on the issues of the presidential campaign growing out of your address before the recent National Democratic Convention in Chicago, in which you made many statements that I know to be erroneous, even though they were not with the intention of misleading the public.

"1. My visits to more than 32 states convince me that instead of your party polling 80 per cent of the Negro vote, the converse will be true, and Mr. Willkie will poll 80 per cent of the Negro vote in November.

"2. You are entirely in error when you say that Mr. Roosevelt has done more for the Negro than any other President. To the contrary, since everything is great or small relatively, and considering what Mr. Roosevelt has done for white people by way of appointments and otherwise, he has done less for Negroes than any President in the history of the country.

"3. He has added more than 500,000 white people to the payrolls of our government, but has added less than 200 Negroes to the payrolls, except the CCC camps, which are in the woods, and the Democrats have kept Negroes in the woods for the last 300 years.

"4. During the last eight years practically every Negro who has resigned or retired or who has been let out of the service, has been replaced by a white person.

"5. We have not had a single Negro internal revenue collector or collector of customs under Mr. Roosevelt's regime.

"6. All of our assistant United States attorneys of color have been displaced by whites, except two.

"7. We are unable to find more than five Negroes that have been appointed under the Civil Service in seven years of Democratic misrule.

"8. Even the little segregated groups of Negro employees, such as the mail rooms in the Department of Justice, have been wiped out.

"9. Segregation has been allowed to run rampant.

"10. The Anti-Lynching Bill has been a football for the Democratic Congressional leaders, when you know we would not need any Anti-Lynching Bill if there were no Democrats.

"11. Lastly, the Negro contingent in the Army has been emasculated and the Negro boy cannot even beg or fight his way into the Army Aviation Corps.

"On these issues I challenge you to a joint debate, at any place, at any time, with any impartial, capable and dignified individual presiding.

"We want to get the facts before the country generally and our racial group, especially."

YOUNG GOP'S HEAR VICE STATE HEAD

Claims Ratner Has Rekindled Hope for Negroes

CHANUTE, Kans. — Prof. P. G. Porter, vice state chairman of the Republican party, in an address before the State Young Republican organization here this week under the auspices of the Third District Young Republicans of which Quinlin Allen is president, lauded the administration of Governor Ratner and the achievements made under his administration. Mr. Porter said:

"In November, 1938, the voters of Kansas said by their ballot they had more faith in the ability of the Republican nominee for Governor to conduct the affairs of the state of Kansas more economically and with a greater degree of fairness to all of its citizens

Mr. Porter gave the following list containing a few of the competent Colored persons employed by the Ratner Administration in positions that require skill and technical training:

Avis Martin, Crawford county attorney; Miss Charlene Morton, Shawnee county legal stenographer; Miss Iva May Dixon, Wyandotte county Voucher clerk; Miss Ethel Louise Ransom, Shawnee county legal stenographer; Miss Marion Madison, Labette county Filing Clerk; Mrs. Ashley Epps, Shawnee county stenographer; Charles M. Stokes, Leavenworth county attorney; Miss Alice Clark, Douglas county legal stenographer; George Jones, Jefferson county inspector; Percy Roberson, Labette county inspector; Dr. A. Marcelle Kennedy, Wyandotte county chemist, Chester Gaskin, Wyandotte county grain inspector; Edward Dwight, Wyandotte county grain inspector; Cassius Gray, Sedgewick county state florist; Arthur Parks, Wyandotte county auditor; Miss Bessie Eads, Labette county clerk; Paul Jackson, Harvey county clerk; Maurice Jones, Sedgwick county stock clerk; Ralph Groves, Wyandotte county clerk. Roland Tyler, Atchison county clerk; H. B. Harmon, Shawnee county Chief custodian of State Office Building; Ed Ransom, Shawnee county Company officer at Boys' Industrial School in Topeka.

Further, Mr. Porter asks: What is the Governor's idea on state extravagance? He answers this question by reviewing the record as follows: "At his request the 1939 legislature appropriated approximately seven hundred thousands dollars less than was spent during the preceding administration. No new or additional taxes were inflictel. Not a single new tax was enacted. The Governor's power to veto was then used to lop off a great deal more in additional reductions bringing the total saving to almost a million dollars less to be spent by this administration than was spent during the last one.

"The state Welfare Board cut its administrative expenses by forty-four thousand, three hundred ninety five dollars and ten cents in the last six months in 1939 as compared to a similar period in 1938, a cut of thirty one and sixty seven hundredths per cent.

"Administrative expenses of the Motor Vehicle Division of the Highway Department were $268,718.14 less during 1939 than 1937. This means a definite saving to the tax payers of Kansas.

"Black men and tax payers, consequently this great saving program has been a boom to our own racial group.

"To my mind," says Mr. Porter, "one of the greatest contributions that Governor Ratner has made to the progress of the Negro race in Kansas was his fearless stand in regard to these two state owned schools for Negroes in Kansas, namely Western University and Kansas Vocational School at Topeka."

Continuing Porter said. "He (Governor Ratner) made the statement on August 23, 1938 at the Testimonial Banquet honoring Dr. G. N. Soanes, Grand Master of Masons that if elected Governor he would propose that the heals and teachers shall be chosen on the basis of educational qualifications rather than on the number of votes they can bring to his administration. These schools must cease being the football of Kansas politics."

Mr. Porter says further, "At Governor Ratner's request the 1939 legislature recreated the Board of Regents on a bi-partisan basis, placing all state educational institutions under strict non-political supervision. The two college institutions were placed under the same Board which manages the University of Kansas, Kansas State College and the three State Teachers' Colleges."

"Educational leaders of the state and nation are now according the same recognition to the heads of Western University and Kansas Vocational School as they have been accustomed to give officials of our other high grade state educational institutions. This," says Mr. Porter, "is a definite contribution to the black men and women of Kansas for it is contribution to men and women of tomorrow."

In his address Mr. Porter spoke at length on the Ratner Administration and went into detail concerning the record of the Governor of Kansas, a record which he says points upward in Negro progress. Wesley Cole of Parsons, vice state chairman was also present and many others prominent in Republican political circles from various towns throughout the state were present.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
June 2, 1940

G. O. P. Delegates

With the coming of June the time for the national political conventions will be in the public eye and South Carolina citizens will watch with interest the seating of delegates at the Republican Convention which will open at Philadelphia on June 24th. Two sets of delegates will go for recognition.

The Tolbert faction will be represented by the following: Delegates-at-large, Joseph W. Tolbert, of Ninety Six, state chairman; B. L. Hendrix, lumber dealer of Estill; W. O. Peak, colored undertaker of Anderson, and T. H. Pinckney, colored teacher of St. George; congressional delegates, First District, J. D. E. Meyer, Charleston attorney; Second, B. J. Mixon, Orangeburg merchant; Third, M. P. Tolbert, Abbeville county farmer; Fourth, M. F. Reid, Laurens county traveling salesman; Fifth, A. B. McCraw, Gaffney railroad man; Sixth, W. L. McFarlin, Williamsburg county farmer.

Keynote Speaker At Convention Of S. C. Republians Insults Negroes; Revealed As Former K. K. K. Leader

By SHERMAN D. SMITH

COLUMBIA, S. C. — It has just leaked out here that M.O. Dunning of Atlanta, Ga., prominent Southern Republican leader and keynote speaker at the Union Republican Convention here in March to elect delegates to the Republican National convention is a former grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Joseph W. (Tieless Joe) Tolbert of Ninety-Six state chairman and national committeeman, introduced Dunning as his warm and personal friend, stating that he was one of the distinguished Republican leaders in the South.

During Dunning's address he told a "darky" joke which caused several of the prominent Negro delegates to walk out of the convention. Some did not return. R. Brooks of Aiken and Dr. Robert W. Mance, a leading Columbia physician, were among those who walked out during the "darky" speech. Brooks returned and rebuked Dunning for using the word and stated that if an apology was not made to the convention he and the entire Aiken delegation would walk out to stay out. Chairman Tolbert called for order from the disturbed audience but refused to make a statement. Dunning is a former collector of port at Savannah, Ga.

Tolbert's Removal Sought

A petition signed by over 1800 Negro citizens has been sent to the headquarters of the Republican National Committee in Washington requesting the removal of Tolbert as state chairman and national committeeman from South Carolina. A new party headed by Colonel J. Bates Gerald of Summerton has been organized and it is the hope of the people here that Colonel Gerald, "blue blooded Southerner," and his delegates will be seated at Philadelphia in the place of Tolbert and his Kluxer followers and friends.

Among those on the Gerald ticket are Seymour Carroll, field representative of the American Humane Education Society, Columbia; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, prominent club woman and health worker in the Southeast; and James A. Brier of Greenville, president of the Greenville (S. C.) branch of the N.A.A.C.P, Brier made headlines in the daily press when the Ku Klux went to his home last November to take him out for a ride. Although the Kluxers ordered Brier to leave town immediately, he simply barricaded himself in his home with more than a dozen of his friends and invited the Kluxers to "come on." So far they have not arrived.

Among others to go to Philahelphia with Colonel Gerald are the Rev. E. R. Brogden, Charleston; the Rev. R. I. Lemon, presiding elder of the A.M.E. Church, Charleston; I. M. A. Myers, instructor in Allen University, Columbia, and the Rev. E. P. Ellis of Charleston, leading writer for religious periodicals.

For forty years, Negro Republicans stayed with Tolbert through habit and love for the G.O.P. Now many feel that they can no longer follow his leadership. The charges that Tolbert's bosom friend, M. O. Dunning, is a former grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan caused a rift which forced the best people in this state to request Tolbert's removal. Beyond welcoming Dunning's support, Tolbert attempts to defend him.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

GOP Platform Emphasizes Need of Permanent Relief

Reservations of Makeshift Methods To be Spurned by Party, Cites Scott

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

As far back as last August this column emphasized that the chief factor challenging the attention of colored voters during these preliminary days before the political campaign of 1940 begins is a solution of the problems of unemployment, and the attendant and correlative issues growing out of those problems in these words:

"If the Negro people are to have a solid, industrial foundation they cannot accept a philosophy which substitutes relief as a cure for unemployment, that a mere subsistence level is not what Americans desire, that . . . . instead they need and desire steady jobs at decent wages, and that . . . enlightened intelligence resents placid acceptance of relief as a palliative for unemployment."

Now comes the recently released report of the program committee of the Republican National Committee, of which Dr. Glenn Frank is chairman, with the statement that the New Deal which purports to have given special attention to the welfare of Negro citizens during the past seven years has made relief the primary and chief instrument in extending benefits to them and that "the New Deal program has operated to encourage a progressive shunting of Negroes out of normal productive enterprise into a kind of separate (discriminatory) relief economy," placing them on a permanent "reservation" of relief.

Cites Interest in Race

In 1936, at Cleveland, where the last Republican National Convention was held, the platform of the party directed attention to this same subject when it expressed continued interest in the economic welfare of colored citizens in this statement:

"We pledge our protection of their (colored citizens) economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies, and the civil service. . . . We condemn the New Deal policies which would regiment and ultimately eliminate the colored citizen from the country's productive life and make him solely a ward of the Federal Government."

These citations are made to indicate that the Republican Party does not and will not subscribe to a policy which attempts to set up relief programs for colored citizens as a permanent substitute for employment.

Without a secure place in private, productive industry, in the gainfully occupied life of America, colored citizens are doomed. Their hopes and aspirations for economic security, and the benefits which follow cannot be realized.

They cannot, and they should not, accept with and degree of complacency being regimented, and, in the end, eliminated from their rightful share in the country's abundant possibilities, progress and healthy expansion.

Relief Only Stop-gap

Relief, at best, is only a stop-gap. As a permanent instrument of government it cannot assure happiness, hope, liberty and freedom to free people. Colored citizens need to take to heart these fundamental requirements of the American way of life.

The American economic system and the American political system of representative governent cannot continue, with thousands and thousands of men and women dependent on whatever political party may be in power for relief, and with other millions and millions of employable men and women walking the streets of our American cities with little or no hope of being able to secure jobs for the support and maintenance of their families.

Colored workers cannot expect to secure continuous permanent employment at wages high enough adequately to care for the needs of their families under the best possible working conditions until the economic and political economy of our country is released from present-day restraints and limitations.

Industry is Hope

The creation of permanent work opportunities can be provided only by private industry, which unfortunately, finds itself nowadays hampered and hamstrung by intolerable conditions working alike to the disadvantage of employe and employer.

So far, only one major political party has placed itself on record. That record, above cited, shows that the Republican Party platform in 1936, and now the report of the program committee of the Republican National Committee, are as one in their insistence that colored citizens of the Republic shall not be forced by administrative techniques and manuevers into a regimented class set apart from their fellows.

It is the purpose of the assurances here cited that colored workers shall enjoy along with their fellows the full fruits of their labors without racial or other discriminatory treatment.

It is only by a reversal of present political trends that unemployment can be cured and prosperity restored.

WHEATLAND NAMED AS G.O.P. DELEGATE

TRENTON, N.J., Feb. 29 — Dr. Marcus Wheatland, of Camden, at a meeting of the Republican State Committee held here Monday, February 19, was named an alternate delegate-at-large to the party national convention.

Dr. Wheatland has been steadily forging to the front of the race Republican group in this State. Whtatland is also leading the fight among Negro voters for Harold G. Hoffman in his gubernatorial campaign.

Negro Republicans Ask Representation

ATLANTA, March 14 (AP)—Republican leaders from throughout Georgia have been invited to a meeting to be held here tomorrow night in the interest of establishing more firmly the accord which now exists between the white and Negro members of the party.

E. L. Collier, Atlanta Negro leader said Negro Republicans generally are satisfied with the party's present white leadership but feel their race should have a somewhat larger representation on the state central committee, which now includes only five Negroes in a membership of 70.

Collier said he expected an attendance of 300 or more, including these leaders:

J. W. Arnold, Athens, Republican national comimtteeman, W. G. Cornett, Athens, Dr. H. J. Carswell, Waycross; S. C. Clemons, Macon; D. C. Cole, Marietta, and J. Y. Gillam, Copper Hill, Tenn., a former chairman of the state central committee.

Successful men profit by the errors of others as well as their own

Greenville S. C. Piedmont
January 17, 1940

o Lincoln Day eek Negro Votes

Chicago Negro To Be On The Program At The Chief Observance In New York On February 12

By LYLE C. WILSON

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17—(U.P.)—The Republican national committee today announced plans for next month's national observance of Lincoln day in a campaign curtain raiser significant for its bid to regain the negro vote and close to 200 electoral votes.

The dinners will take place from February 10 to February 15 and on the following day the committee will meet here to fix the place and date of the 1940 nominating convention.

Some 5,000 persons are expected to gather for the central Lincoln day observance in New York city, February 12, where Committee Chairman John D. M. Hamilton, Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the senator from Ohio, and Aaron H. Payne will share the speaking platform.

Chicago Negro to Speak

Payne is a Chicago negro, a lawyer and considerable factor in Cook county politics. His selection for a spotlight position in the Lincoln day celebration was no accident but part of the G. O. P.'s mighty effort to regain the negro vote which, by 1936, had transferred itself almost wholly to the New Deal-Democratic party and President Roosevelt.

Both parties actively are courting negro voters this year, the northern Democratic effort being considerably hampered by the outspoken refusal of southern Democrats in congress to lend their urgently needed support. A bill to assess stiff federal penalties against local officials who permit a lynching in their jurisdiction zipped through the house last week. It was sponsored by Rep. Joseph A. Gavagan, D., N. Y., whose district embraces Harlem.

Lynching Bill Factor

Republicans eagerly joined northern Democrats in putting the anti-lynching bill through. But it is doomed in the senate unless someone can silence the filibuster which is being organized by southern statesmen. The odds are 100-to-1 that the bill will be talked to death this year as it was in 1938 to the discomfiture of northern Democrats and the definite advantage of the G. O. P. everywhere.

There is so much at stake, however, that President Roosevelt might attempt to give the northern section of his party a boost by joining the lynch-bill strategy board. In a close election the stake is an even 190 votes representing the combined strength of nine fat states where circumstances easily could give negroes the balance of power.

"The negro vote is a balance of power in many states in any election," Postmaster General James A. Farley said mid-way in the 1936 campaign and called the roll of states where he believed that vote would or could be decisive: Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, New York, Michigan, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia.

Mr. Roosevelt carried all of those but Pennsylvania in 1932 and missed none four years ago. As the largest of those states go in 1940, so the whole election is likely to go. It is not always possible in an off-year election such as that of 1938 to say without qualification that a state went Republican or Democratic. New York state, for instance, re-elected a Democratic governor by a razor edge margin but unseated three Democratic members of the house of representatives.

But by and large the mid-year voting in Mr. Roosevelt's second term demonstrated a vigorous Republican trend which, if it continues to develop at the 1937-38 pace probably would be sufficient to return the federal government to Republican control. Negroes will have much to do with the final decision.

Headquarters of the South Carolina for lumbia, S. C.

March 12, 1940.

In compliance with the call of South Carolina Republican State Executive Committee, the Richland County Republican Convention is hereby called to meet in Gymnasium Hall of Benedict College, Columbia, S. C., on March 26th, 1940, at 1 o'clock for the purpose of electing six duly qualified voters to the Republican State Convention, which is to meet on Wednesday March 27, 1940 at 12 o'clock in said Gymnasium Hall at Columbia.

The Delegates to the County Convention will also elect 11 Delegates to the Second District Convention which comprises the following counties:

Aiken, Barnwell, Bamberg, Calhoun, Orangeburg, Lexington, Richland and Sumter counties.

The ward and precinct chairmen are hereby authorized to call their respective conventions for the purpose of electing Delegates and alternates to the County Convention and for the transaction of such other business as may come before it.

It is advisable that the precinct and ward conventions be held on the 25th of March.

The precinct and wards' are entitled to the number of Delegates and alternats as follows:

Arden 3, Belleview 1, College Place 3, Eau Claire 2, Folk 1, Hampton 2, Horrel Hill No. 1, 2; Koons Store 2, Midway 1, Pontiac No. 1, 2; Sligh 2, Wayside 1 Balentine 2, Blythewood 2, Colonial Heights 2, Eastover 3, Gadsden 3, Holly Grove 1, Horrell Hil No. 2, 2; Lykesland 2, Olympia 2 Pontiac No. 2, 1; Spring Hill 2 Bear Creek 1, Brown Chapel 1 Dentsville 1, Edgewood 2, Garner 1, Hopkins 3, Killains 2, Mil Creek 2, Palmetto 1, St. Andrew 1, Summerville 1.

Wards: One 4 Delegates; Tw 3; Three 4; Four 3; Five 5; Si 3; Seven 7; Eight 2; Nine 2; Ter 2.

Only legal, qualified and duly registered voters shall particpiate in a Republican precinct or ward Convention held to select delegates to the Richland County Republican Convention, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as delegates and alternates to said convention.

The list of Delegates and Alternates shall be certified to by the precinct and ward chairman and secretary and all certificates shall be forwarded to the Richland County Republican Secretary so as to reach him by the 26th day of March 1940.

Done by order of the Richland County Republican Chairman and Executive Committee.

DR. A. J. COLLINS, County Chr.
REV. R. A. MILLER, Secretary,
J. B. LEWIE, Assistant Secretary
Executive Committee:
DR. FREDERICK C. REDFERN
REV. T. L. DUCKETT
MR. J. S. LEEVY

Republican Party of Richland County, Co-

2 Negro Appointed To Young Republican State Central Committee

Black Dispatch 3-16-40

Oklahoma City

DES MOINES.—(ANP) — For the first time in the history of the state, two Negroes, Fred Hawkins and Miss Evelyn Brooks, were appointed to the Young Republican State Committee at a meeting of all major office holders at the Hotel Savery here last Sunday.

Hawkins, head of the Negro division of the Young Republican league of Iowa, also was honored by representing at the meeting, the Governor of the State, who was forced to be absent. He gave the welcoming address before the gathering composed of the most outstanding white Republicans in the State.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
April 24, 1940

McMinn Negroes Plan GOP Bolt

Special to The Journal

ATHENS, April 23—Because the list of delegates presented by Manse Byrd, Negro evangelist of Athens, were not recognized by Chairman Hilt Dodson of the eighteenth precinct when delegates were being selected for the Republican convention held Saturday, Negro residents of that precinct are planning to organize among themselves and select their own chairman, the minister said.

Byrd said he presented a list of 67 names from which delegates were to have been selected, but they were ignored by Chairman Dodson, and two other Negroes, not on the list, were selected to represent the precinct.

Florida Republicans Split Over "Lily White" Issue; Rival Camps To Send Delegates To Convention

New York Post 4-6-40

ORLANDO, Fla.—Florida Republicans split into warring factions here March 18 and took steps to send two rival delegations to the party's national convention in Philadelphia June 23. The formal meeting of the party's state executive committee re-elected J. Leonard Replogle of Palm Beach national committeeman, Mrs. Myra F. Brown of Tampa, national committeewoman, and picked a list of 12 uninstructed delegates to the national convention.

Age 4-6-40

The insurgent members, who advocated the return of the direct primary and the giving of the Negro the right to vote, arranged a convention late in April to select a rival delegation and name rival members of the national committee. The insurgents were led by such once powerful party leaders as Judge William M. Gober of Tampa, E. E. Callaway of Lakeland, Allen W. Walker of Winter Haven, Emory Ackerman of Orlando, and Thomas E. Swanson of Fort Lauderdale.

The Rev. M. C. Strachan, Seventh Day Adventist minister, president of the Tampa Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and president of the Tampa Negro Voters' League, who was once a resident of Harlem, gives The Age a graphic picture of the fight which may be expected to be repeated in several other Southern states. Dr. Strachan writes in part as follows:

Historical Background

In Florida there is no such thing as a colored Democrat; white Democrats don't want him as a member of the party—a Negro can't register as a Democrat in Florida. If he tells a registrar he is a Democrat, that official refuses to write on his registration certificate the word "Democrat". He will write the word "Republican" or the word "Independent". Democrats but were not allowed to vote in Democratic Primaries. They may vote at the regular election but in Tampa there are not white Republican candidates for office, hence a Negro Republican in Tampa and many other places must vote for a democratic candidate, or not at all.

Thousands of Florida Negroes who have the word Republican written on their registration certificate will vote for Democratic candidates this November. They wanted to register as Democrats but were not allowed to do so. The Democrats have primaries in Florida from which all Negroes are excluded. The Republican abolished their primaries in Florida 20 years ago when they painted themselves "Lily White", hence a Florida Negro never enters a primary.

When a state convention is held by Democrats, no Negro is present. When a state convention is held by Republicans, the white Republicans who gather are "Lily Whites". If a Negro is ever present at such a convention, he is asked to come by some influential white Republican who hopes that the Negro will vote for his party man, even though he cannot be a member of the party organization.

Now as regards the convention in Orlando on March 18. The convention is made up of one white man and one white woman from each of the sixty-nine counties of the state. In other words the state convention constitutes 138 white persons. The executive officers make the executive committee of the convention. Now, much of the work of the Florida Republicans is done by this executive committee. The executive committee functions and the convention approves. There is not much democracy in that method of doing things because the people back in the poles have little or no voice in the selection of men for positions, and such a method would forever prevent a Negro from riding into a job upon the votes of his own race or anybody else's.

Man Who Defied Klan Elected G. O. P. Delegate

Journal Herald 4-6-40

MIAMI, Fla.—Sam B. Solomon, nationally known local leader who defied Ku Klux Klan threats last May and lead nearly two thousand Negroes to the polls to vote in the city primary, was elected, last week, as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, which will convene in Philadelphia in June.

R. O. P. CHAIRMAN ISSUES CALL FOR COUNTY MEET MAY 7

Clarence Miller Post Notice On 1940 Republican Conventions; Negro Precint Chairman And Meeting Places Announced

Negro Press 4-27-40

A call for the Republican convention of Harris County was issued this week by Clarence A. Miller, county chairman. The call is in pursuit of the law in compliance with instruction of the Republican State executive committee of and for the state of Texas.

The precinct convention will be held May 4 at seven o'clock. The county convention will be held May 7. ten o'clock, Milam Building, room 915, corner Texas and Milam Streets.

Houston

The purposes of the convention the notice stand are: 1. To fix the number of delegates and alternate delegates to the Republican State Conventon to be held in Dallas, Texas, May 28, 1940 (which convention elects the delegates and alternate delegates to the Republican National Convention of 1940), to which this county is entitled under the terms of the call for said State Convention.

2. To transact such other business as may properly come before said county convention.

All citizens who are qualified voters, regardless of past political affiliations, who believe in the principles of the Republican party and who will support its nominees in good faith are eligible and cordially invited to participate in the Republican precinct conventions.

Negro Chairmen

The following named persons are precinct chairmen and are authorized to give notice of, hold, preside over and make return of the precinct conventions in their respective precincts. Every Republican in the precincts listed are urgad to contact these chairmen for the exact place of meeting.

Precinct 24, R. R. Grovey, chairman; Precinct 25, Charley Crouch, chairman; Precinct 47, John White, chairman; Precinct 30, Rev. J. R. Burdette and Mrs. Ella B. Whitley, co-chairmen; Precinct 122 has been consolidated with precinct 75, J. M. Farber and G. O. Burgess, co-chairmen; chairmen have as yet to be named for precincts 79 and 48.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Accuse Scott Of 'Puttin' One Over' G.O.P. Leaders

(Chicago Defender Special)

NEW YORK, Jan. 19—Rumors are current here that Dr. Emmett J. Scott, former secretary to the late Booker T. Washington, has allegedly brought great embarrassment to the forthcoming Lincoln dinner and apologies and explanations are flowing right and left. It is all because Scott, who is a salary man of the G.O.P. National committee, is alleged to have misrepresented one situation and failed to represent another.

The story runs around the thus far very secret announcement that Aaron H. Payne, young Chicago lawyer, who is yet confined to the ward and precinct, had been tentatively selected to speak at a Lincoln dinner in this city, February 12.

Scott Invited

Two or three months ago it was suggested to the committee, of which Judge W. M. Bennett is chairman, to have some noted Race man speak as well as attend the dinner. Last year F. D. Patterson, of Tuskegee institute, ardent New Dealer, attended but sat mum. This year a "few words" would be spoken on Lincoln.

Two or three names of distinguished men were presented. When it came time to make the selection the man upon whom the committee relied to make the choice, because of his great following among the Race and his knowledge of affairs, was absent from the city. Thereupon Judge Bennett got John Hamilton, national chairman, on the telephone and asked his advice.

Hamilton Steps In

Names mentioned to Hamilton were all objectionable and one name put him in quite a stir. Hamilton put forward the name of Scott, as "a great political thinker,' although Scott has not voted in 40 years, and draws a pension from Howard university and a salary from the National committee.

Dr. Scott very modestly and promptly declined the honor but begged to recommend "a former state senator from Illinois and one of the great orators of the age," according to the recommendation. He presented the name of Aaron H.

for guest tickets, and that, "advance requests are the largest of any dinner we have had."

Chairman John Hamilton hails Republican plans for the celebration of Lincoln's Birthday this year as indicative of the new spirit of harmony and alertness solidifying the party's ranks. Confident of victory in the Presidential election of 1940, tens of thousands of determined Republicans from coast-to-coast will jam hundreds of meeting halls to pay tribute to the memory of The Great Emancipator.

The series of Lincoln Day Dinners and Meetings will consitute the kick off of the Republican party in its fight to restore to the nation a government based on Americanism, common-sense and sound finance.

Aaron Payne To Speak In New York

Chicago Lawyer To Deliver Lincoln-Douglass Address

WASHINGTON. D. C.—Aaron H. Payne, young Republican leader of Chicago, will be one of the guest speakers at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, along with John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National committee, and Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Ohio Senator, who is a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. Mr. Payne has a rich educational and political background. He received his Bachelor's degree from Howard university, Washington, D. C., in 1922 and his Master's degree in History from the same institution in 1923. The fall of that same year he entered the School of Law, University o Chicago, and graduated with high honors in 1926; he has practiced in Chicago ever since.

During Republican city and state administrations, he served successively as assistant city prosecutor, assistant corporation counsel, and as arbitrator for the Illinois Compensation Commission.. During the latter part of the Presidential campaign of 1936, he was director of

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the Colored Young Peoples Division of the Republican National Committee.

He has been invited to speak as a representative of "the younger group of colored Republicans. His high standing at the Chicago Bar and in Illinois Republican politics give promise he will worthily meet the expectations of this important occasion.

William S. Eennet, chairman of the Lincoln Day Dinner Committee of the National Republican club, under whose auspices the dinner is to be given, states that 5,000 Republicans, men and momen have applied

Payne, and in the absence of the man best acquainted with Race matters, Judge Bennett innocently put the name down and officially sent out letters to the full committee bearing this information.

Says It's Scandalous

Upon the return to the city of the man who had put forward the idea, Judge Bennett informed him of the choice made. When told that Payne was not a state senator and never had been one, and that he never held any kind of position except as an assistant attorney in the state labor department of Illinois, it is said that Judge Bennett "went up in the air."

But that was not the fly in the ointment. A spokesman of the Lincoln dinner, who is close to Judge Bennett, said that the situation became scandalous when it was learned that Payne is Scott's son-in-law. The sub-committee feels that it has been imposed upon, not because of any part Payne had in the matter, but because Hamilton had not put things together properly.

Everybody Ducks

A representative of Hamilton says he himself was surprised to learn that Payne is not a "senator" as the announcement reads, and that he is the son-in-law of Scott. Many members of the committee feel that it would be best in the situation, since both Hamilton and former President Hoover are on the Lincoln program, to do something to offset the embarrassment under which they find themselves.

Mr. Hamilton says that his prejudiced and personal feelings would not lead him to attempt to dictate to the committee as to what it should now do.

A GOOD REPORT

Intelligent and fairminded Negro Republicans have the highest confidence in the program committee of the Republican party and from the time it was appointed have reposed the greatest confidence in it and the work it was undertaking. All intelligent Negroes know that in Dr. Glenn Frank the party chose one of the ablest and most progressive men in the nation for the gigantic task of studying the policies and practices of the New Deal.

It was gratifying and reassuring to Negro Republicans and the Negro race in general to note that a group of able, conscientious and successful colored men and women was appointed on the program committee. It is reasonable to assume that these colored leaders have been called upon to furnish opinions and data concerning Negro Americans for the report which Dr. Frank and his associates have drafted. 2-23-40

The Nashville Globe has watched with pride the work of Republican leaders, who, in the face of the greatest odds, have carried on an intelligent attack against the vagaries of the New Deal under the brilliant leadership of the Hon. John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee. We have never seen as splendid a publicity campaign conducted by the Republicans as that which Mr. Franklin Waltman has carried on since he has been the publicity director, and the addition of Mr. Emmett J. Scott to the publicity staff was a commendable recognition of the need for having a competent and highly respected Negro in the national headquarters. The remarkable victory which the Republican party achieved in the elections of 1938 fully entitles these men to the respect and confidence of all unselfish party leaders. We are sure that the rank and file members of the party, regardless of race, have no patience with any men or women who refuse to support the work of those who have been entrusted with the high and exacting task of rehabilitating the Republican party and making it capable of waging a victorious campaign.

The program committee of the Republican party has had access to Negro newspapers, including the splendid publications of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. From these sources the committee has been able to understand the hopes, aspirations and most certainly the grievances of the Negroes of the United States.

It is advisable, we think, to assume that a broad-guaged American like Dr. Glenn Frank, "aided and abetted" by practical political leaders of both races who are actuated by the zeal to win the next Presidential election, have a program for the campaign which will be of great value to all concerned.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

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Chicago Attorney Delivers Notable Speech At Banquet

Crowd At Annual Feast Of Lincoln-Douglass Voters League Enjoys Addresses And Excellent Menu

That the Republican Party is on its way back to power in the nation and will elect the next President was the contention of Aaron H. Payne, lawyer and former official in the city government of Chicago in a brilliant address before a large and enthusiastic audience at the annual banquet of the Lincoln-Douglass Voters League held Wednesday night this week in the spacious gymnasium of the Colored Y. M.C.A.

Mr. Payne, a native of Louisville a graduate of Kentucky State College and of Howard University in Washington was guest speaker at the banquet by designation of the Hon. John D. Hamilton, Chairman of the Republican National Committee. The young lawyer has forged to the front in recent years as the leading orator of the young Republican group and is also unsurpassed by any of the more mature leaders in ability to discuss forcefully and intelligently national political issues.

His fame as a speaker had preceded him here as he had been the speaker for the Negro race on the famous Lincoln Day program at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York where he appeared with Mrs. Robert A. Taft and the Hon. John D. Hamilton and delivered an address that electrified thousands throughout the nation. In his address here, Mr. Payne more than lived up to the high expectations of his large and appreciative audience, composed of some of the best known Republican and independent political workers of the city.

Mr. Payne abandoned his prepared speech in which he was to pay tribute to Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, the immortals for whom the leading Republican organization of Nashville is named and delivered what he termed a "heart to heart" talk to his race on the need of thinking seriously upon the great economic issues that have been born with the New Deal and how the plans of New Dealers are fraught with great concern for the future welfare of the Negro race, especially those living in urban centers.

He predicted that in the expressed ideas of such leaders as President Roosevelt and Mayor Laguardia of New York City concerning the over-population of cities result in a movement to force people to leave these cities, it will mean that those persons who are on relief and otherwise dependent upon government doles will be the ones who will be bundled up and carried to the rural districts. He stated that those persons who must live on government help and live in government-owned houses are the most insecure elements of the population of the cities.

Mr. Payne's idea is that citizens of the lower income group, instead of being happy over what the government is giving them, should wish and work for a new era of economic progress in the nation, and one in which people now on relief would have jobs in private industry, and thus rendered able to maintain for themselves a higher standard of living, buy homes they would own and live normal lives.

A Southern-born man, Mr. Payne, confided that since he has lived in the North and has been active in political affairs, he seldom gets a chance to speak to an exclusive Negro group such as the one which heard him Wednesday night, and he was proud of the opportunity to speak with particular regard to the Negro's attitude toward present conditions and trends.

The speaker expressed the view that the Negroes of Nashville had a golden opportunity to make advancement and make a fine contribution to better government and better conditions here, but warned them that they must take a more active interest in political affairs and by all means qualify to vote. He deplored the lack of interest in voting that is shown by young people and stated they were making a big mistake when they failed to pay the required poll tax and register.

The speaker was given thunderous applause in paying a fine tribute to Dr. Henry Allen Boyd, the president of the League, telling the audience that Dr. Boyd was the kind of man to follow, because he was in an economic position to render a safe leadership that could not be controlled by politicians with selfish aims. He likened Dr. Boyd's zeal and willingness to assume political leadership of his race here to that of former Congressman Oscar De-Priest of Chicago, contending that the fine achievements the Negro in Chicago has made politically have come as a result of the wise leadership of Mr. Depriest more than of any other man in that great party.

Following his address, Mr. Payne was showered with congratulations by his audience, most of them crowded around him to express their approval of his remarks and of how deeply it had inspired them.

The banquet dinner was the best the Lincoln-Douglass League has served since its organization more than six years ago. The menu consisted of turkey and dressing, cranberry sauce, green peas, mashed potatoes, celery and buttered, hot rolls and coffee as the first course with ice cream and cake as the second course. Mrs. McKinley Harding, the cateress, was highly complimented for her preparation of the repast.

The Sunday School Congress Band rendered splendid music prior to the speaking, which began at 9:00 o'clock. President Boyd opened the program with a short introductory address, following the rendition of "America" by the audience. Mr. Henry B. Haley led the singing with Mrs. Julia Jones at the piano.

In a short address, L. D. Williams, editor of the Nashville Globe, spoke of Mr. Payne as being a "big gun" whom he had known since he was a "little pistol." The editor and Mr. Payne are fellow-alumni of Kentucky State College and the editor knew the speaker when he was quite a youngster.

The speaking closed with remarks by President Boyd, complimentary of Mr. Paynes great address and of the fine reception the address had received from the audience.

Mr. Payne arrived in Nashville shortly before noon Wednesday and was met at the Union Station by President Boyd. He went from the train to the National Baptist Publishing Board and made a brief talk to the officials and employes at the morning devotional exercises. Following his address Wednesday night he returned to Chicago where he is engaged in a hot political battle as one of the managers of the campaign of the Hon. Dwight Green, candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor of Illinois.

Piedmont, Ala., Journal
February 23, 1940

Chicago Refused To "Auction"

In the bid for the Republican national convention, Chicago failed to react to the "auction" racket offered by Philadelphia, and let the latter city have the big show. Philadelphia not only put $200,000 on the barrel head but raised their own bid by offering the auditorium and a lot of other concessions. Chicago, failing to be lured by the G. O. P. advance showmen, bid only $125,000, and said she was not up for "auction."

Promptly upon the convening of the national Republican board of strategy as usual there flared up an internal row between the Negro Republican leaders over the old bone of contention of greater recognition of the Negro voters. This embraces the argument that the Negro should receive more consideration from the party, should be consulted more and in a general way given a greater voice in party executive councils, and the like.

As it stands, the Republicans will have approximately four more weeks time for campaigning, having approximately twenty-one weeks to beat the air in another deathbed stand for reclamation of power and prestige and the Republicans will need it, but it shouldn't do the Democrats any harm.

The Demos meeting in Chicago on July 15, will have 15 weeks for printing the ballots and preparing the routine machinery for another New Deal landslide. And that's really more time than is needed to accomplish another crushing victory.

S.C. Now Has Two "Republican" Parties

COLUMBIA, S.C. — (ANP) — There are now two Reublican parties—or two factions of the party—both of which will hold State conventions here next week.

The "Old Union Republican Party"—the party of Jeffersonian philosophy and Abe Lincoln's psychology—is headed by Joseph W. Tolbert of Ninety-Six, and the new party, of recent birth, is headed by a young Republican, G. Bates Gerals of Summerton.

Tolbert is supporting Mr. Taft as a Republican candidate for President. Another feature of the two conventions is the fact that both will elect delegates to the next national Republican convention, and both will go to Philadelphia seeking admission next June.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILATION

REPUBLICAN

DEWEY'S CHICAGO SPEECH

Thank God, a candidate for the Presidency whose own life is as "clean as a hound's tooth" and whose heart is aflame with indignation over corruption in high places, has come forward to champion the cause of righteousness in elections and to crusade against the revolution-breeding schemes of crooked politicians.

That man is Thomas E. Dewey, the unterrified prosecutor of racketeers of New York, who on Thursday night of last week, went to Chicago and made one of the most heart-warming addresses the people of this country have heard since Abraham Lincoln keynoted his belief that this government can not permanently endure half slave and half free.

It is a fact that the New Deal has been consistent in only one thing and that "the corruption of the ballot." Planned corruption was reduced to a science by the politicians in the New Deal. The open and above board sums of money which the New Deal accounts for as its compaign expenditures were a mere bagatelle in comparison to the sums that were garnered from the poor people on relief, much of which, it can be believed, went not for the purpose of the election but rather as fees to the collectors of the money and proof to these collectors that New Deal really does provide a "more abundant life" for its true believers.

Too long has the New Deal gotten away with lambasting the business interests, big and little, and impugning dishonesty to them. Dewey dares to expose the sins of the New Deal and show that they make a more sordid chapter than all the evils legitimate business may be guilty of for the past 150 years. By comparison we see again the example of sinners calling the righteous to repentance.

An overwhelming majority of Americans have never believed that it actually has taken as much money to supply the wants of the needy as the New Deal has spent. They have known all along that there was something "rotten in Denmark" about the New Deal's policy of handling the relief situation. They have been suspicious all along that in choosing political hacks to administer relief, there would be inefficiency and waste. But it is doubtful that any great number of citizens knew the extent to which relief expenditures were prostituted to political ends and the extent to which cruelty and fraud have been practiced upon the destitute men, women and children that a charitable and a God-fearing people willingly taxed themselves to support.

The New Deal is stained and shamed by its record of imposing upon the poor and needy and likewise upon all who are being taxed to support this government. Thomas E. Dewey intends to expose that record without fear or favor. He can rest assured that the decent people of this country want him to keep up the good work. A continued policy of exploiting the poor and needy, as has been practiced by the politicians of the New Deal, can do more to destroy the American form of government than an attack by an invading army.

The discontented millions of men and women who are continually put on and off the relief rolls can not be kept permanently from doing acts of violence. For too long relief clients have been "needled" into believing that business, industry and those who work in private industry are inimical to the people on relief. For too long has the blame for the "on again and off again" treatment of relief clients been put upon a "hard hearted" public which allegedly frightened congressmen into reducing relief appropriations.

It is time that the truth of the New Deal's relief policy should be exposed fully, so that even the relief clients themselves will know why they are not kept regularly at work. They need to know that relief work is intended to be more plenteous just before primaries and elections and that when people are not on relief the probability is that in that period relief money is being hoarded to help finance the next political campaign.

Verily, that was an historic speech the Hon. Thomas E. Dewey made in Chicago, Thursday night of last week. We hope coleric Charlie Michelson, who did such a famous job of "smearing" President Hoover, was listening in. If so, we are sure he learned for once in his life that "those who intend to walk on glass legs should not throw stones."

Hoover In Philly

Over 1,100 members and friends of The Philadelphia Young Men's Christian Association packed the banquet hall of the exclusive Penn Athletic Club on last Monday to attend the Annual Dinner of this organization.

Herbert Hoover, Ex-President of the United States was the guest speaker. The subject of his address was "Youth Faces The Future."

The above group of prominent Philadelphians and supporters of The Philadelphia Y.M.C.A. chatted with Mr. Hoover in his private suite at the Penn A. C. just before the dinner: Reading from left to right, Attorney G. Edward Dickerson, Bishop David H. Sims, Attorney Herbert E. Millen, Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, Dr. Griffiths C. Brannon, Dr. Charles A. Lewis, Mr. Hoover shaking hands with Dr. Brannon the Chairman of the Board; Herbert T. Miller, Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Y.M.C.A., and Dr. John P. Turner.

CAN THE G. O. P. WIN?

There were some fine, orthodox political speeches made at the Republican State Convention held here on Tuesday of this week and they elicited enthusiasm of a volume that could not help but warm the cockles of the hearts of each orator assigned to the task of pointing with pride and viewing with alarm.

The "rousements" of political conventions are as much a part of the show as the flags, bunting and band playing. There is no need ever to abandon these methods of putting enthusiasm and fight into the assembled delegates. No cause, whether religious, civic or in the realm of sports, is worthy of the name if it can not arouse great enthusiasm from its multitude of devotees.

But let it be said with due regard for task facing the Republicans of Tennessee and the nation, that young Donald W. Hornbeck of Ohio, chairman of the Republican National Federation, in a few brief moments, made a speech in which there was as much realism and sound doctrine as in any of the more lengthy addresses delivered by his elders.

Mr. Hornbeck let it be known that this matter of organizing, carrying on a ceaseless campaign of education among the voters and working doggedly to get out the vote are the things necessary to win political victories. He got cheers from the convention when he predicted a Republican victory in November, but scarcely any when he expressed the view that he expected victory only as a result of hard work of getting out the vote.

It is to be hoped that the timely remarks made by Mr. Hornbeck will be taken to heart not only by the delegates who attend the Republican convention but by the rank and file of the party throughout the state. Especially should those who hold leadership of the party in this state make up their minds to put on the kind of campaign of education and vote-winning that will impress the followers of the party that they really want to win a political victory. There has been, in the past, too much shadow boxing by Tennessee Republicans to make either the Democrats feel like extending themselves or the rank and file Republicans feel it worth their while to give time and money merely to maintain a skeleton organization in the state, whose chief concern was to distribute the few crumbs of Federal patronage that come with a Republican victory in the nation.

Tennessee Republicans have not won victory on their merits since 1920. In that year they carried the state for Harding and elected a Republican governor. It is true the state went for Hoover in 1928, but so did Texas, Florida, North Carolina and Virginia after they found out what was the religious belief of the Democratic candidate.

There is sufficient disaffection in Democratic ranks in Tennessee at present, and which is likely to remain after the party's convention and state primary, to spell "opportunity" for an alert Republican party that will conduct an intelligent and industrious campaign.

It was fitting and proper for the able speakers at the State convention to predict that victory was just around the corner for the Grand Old Party of Tennessee. But it is hoped they mean to make assurance doubly sure by putting forth an intelligent and honest effort to merit and achieve that victory.

NEGRO VOTERS IN MIDWEST AID DEWEY TO VICTORY

NEW YORK. — Sweeping primary victories by Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for Presidential nomination, in Nebraska, Illinois and Wisconsin were aided substantially by the Negro voters of those areas. An analysis of the vote in Illinois and Nebraska last week and of that in Wisconsin two weeks ago leads to this conclusion.

Wisconsin has a small Negro population, about 5,000, but a large number of the voters joined the Dewey landslide in that State and aided in the defeat of Senator Arthur Vanderberg in the primary three weeks ago.

In Nebraska the Dewey forces were aided by C. C. Galloway, editor of the Omaha Guide, State Senator John Adams and many others. Their excellent showing was the outgrowth of pre-primary work in that area planned during the recent visit of Mr. Dewey and also of Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, one of his aides in the New York District Attorney's office.

The significance of Dewey's smashing victory over Vandenberg in this State, known as a Vandenberg stronghold, proves he is the party's leading Presidential candidate.

Colored Man Second Youngest G. O. P. National Convention Keynoter.

(By EMMETT J. SCOTT)

Washington, D. C. — Announcement by the Committee on Arrangements of the Republican National Committee that Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota has been selected to sound the keynote address at the opening meeting of the Republican National Convention to be held in Philadelphia beginning June 24, 1940, also calls attention to the fact that Governor Stassen is the youngest keynoter ever selected.

It is held as a good omen for the Republican party that the able, liberal aggressive Governor of Minnesota is to sound the toscin at Philadelphia and to get the convention off to a good start.

It is also of note that in 1884, John R. Lynch, a colored delegate to the Republican National Convention from the State of Mississippi, was elected Temporary Chairman in the heated contest between the forces of Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont and James G. Blaine of Maine, candidates for the Republican nomination.

Mr. Lynch was the youngest selection of the Republican Party as a keynoter up to that time until this years selection of Governor Stassen. The fact that Mr. Lynch was a colored Republican, being at that time only 36 years of age, was a wide departure.

The Republican convention of 1864 was a historic one. It was at this convention that Theodore Roosevelt, afterward Governor of New York and President of the United States, made his first appearance at a Republican National Convention. He seconded the nomination of Mr. Lynch in a stirring speech. Mr. Lynch was elected over General Powell Clayton of Arkansas by a majority of 40 votes.

Mr. Lynch was appointed Captain and Paymaster in the regular United States Army by President William McKinley during the Spanish American War, then promoted to Major and Paymaster in 1906, and retired in 1911.

Other younger men who have served as Temporary Chairmen of the Republican National Convention were: Carl Schurz, of Missouri, who at 39 years of age presided over the convention of 1868, and J. Sloat Fassett, of New York, who at the age of 38 years presided over the convention in 1892.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

DODSON SAYS INTELLIGENT NEGRO VOTER NOT SWAYED BY EMPTY PLATFORM ORATORY

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 7—Stating that the intelligent Negro voter is "no longer swayed by empty platform oratory," Thurman L. Dodson, powerful figure in national Republican circles, has challenged the leadership of Perry W. Howard and Mrs Mary C. Booze, members of the Republican National Committee from Mississippi, because of their "painful silence" and neglect in supporting the resolution of Robert R. Church of Tennessee, in a concrete attempt to woo the colored voters back into the GOP fold.

Mr. Thurman, in an open letter to Howard and Mrs. Booze, said their positions carried "corresponding obligations" and accused them of not using their influence to carry through the resolutions offered by the Memphis Tennessean. His remarks follow:

"I have read with amazement an account of your conduct at the recent meeting of the Republican National Committee.

"May I state first of all that I am a Republican, and it is in that vein that I wish to make several observations upon the implications of your action, or shall I say, non-action.

"I refer to your failure to support the resolution offered by Mr. Robert R. Church, of Tennessee. I have had an opportunity to read that resolution. Any tyro of a politician can see that the resolution by its terms, scope and purpose was aimed to gain for the Negro a larger recognition by the party.

"Thinking Negroes, young and old, are asking and wondering, Mr. Howard and Mrs. Booze, why you were both so conspicuous by your silence, when your group needed militant articulate leadership. It is easy enough for you to boast of the exalted positions which you hold high in the councils of the party, but may I suggest that those positions carry with them their corresponding obligations. You cannot consistently boast of being the representatives of 12,000,000 Negroes and then, when the time comes to stand up and be counted where their interests are involved, be painfully silent.

"This, of course, brings up the larger issue, that there should and must be given some voice in the national party councils to Negroes from the voting areas, I am positive that the Church resolution would not have died for the want of a second. You, Mr. Howard and Mrs. Booze, can no more represent the Negroes of New York and Chicago than Mr. Creager and his committeewoman can the white voter of New York and Chicago. You don't speak the same language.

"May I say further, my dear Sir and Madam, that the intelligent Negro voter is no longer swayed by empty platform oratory. They are certainly not judging the so-called race leaders by their haranguing of Negro audiences, but they are rather judging the so-called leaders by what they do and say in the policy-forming or policy-influencing positions which they occupy.

"May I also remind you that the time is ripe for the thinking Negroes to repudiate and dethrone those who simply shout and talk at the big gate and become woefully inarticulate when their position and influence demand that they should speak out. The good people of Mississippi will shortly have an opportunity to teach an object lesson to race leaders like you by leaving you home where your silence cannot harm them and the race.

"My hope is that they will have the forthrightness and vision to repudiate such leadership."

(Signed)
THURMAN L. DODSON.

Atlanta Ga Journal
March 10, 1940

State GOP Forces Will Gather Here

Republican leaders from all over the state will gather at the Negro branch of the Y. M. C. A. on Butler Street for a mas meeting Friday night at 8 o'clock. Purpose of the meeting will be to urge registration and to ease party relations between several factions.

Principal speakers will be National Committeeman James W. Arnold, State Chairman Clint W. Hager, H. H. Turner, Fulton County chairman, and Gilbert E. Johnson, Chatham County chairman, Dr. T. H. Slater, Negro physician, and Forrester B. Watson, also will address the gathering.

E. L. Collier, Negro sponsor of the meeting, urged both Negroes and whites interested in the Republican Party to attend.

This Resolution By 'Bob' Church Caused Dodson To Speak Out

Said Program Committee Had Accomplished Nothing and Asked for $100,000 Appropriation to Show Negroes 'The Light.'

RESOLUTION OF R. R. CHURCH, TENNESSEE

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The resolutions I am about to introduce is presented because of my interest in our great party, our well being as a nation and our success as the dominant political thought of that nation depends in no small way upon the return of colored people to their party. These people are Republicans and my labors have been and will continue to be to bring them back to the proper way.

I expect this resolution to be adopted but I trust that it will not be laid away until time when action under it will be too late to assist our cause.

At the meeting of the Republican National Committee held in the City of Chicago, Illinois, on November 5, 1937, provisions were made for the appointment of a platform committee, the purpose of which was to formulate a platform upon which the Republican Party would go before the country in the presidential election in 1940, and;

WHEREAS, pursuant to the direction of the Republican National Committee, the so-called Program Committee consisting of approximately 200 members was created, and;

WHEREAS, the Program Committee having spent approximately two years and a large sum of money has completed its work and the report of this Committee has been submitted to and is now before the Republican National Committee for consideration and disposition, and;

WHEREAS, an analysis of this report discloses that said report is entirely lacking in any suggestions useful in the formation of a constructive program upon which an appeal can be made to the colored voters in the forthcoming campaign, and;

WHEREAS, the Republican National Committee has not seen fit to provide the machinery for properly inquiring into the problems of the Negro in the light of present day conditions and the effect of the "New Deal" philosophy of government upon his political and economic existence and;

WHEREAS, if it is the hope and desire of the Republican Party to recapture the colored vote it is imperative that it present to him a program constructive in its nature and pledging itself to the basic principle of recognizing him as an integral part of this government and assuring and guaranteeing to him a full protection of his constitutional rights and a full participation in the social, political and economic life of this nation, and;

WHEREAS, that due to the complexity and confusion of the political and economic issues of the day it is imperative that in order that enlightened judgment might be exercised by the voters of this country, the issues must be based upon clear facts and presented in a simple persuasive manner;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Republican Party recognizes the ideals, hopes and aspirations of our colored citizens of this country and pledges its unstinted power and influence toward their fulfillment;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Republican National Committee recognizes the necessity for assembling full and complete data to enable it to properly meet the problems involved and to present the issues in a clear and understanding way to the colored voters of this country;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Chairman of the Republican National Committee is hereby directed to forthwith set up in the National Committee a unit devoted especially to the gathering of factual data and publicizing the same on matters pertaining to the colored citizens as they affect his political and economic security;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars be made available for this work, a large portion of which should be spent with the colored press.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I move the adoption of this resolution.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

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MR. CHAIRMAN, I move the adoption of this resolution.

Atlanta Ga Journal
March 17, 1940

Georgia's GOP Leaders Confer

Republican leaders from various sections of Georgia urged at a mass meeting here Friday night that Negroes be given a greater representation in the party's central state committee and in the executive committees of the various counties.

Some 350 persons, including half a hundred white persons, attended the rally at the Butler Street branch of the Colored Y. M. C. A. E. L. Collier, Negro Republican leader and sponsor of the meeting, said he is "favorably impressed" with the representation Negroes will have when the various party conventions are held in Georgia.

Speakers included State Chairman Clint W. Hager, Atlanta; National Committeeman J. W. Arnold, Athens; Gilbert E. Jackson, First District chairman; and J. L. Crumbley, Third District chairman.

CHURCH IS SEEKING $100,000

Courier 2-24-40

Political Leader Says 30,000-Word Report of GOP Committee Doesn't Tell How Party Can Win Negro Vote.

Pittsburgh Pa.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22.—The Republican National Committee transacted its business last Friday with harmony and dispatch until Robert R. Church, of Memphis, offered a resolution to set aside $100,000 for "gathering of factual data and publicizing the same, on matters pertaining to the Negro citizen as they affect his political and economic security."

At the morning executive session, Dr. Glenn Frank, former Wisconsin University president, had presented his 30,000-word report of the G.O.P. program committee, on which Ralph J. Bunche, a teacher of political science at Howard University, served. The report was two years in the making.

MIDDLE TENNESSEE REPUBLICAN LEADERS IN NASHVILLE

Courier 3-30-40 Pittsburgh, Pa.

Republican leaders in Tennessee who assembled in the office of Bert Cumby, prominent Nashville undertaker, last week to plan the political campaign are, left to right: Sam Jamison, Joe E. Suggs, secretary Davidson of the county Republican committee; Dr. H. H. Walker, R. C. Grant, president Davidson of the County Voter's League; Rev. S. H. James and Bert Cumby.

Seven Negroes Get GOP Delegateships

By WILLIAM FOWLKES

Seven delegates of the nineteen Republicans chosen Saturday to represent Fulton County in the Fifth District and State GOP conventions are colored. Alternates to these delegates likewise are colored.

The choice of delegates came in a mass meeting of county Republicans in Fulton County Courthouse. Colored citizens present outnumbered the whites more than twenty to one.

Attorney Elbert Tuttle, white, was chosen chairman of the GOP county organization. Other officers chosen were E. A. Humphries, white, vice chairman; Harry Sommers, secretary, and E A Thornwell, treasurer.

LIST DELEGATES

Chosen as deelgates to represent the county GOP group in the District Meeting on May 10 and in the state meeting on May 18 were the following:

B. F. Cofer, B. F. Davis, Dr. L. M. Hill, W. S. Holloman, John C. Long, Mrs. Mae Yates and Fred C Gassett, colored; Harry Sommers, C. W. Hager, Ralph Wright, Bruce Kirkpatrick, Frank A. Doughman, A. F. Burbage, Ed Humphries, H. A. Allen, Elbert Tuttle, William O. Henry, Roy Spitler and Glen Ray, white.

Alternates to the delegates chosen were: T. M. Alexander, Robert C. Eberhardt, Rev. C. N. Ellis, T. W. Holmes, W. G. Westmoreland, Miss Ella Ramsey and Mrs. C. M. Pearson, colored; J. D. Tindall, L. H. Hyneman, A. J. Slaten, P. D. Allen, J. W. Hubbard, George Sherrill, Dr. C. A. Cudgington, E. R. Neely, H. O. Booth, F. D. Pressley, James Mybbels and Mrs. Carrie Mae Allen, white.

Delegates and alternates were chosen after a committee on nomination composed of B. J. Davis, Frank Doughman, white, and A. F. Burbage, white, was appointed by National Committeeman Clint W. Hager, acting as chairman. W. G. "Bill" Shaw acted as secretary of the meeting, which began promptly at 12 o'clock noon.

RAP DEMOCRATS

The group adopted a resolution offered by Henry A. Alexander, white, calling upon Georgians in general to support the Republican party because the Democratic party "is now controlled and dominated by men who do not seem to like the American system of government and rather prefer the systems prevailing in Russia and Germany, with government in control of everything and themselves in control of government"; because "the time has now come to scrutinize the one-party system of the South and inquire whether it has not cheapened and degraded our state and local politics, blocked our progress and destroyed our influence in national affairs," and because the "aggregation now in control of government and calling themselves the 'Democratic' party is in no sense the former Democratic party to which the South has so long adhered."

The GOP resolution said that the "recent demand for a third term does not express the sound judgment of the people of Georgia, but only the earnest desire of job holders to continue in their jobs."

Attorney A. T. Walden warned the Republicans that they must meet and be active every year in the localities "where the shoe pinches' or suffer to die as a political group. He condemned the activity of some he described as waiting until every national election year to become active so that they could receive the "handouts".

Dr. Hill warned that the nation must have a two-party government if it would function as a real democracy.

Several other white lawyers and businessmen spoke, urging the support of the Republican party in view of economic conditions and the "unbalanced budget".

Credit for the large representation of colored delegates and alternates in the Fulton County group goes to the Young Men's Republican Club, headed by F. C. Gassett. In approximately eighteen months of operation, it has become an organization that has been able to demand and get one-third representation on committees and delegations

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

ATTEMPT TO BUY NEGRO VOTE LAID TO REPUBLICANS

Charge Hurled by Illinois Democrat During Debate on Lynching Bill

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Jan. 9.—The House heard its only negro member, Representative Mitchell, Democrat, Illinois, hotly charge the Republican party today with "trying to buy back the negro vote" with the pending anti-lynching bill.

His accusation, in the midst of a quiet, almost perfunctory renewal of a controversy that recurs in every Congress, started something. Several Republicans sought recognition to express their resentment and Representative Fish (R), New York, caustically inquired whether the negro vote was for sale.

"Every vote in the United States is for sale," Mitchell answered. "Not for money, but for rights and justice."

Representative McDowell, Republican, Pennsylvania, accused Mitchell, ardent proponent of the bill, of trying to alienate the Republicans from its support, but asserted that 98 per cent of his party colleagues would vote for it.

Produces Letter

Representative Seccombe, Republican, Ohio, produced a letter which he said Mitchell wrote to a constitutent last November agreeing to take up a matter with the WPA if the constituent could first produce a letter from his ward committeeman.

"That indicates," said Seccombe, "who is trying to play Santa Claus and who is not, and who is trying to buy the negro vote and who is not."

Representative Burdick, Republican, North Dakota, asserted that Mitchell's statement was a reason for voting against the bill, but that Mitchell did not "represent the negro race in this country." He announced he would reserve judgment as to how he would vote.

Pending was the Gavagan anti-lynching bill, passed by the House previously only to encounter a Southern filibuster in the Senate. The measure would seek to curb lynching by imposing penalties upon peace officers who fail to protect prisoners from lynch mobs and by making municipalities or counties liable to damage suits by lynching victims or their dependents.

Faces Death in Senate

The House is expected to pass it again tomorrow, but again it faces death in the Senate.

The arguments for and against it which had been heard in past discussions were trotted out again. Southerners and a few Northerners contended it was unworkable, unconstitutional and unenforceable. Proponents denied these statements and asserted that the bill would accomplish its purpose of preventing lynchings.

Representative Gavagan, Republican, New York, author of the bill, announced that he planned to eliminate a section specifically exempting killings in the course of labor disputes. He included the section at the urging of some labor leaders, he said, but later concluded that it was unnecessary.

Negro Raps G.O.P. Lynch Bill Drive

Mitchell, Proponent Of Act, Says Party Trying To Buy Votes Of Race

Republicans Irate

House Passage Seems To Be Assured But Senate Doom Is Believed Likely

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Who's Santa Claus

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The arguments for and against it which had been heard in past discussions were trotted out again Southerners and a few Northerners contended it was unworkable, unconstitutional and unenforceable. Proponents denied these statements and asserted that the bill would accomplish its purpose of preventing lynchings.

Labor Clause To Be Killed

Representative Gavagan (R), New York, author of the bill, announced that he planned to eliminate a section specifically exempting killings in the course of labor disputes. He included the section at the urging of some labor leaders, he said, but later concluded that it was unnecessary.

Arguing for the bill, Mitchell said that it involved a larger issue "than the mere stopping of a mob." The larger issue he defined as "the rights of my group."

In some places, he continued, negroes do not dare to answer "yes" or "no" to white men, but must say "yes, sir" or "no, sir." Injustice to the negro must cease, he shouted, asserting: "If you permit it, you will in some way have to pay the penalty, I know not how."

A major speech against the bill came from a Northern member, Representative Wadsworth (R), New York, who called it "a snare and a delusion." Education was the cure for lynchings, he said, pointing out that their number had decreased from 100 annually a short time ago to three in 1939.

He said the bill would give the Federal government power to "destroy" county governments, was a "fantastic" prospect and could never accomplish its purposes.

Who Is Mitchell?

Representative Mitchell, negro Democrat from Chicago who startled Republican congressmen yesterday by an open attack on their support of the anti-lynching bill, is a native of Alabama, who started his career as an office boy for Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute. Incidentally he was also, about the same time, a paper carrier for The Advertiser, as he recalled on a visit to Montgomery several years ago. He entered Congress by defeating the negro Republican DePriest, who was also a native Alabamian.

Mississippi Troops Balk Violence

PRENTISS, MISS., Jan. 9.—(AP)—National Guard troops, more than a hundred strong, today apparently had averted danger of an application of "lynch law" by townsmen here to two negroes returned for arraignment in the slaying of a former marshal.

A court appointed attorney for one defendant asked for severance of their cases and a change of venue. This delayed the arraignment while arguments continued through the afternoon before Circuit Judge J. C. Shivers.

Meanwhile at Jackson, Gov. Hugh White, who ordered the troopers to Prentiss to protect the negroes, deplored the coincidence of the Prentiss trouble and a similar incident at Knoxville, Miss., last week with the reappearance in Congress of action in support of the anti-lynching bill. This bill is bitterly opposed by officials of most Southern states as an infringement of constitutional rights.

"The last time that bill was up," the retiring Governor said, "there was a lynching at Duck Hill which was spread all over the front pages. Two negroes were killed." He said he considered the congressional bill the "product of some fellows up East trying to get votes."

Gov. White ordered in three companies of nearby national guardsmen armed with riot guns and tear gas supplies, after Sheriff S. G. Magee last night reported to him that "feeling against the negroes was mounting" in the tense Jeff Davis County seat. White today indicated his pleasure at the promptness with which Magee had acted to prevent violent action which supporters of the anti-lynch bill might have seized upon.

Maj. T. B. Birdsong, of the guard, was in charge of the troopers who brought the two negroes here from Jackson. They had been held for a week there for safe-keeping after two attempts by mobs to seize one of the men at nearby Columbia were thwarted on New Year's Day.

He stationed his soldiers at four entrances of the courthouse during the proceedings, and reported late today there had been no trouble with the large crowd of local citizens assembled nearby.

Former Marshal J. C. Sanford was killed last Monday when, with two other white men, he blocked a highway in an effort to halt the machine of four negroes suspected of running liquor through the town. One negro, Jerome Franklin, was captured at once, and the other, Hilton Fortenberry, was caught in Honston, Texas and returned.

Meanwhile peace officers from Natchez again picked up the trail of two other negroes, wanted for the slaying of a white man at Knoxville, and who have been sought unsuccessfully by national guardsmen for nearly a week. The guardsmen were called in after another mob threat.

Sheriff H. R. Jenkins, of Natchez, and aides left for a nearby plantation where one of the men was reported seen.

Half the Votes; Half the Jobs

Figures published in last week's AFRO-AMERICAN show that of the 58,304 registered Republican voters in Baltimore City, 28,520—about one-half—are colored.

There is no other city in the Atlantic Seaboard which has such a large proportion of a major party's voting strength. With this large percentage of responsibility we should be able, on any just basis of share and share alike, to reap about one-half of the political rewards when the party is in power; and if it does not work out this way, there is something wrong.

Emmett J. Scott Talks To Philly GOP Groups At Lincoln Day Dinner

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Patriotic Americans, representatives of Philadelphia's outstanding colored citizenship gathered in great numbers at O. V. Cato Auditorium Tuesday night, February 13, to commemorate the birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincol

A committee of one hundred organized last November, in announcing the meeting, called attention to the thousands of unthinking Americans who have been standing in the bitter cold weather awaiting opportunity to witness a motion picture, "Gone With the Wind," whose apparent purpose is to tear down all the principles for which Abraham Lincoln sacrificed his life.

It is imperative, the committee said, that a meeting should be held in the City of Philadelphia, the "Cradle of Liberty" at this time, to off-set the pernicious influences set in motion by such pictures.

O. V. Cato Auditorium is a monument to Octavious V. Cato, a colored citizen who devoted his life that the privilege of franchise might not be denied him and his people.

No Mere Legendary Figure

"With the forces of intolerance rampant throughout the world," the committee said, "America is again recalling the words of Abraham Lincoln: 'With malice toward none, with charity to all.' "

Abraham Lincoln, the committee declared, is no mere legendary figure. He is a living, vital force in the America of today. The people repeat his wise sayings. Politicians invoke his principles. Publicists of varied stripes profess to be following in his footsteps.

We of this generation, the committee announcement continued, can almost see him in the flesh and blood and hear falling from his lips, the sublime words of Gettysburg; the divine music of the second inaugural address and the immortal Proclamation of Emancipation! By this heroic act Lincoln set free the underman, and proclaimed liberty to the slave and the serf throughout the world.

Scott Is Principal Speaker

The celebration presented as its principal speaker Dr. Emmett J. Scott of Washington, D. C., administrator, educator, diplomat and author who for many years was associate and confident of Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, and for another twenty years an administrative official of Howard University.

In addition to the principal address by Dr. Scott, Bishop David H. Sims, member of the program committee of the Republican Party, also spoke, and an interesting musical program was presented.

In beginning his address, Dr. Scott chided those cynics who devote themselves to toppling over idols, and referred to the unthinking who are disposed to greet the mention of Lincoln's name with a sneer and a slur.

He recalled the words of Frederick Douglass in evaluating the life and character of Lincoln at the dedication of the Lincoln Monument in Washington in 1876, and said: "I am more willing to accept an evaluation of Abraham Lincoln by Frederick Douglass, who knew Lincoln and worked with him, than the contempt and scorn of latter-day scoffers and brash cynics who mistake wisecracking for mellowed wisdom and intellectual perfectibility."

Quotes Wells on Lincoln

He quoted H. G. Wells as having mentioned Lincoln "as one of the six greatest names in the annals of the human race."

In referring to the important part young Republicans must play in this hour of perplexity, bewilderment and the confusion which envelopes our country, he called attention to the grave economic and political crisis which now faces our country. "These problems," he declared, "affect the future, the well-being, the general welfare of every man, woman and child in the United States. They bear down, and most heavily, upon the group to which we belong.

"Now, as ever, we are called upon to fight for our place in the sun of untrammeled individual freedom, privilege and security.

The serious questions which confront the future of the youth of our land, and particularly the youth of the Negro race, he said, are relief, social security and unemployment, and the huge debts that must be borne by them throughout the rest of their lives. He insisted that if unemployment-relief is to be a permanent problem, the youth of America are going to be called upon to pay the heaviest penalties, for poverty bears hardest on the young of the family.

Must Pay Huge Debt

"One of the most terrible prospects facing them today," he said, "is the fact that they must in the future pay off the stupendous Federal debt which has been piled up by the New Deal Administration."

He also brought before the audience of young Republicans and others present the fact that under the present machinery of government their ambition, initiative ability and desire for thrift are crushed out of them because their chances for individual development are one by one being taken from them.

He urged them to exercise vigilance and by their votes express their oppostion to those trends in government, in industry, in agriculture, and in our social life which inevitably are productive of present day evils.

Lincoln's Heritage

"The heritage Lincoln has left for the youth of our country," Dr Scott pointed out, "is that it is only by hard work, a rigid discipline of self, and untiring energy and ambition to rise in the world success may be achieved. Delusive panaceas and make-believe solutions are no substitute for these virtures.

"We shall emerge from the travail and uncertainty of the present hour," he said, "if, in connection with the 131st anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, we each, here and now, resolve, to join that advancing army now on its way to restoration of our government to sanity and common-sense, and that again we may be prosperous and free.

"This is our country. We shall permit no one to exclude us from participation in the solution of its problems. Dedicating ourselves anew to the ideals and principles of Lincoln, we are ready to go forward to do battle for God and country. A rejuvenated Republican Party, conscious of its responsibility, has dedicated itself to "party unity and to unselfish service to the nation through political action based on sound principles and uninfluenced by unworthy partisan considerations."

"Tonight, we are here celebrating the Saga of a great American. For as Lincoln said of Washington so also may it be said with slight paraphrase of Lincoln himself: "His is one of the mightiest names on earth—one of the mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, one of the mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to his name is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on."

Republicans Sponsor Celebration

The celebration was sponsored by the Young Men's and Young Women's Republican Clubs of Philadelphia. David B. Asbury, attorney, son of Philadelphia's well known John C. Asbury, presided. Dr. Scott was introduced by Magistrate Edward W. Henry, and Bishop Sims by Tanner Moore, assistant district attorney for the county. Public address amplication was provided for four floors of the Elks Home.

At 10 o'clock Tuesday morning, Dr. Scott also spoke at the Edward Bok Junior High School, to teachers and students, and a large contingent of citizens of the city, with Dr. A. J. Stoddard, superintendent of schools, in attendance.

The arrangements for the celebration were perfected by the Republican Negro Civic League — Lewis Tanner Moore, president; Dr. J. W. Turner, vice president; Willa T. Moss, secretary; Samuel H. Reading, treasurer, and chairman of committee of Arrangements announced that David B Asbury, and Mrs. Minnie B. Cook respective leaders of the Young Men's and Young Women's Republican Clubs, and the citizens of Philadelphia generally cooperated to assure the success of the day long celebration.

At noon, a luncheon was tendered in Dr. Scott's honor at the Broadwood Hotel at which were present:

Lewis Tanner Moore, Dr. J. Winfield Turner, Mrs. Willa T. Moss, Samuel H. Reading, Claude L. ber of Board of Education; Bishop Roth, Dr. John P. Turner, mem- David H. Simms, John A. Sparks, Citizen's Republican Club; Albert A. Reading, deputy sheriff, Delaware County, Pa.; Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland, Camden, N. J.; Robert Burke Johnson, member, Camden, N. J., Board of Education;

David B. Asbury, president, Young Republicans; Mrs. Minnie B. Cook, president, Young Republican Women; Ernest T. Wright, deputy recorder of deeds; Herbert E. Millen, member board of public assistance; James H. Irvin, member, city council; Mrs. William Lewis, member, Republican State Committee; Mrs. Abbie B. Johnson, grand daughter ruler of Elks; Magistrate Edward W. Henry; the Rev. D. W. Henry, pastor, Findley M. E. Temple;

GOP's Prune Bunche Report

WASHINGTON.

The mysterious report of Dr. Ralph Bunche to the program committee of the National Republican Committee was cut to approximately 350 words for inclusion in the full report submitted at last week's national committee session.

Considerable agitation was aroused, last fall, by the refusal of both the program committee of which Dr. [illegible] Frank White is chairman, and the national body to divulge the nature of the report's contents.

Report "Emasculated"

The condensed version, which some GOP leaders termed "emasculated," was confined to a discussion of relief discrimination and allegations that the New Deal program had encouraged "a progressive shunting of colored Americans out of normal productive enterprise into a kind of separate relief economy."

"The more enlightened members of the colored citizenry," the report read, "have begun to look skeptically at the record of the last seven years."

It is understood that Dr Bunche's full report, on the relation of national policies to the interests of colored citizens, will be submitted to the resolutions committee at the GOP national convention in Philadelphia.

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Race Candidates On New Orleans Republican Slate

NEW ORLEANS, La., Jan. 12—On the Young Republican ballot are the names of six Race candidates for State Central committeemen. They are, Rev. E. P. Columbus, candidate from the second ward; Rev. B. Jolicoeur, ninth ward; Jacob Oubre, thirteenth ward; Charles Henderson, fifteenth ward; J. R. McKay seventeenth ward.

The Young Republican ticket is headed by W. W. Tuttle and Guy Graham as gubernatorial candidates and seventeen central committee candidates including the above named.

Significant in the purpose and program of the Young Republicans to rebuild the GOP's in this state is the fact that Race representatives are recognized and given leadership roles in the party activity. The slogan being voiced throughout the city is: 'A Vote for "Our" Candidate is a Vote for the Race."

SEE 'NEW DEAL' FOR G.O.P. IN PELICAN STATE

Louisiana Youth Leader Outlines Program For Rebuilding Party

NEW ORLEANS, La., Jan. 5—James L. Woods, prominent leader of the Young Republican Organization of Louisiana is optimistic as to the hope of building the Republican party in this state.

In a press conference this week he stated, "All in all the New Year will bring a brightened political horizon for Louisiana. This is evidenced by the interest taken by the whole people in the importance of politics in our well-being."

Mr. Woods chronicled the political scandals of the state and outlined a prospective plan to rejuvenate the GOP's.

He said, "I am not surprised at the Negro support given our efforts to rebuild a party in this state. And I don't believe it is traditional for Negroes, in the South, to be Republicans. One thing most of us fail to realize is the marked advances made in our national perspective and the modern Negro's reaction to its effects."

"He is cognizant of the inner manipulations of political activity, even if he is denied proper participation. He knows that he is not wanted or needed within Southern Democratic ranks. He realizes the probable results of forcing an issue to gain Democratic political recognition."

"His only hope is to support a program like the one we have instituted. Through a systematic process to rebuild the Republican party, free it of its lily-whitism and gradually eliminate the racial barrier by coperation with the party in power to rid it of debauchery and corruption and 'totalitarianism.' "

Wins Court Battle

He stated that the Race would be an all-important factor in this venture and thereby gain the recognition of thousands in the state, Democrats and Republicans who want and believe in "Good Government."

The Young Republicans recently won a decisive court battle against the old-line lily-white organization headed by Johnnie Jackson to hold a Republican primary elction in the state.

Woods heads the Young Republican faction and Race citizens are rallying to his support not merely because he is a Republican with appealing ideals but because his program is the most logical ever presented giving the Race of this state an unabridged opportunity to build itself politically. Evidences of this is shown in the great numbers of Race citizens registered for voting through special fforts of the Young Republican faction.

Stubborn as the G. O. P.

When informed historians of the future analyze the forces and factors which brought the world to so parlous a condition in the era from the early 1920's to 1940, there will be a heavy burden of blame placed upon the economic policies fostered in the United States by the Republican party.

For no intelligent observer of world affairs can fail to see that a large proportion of the economic woe which fell upon the world during this period—and which was the fundamental cause for the rise of dictatorships, the return to a gospel of force and the revival of war—was the result of the Smoot-Hawley tariff, enacted in the United States senate by the G. O. P., then in power.

The tragic picture is plain. Yet, it seems, not yet, even, has the Republican party opened its eyes to that picture. It is still following the course of the proverbial ostrich and, by burying its head in the sands of selfishness, refuses to see the typhoon of retribution that has wrecked so much of world commerce.

Until the World War of two decades ago, the United States had been a debtor nation to the world. Under that circumstance it was possible, and logical, to operate industry in this country under a high tariff policy. It served to uphold the standards of living here, while it opened markets for agricultural and other natural products from our fields and mines and rivers that served to pay the instalments and interest on the international debts we owed.

But, after the World War, this nation occupied a new position in international finance. It became, for the first time, the great creditor nation of the world. The financial center moved across the Atlantic to New York and the nations of Europe, impoverished by war, were in their turn faced by great debts, due the United States.

The only way these nations could pay was by shipment of their products to America. They are, however, producers of a different type of goods than us. They own no great empire like our west, where oceans of wheat fields can ripen in the summer sun. They have no great cotton areas, where the fleecy staple can come to maturity and be picked for market.

They are industrial nations and the goods they have to offer us, in return for our agricultural and raw products, are the manufactured goods from their factories. The only goods they have to offer in payment of their debts are manufactured goods.

And the Republican party, deaf to the predicament of a world, raised an insurmountable wall, in the Smoot-Hawley tariff, effectually banning those goods of the debtor nations from our shores.

The result of the Smoot-Hawley tariff, however, did not end with the debt delinquency to us. It crippled international trade. It reduced American exports and closed foreign ports to our shippers. It disrupted world commerce and it placed the fearful fingers of poverty upon the peoples of other nations.

Then the Democrats came into power in the United States. Even they did not, directly, seek removal of that tariff wall. Perhaps they were afraid of unpopularity among the uninformed. Perhaps they had listened, too long, to Republican propaganda and absorbed too much of its fallacious argument. But the Democrats did, through another approach, set about to undo some of the international evil of the Smoot Hawley tariff.

Through Secretary of State Cordell Hull and his associates in the department, a series of treaties, opening the way to a renewal of international trade, were concluded with more than a score of nations. Those treaties, it is declared by informed students of world trends, are the most powerful of modern day factors for increased international trade and for the ultimate security of world peace.

Yet the same forces which were responsible for the iniquitous Smoot-Hawley tariff, the leaders of the G. O. P., are now at work in the halls of congress seeking to block any further trade treaties, to hamstring the efforts of Secretary Hull on behalf of world commerce and world peace, and to rebuild that isolationist tariff wall which has already brought the civilization of a world too close to eclipse.

Vengeance of Negro Vote Was Visited Upon G. O. P. Declare George W. Harris

Former New York Publisher Says G. O. P. Canno Win This Year Without Support Of Black Suffrage

Permitted Democrats to Steal Thunder

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—George W. Harris, former alderman, early Harvard graduate and former well known publisher and Republican leader, in an open letter addressed to the membership of the Republican National Committee this week, urged that body to again seek the Negro vote. Mr. Harris said

"With the colored vote you cannot lose! Without it, you cannot win! You have lost the colored vote! You cannot regain it without a master plan, without a heroic effort. You have reaped the vengeful suffrage of the colored vote, because you have forsaken the militant standards of Abraham Lincoln, because you have abandoned the social justice program of Theodore Roosevelt. Your blandishment, porter-job policy of yesteryear will no longer suffice. Let no servile sycophant longer tell you different! I address you —the Republican party.

"Just as the Allies—despite perfidious Albion—must save civilization from the precipice of the dictators, just so must the Republican party save the republic from the demagogues of Democracy!

"The New Deal has emptied the public treasury, wasted the people's substance, popularized public charity, entrenched graft and enthroned civic and industrial charlatans whose siren songs are leading the masses toward the false gods of chance and socialism. Don Quixote now exalts himself astride the economic chaos of the Nat[illegible] cing the horizon of black des[illegible]

"Would you save the republic, restore the Republican party, regain the colored vote? About face! Back to not only the creeds but the deeds of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt! The acid test for you is the colored voter. You have sold your soul for a mess of pottage. Your action toward him from this day forth will be the sign certain to all the masses of Americans of your conversion to their cause.

"The lowly black was your young 'ambition's ladder to which you upward turned your face. But when you had attained the utmost rung, you then until the ladder turned your back and scorned the base degrees by which you did ascend.' Save for the halycon days of Theodore Roosevelt, you have sat supinely by amidst a welter of lynching, jim crowism and industrial serfdom. Even your National Lincoln Day celebrations have barred him from paying tribute, as a joint heir of the republic, to the emancipator. Your organization clubs have become social institutions barring him as a pariah. You have defaulted his vote, permitting the New Deal in anti-lynching legislation, in equal employment provisions, in petty patronage, to steal your thunder.

"Now in the hour of the nation's and your extremity—if you choose—he will no more fail you than he has before in all the nation's crises of war and of peace.

"Save the party! Save the Republic!"

Chicago G.O.P. Leader To Be Guest Speaker

AARON H. PAYNE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Aaron H. Payne, young Republican leader of Chicago, will be one of the guest speakers at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, along with John Hamilton, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Ohio Senator, who is a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. Payne received his Bachelor's degree from Howard University, Washington, D. C., in 1922 and his Master's degree in History from the same institution in 1923. The Fall of that year he entered the School of Law, University of Chicago, and was graduated with high honors in 1926. He has practiced in Chicago ever since.

During Republican City and State administrations he served successively as Assistant City Prosecutor, Assistant Corporation Counsel, and as Arbitrator for the Illinois Compensation Commission.

He has been invited to speak as a representative of "the younger group" of colored Republicans.

Taft Is the Man, Says P. Howard

Gives Four Reasons Why Ohio Senator Merits Support

EDITOR'S NOTE: The AFRO asked GOP National Committeeman Perry Howard why Senator Robert A. Taft should be the Republican nominee for President and why he should especially appeal to colored voters? This is his answer.

By PERRY W. HOWARD

We take the unequivocal position that Senator Robert A. Taft is the best man to lead the country to a Republican victory in 1940, and should appeal to our colored voters more especially than any other for the following reasons:

Perry W. Howard

1. He is the best prepared because of his unprecedented background, training, courage, liberal-mindedness and vision.

2. He has made more contacts and more effective contacts than any other candidate.

Taft Has Poise

3. He is one of the most scholarly men, one of the ablest lawyers, and executives of experience in big business, has been a man of the people throughout his career, and has developed a poise befitting a George Washington or an Abraham Lincoln.

4. His earliest environments accustomed him to the big problems of life, and the Presidency would therefore not be revolutionary with him.

Orthodox on Constitution

5. He is orthodox on the Constitution and advocates the enforcement of each and every one of its amendments.

Three Taft Addresses

He should appeal especially to our voters because:

1. He has made more unequivocal and outstanding statements in our interest than any other candidate, as enunciated in his famous address to the council of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia in June, 1939; his Howard University address, and his recent address to the citizens of Texas, demanding a square deal for them at the ballot box and otherwise.

2. His social place in life is so fixed by reason fo his background, his character, his birth, his attainments, accomplishments, and family traditions, that he is broad enough and big enough to be sympathetic with our people and at the same time have no fear of the loss of social caste.

Equal Wages and Jobs

3. In the raging battle now going on in the interest of fair play in the matter of wages and jobs, this great statesman says on that question: "A condition of granting Federal money should be that there must be no discrimination either in wages or character of jobs because of race."

4. Born as he was from the womb of traditional progress, and rocked in the cradle of unselfish service and the Republican spirit, he combines the wisdom of maturity with the momentum of progressive youth and is the herald of a new day and a new generation for those who would be free.

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Old Guard Republican Party May Be Replaced By New Group to Corral Negro Vote

New Group in Effort to Corral Negro Vote

Church Howard, Wilson May Be Replaced by

Disgruntled Ones May Force Issue

By ALBERT ANDERSON

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Just how will the Republican party conduct its national campaign among Negroes this year? Will it renounce past practices and the leadership that has brought the condemnation of many workers seriously interested in the welfare of the party? Or, will the Negro campaign be in the hands of the old triumvirate rather than risk their enmity by turning affairs over to more progressive leaders?

These are questions which must be answered within the next few months by Chairman John Hamilton and the powers that be. If, meanwhile, Mr. Hamilton and his associates are puzzled over which path to follow, it is not strange. They have received all kinds of "sound advice" from every conceivable source, with much of it entirely contradictory.

For several campaigns there has been growing dissatisfaction with the management of the colored division. Except in 1928, when Herbert Hoover was elected president, a group known as the "Old Guard" has actually controlled this division, no matter who was the nominal figurehead. But most of this time the Negro voted Republican anyway. In 1932 and 1936 the race gave the majority of its votes to the Democrats. According to the Gallup poll, there is a drift back to the G. O. P. Whether this can be made to progress at a rate large enough to place the Pivotal states such as Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, etc., on the Republican side of the ledger depends in large measure on how the coming campaign is conducted.

The triumvirate, called the Old Guard, which generally controls campaigns, consists of Robert ("Bob") Church of Memphis, who has long had the reputation of being an astute politician and until recent years was reported a liberal contributor to the campaign fund; Perry W. Howard, national committeeman from Mississippi and Roscoe Conkling Simmons of Chicago, noted orator.

Republican Platform Will By Anti-Discrimination Talk Attempt To Woo Negro Vote

Hits New Deal And Would Return Administration Of Relief To States

Suggests Gainful Employment For The Destitute

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Declaring the New Deal relief program has operated to encourage shunting Negroes from private employment to a permanent relief status, the Republican Program Comittee devoted a chapter to "Discriminations Between Groups of Citizens" in its report presented to the Republican National Committee meeting here last week in the Willard hotel.

This committee report is expected to form the basis for writing the party platform at the national convention in Philadelphia next June.

The chapter on discrimination states:

"When faced with the problem of relief on a nation-wide scale, it is an obligation of organized society to see to it that there is no unfair distinction drawn between groups of citizens on economic, racial, or any other grounds. Human need is human need whether the citizen in need is employable or unemployable, whether he belongs to one race or another.

"By the distinction the New Deal leadership has drawn between employable and unemployables, making the employables a special concern of the Federal government and leaving the unemployables as a special concern of state and local governments, New Deal relief has resulted in a gross disparity between the relief accorded those two groups.

"The burden of the depression has fallen with an extraordinary heavy impact upon our Negro citizens. This has been added to the fact that, in their sincere struggle to establish for themselves a rightful and self-respecting place in the productive enterprise of the nation, they have faced and still face the fact of racial discrimination. This is a problem which, insofar as the influence of government can directly affect it, must be frankly faced. The New Deal has purported to give this problem special attention, primarily through the value of its relief program to the Negro. It claims to have extended unprecedented benefits to them. The more enlightened members of the Negro citizenry of the nation, however, have begun to look skeptically at the record of the last seven years.

"They begin to realize that, by confining its concern with Negroes so exclusively to relief and doing little to further their struggle for a rightful place in private employment in the productive enterprise of the nation, the New Deal program has operated to encourage a progressive shunting of Negroes out of normal productive enterprise into a kind of separate relief economy, leaving them, as it were, on permanent 'reservations' of public relief.

"A just and humane relief program will no more give government approval to, or acquiescence in, discriminatory treatment of citizens on racial grounds than it will devise or condone inequitable treatment as between employables and unemployables."

Anderson, S. C. Independent Trib
April 2, 1940

JOE TOLBERT AND ROBERT TAFT

Old Tieless JOE TOLBERT has let it drop that his delegation to the Republican National Convention will support ROBERT TAFT of Ohio for the presidential nomination.

That being true, among those who will vote for Mr. TAFT at the convention will be W. I. PEEK, Negro, of Anderson. He is a delegate of the Tolbert faction.

Of course the welfare of the country or of South Carolina or of Anderson is not in the back side of the minds of the Tolbert Republicans. They're out for the political gravy as they always have been.

This is proven by the fact that TOLBERT and his good friend PEEK will support ROBERT TAFT, a slick-domed do-nothing Republican who has been making love to the Negro Republicans all over the South.

This is the same TAFT who has taken the lead in fighting against subsidies for the farmers of the country, and especially against the cotton farmers, but who at the same time has demanded "protected industry," by fighting Secretary of State HULL's reciprocal tariff agreements.

The most recent Republican president this country has had from Ohio was the late WARREN G. HARDING. For the sake of the country, it might well be hoped that he was the last.

Batesburg, S. C. News
April 3, 1940

NEGROES DO NOT LIKE "DARKY"

With a threat to "walk out that door and not come back" if a white republican did not apologize to them for referring to them as "darkies," the republican state convention held in Columbia last week for a few minutes was on the verge of breaking up in a row.

However, the white man finally stated that he was sorry if he had used a term objectionable to his black brethren and things quieted down.

For years the black man in the South objected to being called by his proper classification, "Negro," and out of consideration for his feelings toward the term, many southerners coined the expression, "darky," and its use was always considered by the white people, at least, as a mark of respect to the Negro thus referred to.

But the black man is "feeling his oats" today, in the democratic party as well as in the republican councils, thanks to a democratic (?) administration that pays more attention to the Negro vote in New York, Pennsylvania, and other northern states than it does to the white vote in what is known as the "Solid South."

But with all his political preferment in the two parties, the black man will continue to be "darkies" to the southern white people.

Colored Western Republicans Flock To Dewey In Primaries

NEW YORK CITY—Sweeping primary victories by Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for Presidential nomination, in Nebraska, Illinois and Wisconsin were aided substantially by the Negro voters of those areas. An analysis of the vote in Illinois and Nebraska last week and of that in Wisconsin two weeks ago leads to this conclusion.

Wisconsin has a small Negro population, about 6,500, but a large number of the voters joined the Dewey landslide in that state and aided in the defeat of Senator Arthur Vandenburg in the primary three weeks ago.

COLORED NEBRASKANS AID

In Nebraska the Dewey forces were aided by C. C. Galloway, editor of the Omaha Guide, State Senator John Adams and many others. Their excellent showing was the outgrowth of pre-primary work in that area planned during the recent visits of Mr. Dewey and also of Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, one of his aides in the New York District Attorney's office.

BOTH FACTIONS HELP

In Illinois a distinguished list of Negro leaders helped swell the tide of votes for Dewey in last week's primaries. Dewey had the united support of Negro organizations of Chicago's great Southside area. All the regular ward leaders including former Congressman Oscar DePriest of the third ward and former State Senator Wm. E. King of the first ward were for Dewey. Contests for the state committee in the second and third wards made no difference in Dewey support as both sides were for him.

Jake Tipper, Negro delegate from Illinois to the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia, is a Dewey man. Here Louis F. Orr, attorney, is a popular Dewey leader.

In Evanston, Ill., Negro voters led by Alderman Edward Jourdain gave Dewey strong and open support.

In Chicago proper, when Dewey appeared at the station, he was greeted by thousands and, it was noted, many hundreds of Negroes were included in the throng.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE GIVES ADVICE TO REPUBLICAN PARTY

Leaders Warned to Avoid Scandals Over Delegates From Southern States

CHICAGO, ILL.—(Special)—Timely advice is given the leaders of the Republican party in a strong editorial appearing last week in The Chicago Tribune, famed journalistic mouthpiece of the GOP.

Among other things the editorial urges the leaders to avoid scandals over delegates from Southern states. The editorial is as follows:

In a little more than three months the delegates to the Republican national convention will be gathering in Philadelphia. Already Gov. Stassen of Minnesota has been named temporary chairman by the national committee and Congressman Martin of Massachusetts has been proposed for permanent chairmanship. These appear to be excellent selections.

As the opening day approaches it will become increasingly difficult to take a large view of the delegates' problems and responsibilities. Attention will be concentrated more and more upon the rival candidates and their prospects and less and less upon the considerations which should guide the delegates in their election of the nominee.

The party this year is fortunate in possessing a number of candidates, each of whom could be counted upon to give the country the kind of administration which it needs and wants. They are men of character and distinguished attainments. The delegates to the national convention must take a practical view of our problem and realize that there is little or nothing to be gained by nominating a man whose chances of election are none too good. The candidate with the best vote getting ability, other things being substantially equal, is the best candidate for the party. The Republicans cannot have a President if they do not elect one.

In addition the convention must be on its guard to avoid any more of the scandals over the control of the southern delegations, which since the civil war, have frequently discredited the party in puglic opinion. The impression left by the conventions are likely to be lasting in the minds of tens of thousands of voters and therefore, may determine the outcome in November. Accordingly, it is of the greatest importance that the convention's choice be a true reflection of the sentiment of the rank and file of the party in the states where Republican strength lies and Republican prospects are good.

Not infrequently in the past, the real voice of the party in various critical states has been stifled in the convention. Contests between rival delegations have been decided with insufficient regard for legal rights and less for the wishes of the voters in the states concerned but rather with a view to serving the ambitions of a particular candidate or candidates. Needless to say, this abuse is not peculiar to Republican conventions, as the seating of Huey Long's pro-Roosevelt delegation from Louisiana in the 1932 Democratic convention proves. In manipulations of this sort in the Republican meetings the influence of national committeemen from the southern states has often proved decisive and naturally their activity has outraged many Republican voters. It is to be hoped and expected that none of the candidates will be so shortsighted as to encourage mistakes and abuses of the sort mentoned here. The propects for the Republcan cause are bright, but the party cannot afford to assume any unnecessary handicaps.—The Chicago Tribune.

Negroes Help Elect Lawyer GOP Delegate

Committeemen, Women In St. Louis For First Time In History

ST. LOUIS (Special)—For the first time in Republican history in St. Louis, Negro Republican committeemen and committeewomen showed unamimity behind a race candidate for delegate to the National Republican Convention in Philadelphia, when last Friday Sidney Revels Redmond, attorney, was elected delegates from the 11th Congressional District.

Redmond won the delegateship after a fight that had attracted considerable attention in the white press. It was the only major contest to be carried out in the entire city. Redmond defeated N. B. Young, another attorney, 72 to 27 in an interesting battle.

Also named to the National Convention as alternate delegates were Mrs. Mauce Oswald, 20th ward committeewoman (11th Congressional district), and George W. Fields, 1938 candidate for the board of alderman from the fourth ward. Fields made interesting history when he became the first member of the racial group to become an alternate to the national convention from the new 13th Congressional district.

FATHER DIVINE FOR PRESIDENT

THE INNER CIRCLE, an organization of present and former political writers City Hall reporters and press-agents, attracted lots of attention at their annual dinner at the Hotel Astor when a skit satirizing the Republican presidential campaign, selected Father Divine, Negro cult leader, as the "dark horse" candidate to emerge with the nomination at the national convention in Philadelphia.

In the Republican skit, despairing party leaders were assembeld in a smoke-filled hotel room. Senator Taft and District Attorney Dewey were so hopelessly deadlocked that even Dewey's manager, saw that a drawing was the only solution. Kenneth F. Simpson Republican National Committeeman from New York, was depicted as saying that the candidate submitted must be somebody with color, beloved by the masses, known for humanity and kindness, a real leader—a dark horse." Forthwith the name of Father Divine was picked from a hat and was acclaimed as filling this bill.

That this skit was able to create a great deal of merriment among the 1000 diners and also among the millions who read of it in the newspapers, is indicative of what the white man thinks of the Negro and his power in politics. We do not believe that any other minority group in this country would have been made the subject of a joke, based on race and color, as the Negro was in this instance and has been on numerous other occasions..

While we do not agree with Father Divine on most things, there is no reason why he should not become a candidate for President, if he should so desire.

An associate justice of the Supreme Court or President with Negro blood is a possibility in this country as long as we keep our present constitution and democratic form of government and shouldn't be made the butt of jokes.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

MORE THAN 500 HEAR ROSCOE SIMMONS SPEAK FOR CENTURY REPUBLICAN CLUB PROGRAM

Lincoln and Douglass are Subjects of Eloquent Address by Republican Party Speaker; Banquet Follows Speech

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — (Special) —More than 500 persons crowded the downstairs section of the St. Peter's C.M.E. church and overflowed into the balcony to hear Col. Roscoe Conklin Simmons deliver a rousing address on Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, as a part of the program of the annual Lincoln-Douglass banquet sponsored by the Century Republican club.

"I cannot discuss Lincoln or Douglass," the brilliant speaker of the Republican National committee, told his listeners at the outset, "without discussing the Republican party."

"The Republican party," he told them, "was conceived in Kansas. John Brown conceived the Republican party, but the Kansas of John Brown is not the Kansas of today. The Republican party of John Brown's Kansas believed in the equality of man; the Republican party of Kansas doesn't believe in that now."

Asserting that he believed in the "eternal principles of the party," he digressed a bit to lambast Ex-Presidential Candidate Alf M. Landon and National Committeeman John Hamilton.

"Alf Landon's theory is that the party did wrong in what it did for Negroes after the Civil War," he stated; "I oppose it, because what the party did then it had to do as it was called upon to reassert free government."

"Mr. Hamilton from your state," he continued, "said in Birmingham two years ago that there's no difference between Republicans and Democrats. But he's wrong. The Republican party believes in the rights of all the people, but the Democrats believe in the rights of none."

Warming to his subject and demonstrating some of the eloquence for which he is noted, the speaker launched into a six-minute recountal of what Lincoln had done for the Negro, whom he characterized as "I." "Seventy-five years ago," he said, " I spoke the broken speech of bondage; today, I speak language of Shakespeare. Seventy-years ago, I could not write; today I can take the pen of promise dip it into God's great words and write my name in the stars."

Simmons drew a laugh from the audience when he declared that "seventy-five years ago Lincoln freed a lot of people who didnt deserve freedom, and those people are Negroes who are in the Democratic party."

"What makes Lincoln great?" he asked his hearers at another point in his address. "Lincoln," he answered his own question, "is great because he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Take Lincoln away from the Negro and Lincoln is an ordinary man."

And, reverting to his former characterization of the Negro people, he declared, "I make Lincoln great!"

If Lincoln had been an bolitionist, according to Simmons, slavery would never have been abolished by him, "because the white people would never elected him president."

A number of anecdotes referring to Douglass' parentage kept the audience in gales of laughter.

And again he demonstrated his amazing memory by calling off in rapid and eloquent succession names of a long list of great Republican leaders. Among these he mentioned the man for whom he was named, "Roscoe Conklin, author of the thirteenth amendment."

A tribute to both Lincoln and Douglass, coached in the most flowery terms concluded his address.

Simmons was introduced by Elisha Scott, well known Topeka attorney.

James A. Hamlett, editor of the Century, presided as master of ceremonies. Numbers on the program which preceded Simmons' address included: singing of "America," invocation by Bishop J. B. W. Minor, singing of "Lift Every Voice and Sing," introductory remarks by J. W. Wilfong, president of the Century Republican club and a violin solo by Miss Amy Brown, accompanied by Percy H. McDavid, instrumental music instructor at Sumner high school. Following Simmons' address visitors and guests were introduced. Benediction was given by the Rev. D. W. Bass.

A turkey dinner served in the attractively baseent dining room of the church comprised the banquet feature of the night's program.

TEN COLORED MEN AND WOMEN HELP DRAFT GOP ISSUES

Chapter Of Glenn Frank Report Hits Racial Discrimination Under New Deal

By Emmett J. Scott

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 22—The long-awaited Report of the Republican Program Committee, submitting a Statement of Republican Principles, was presented to the members of the Republican National Committee at the meeting held here in Washington, at the Willard Hotel, February 16th.

The Committee was created by action of the Republican National Committee on November 5, 1937, "to ascertain as fully as possible the various views held by the rank and file of the Republican Party, its national and local leaders, including auxiliaries of men, women and youth, upon such questions as may properly come before it for consideration."

Ten Negro Members on Committee

From 1600 recommendations, some 200 representatives were chosen from varied regions, occupations and interests of the nation. The interests of Colored Republicans were represented by T. G. Nutter West Virginia; Mrs. Joe S. Brown Iowa; John Oliver Hopkins, Jr. Michigan; William E. King, Illinois; Joseph S. Mitchell, Massachusetts; Francis E. Rivers, New York; Frederick M. Roberts, California; Bishop D. H. Sims, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, New York; and Mrs. Lethia Fleming, Ohio.

The responsibility of writing the party platform will rest upon the Platform Committee of the National Convention which will meet in Philadelphia, June 24, 1940.

It will have at its disposal a reflected analysis of the philosophy, policies, and actual results of the present administration.

Also, there will be submitted recommendations of what, in the judgment of the Program Committee by contrast, should be the guiding principles of national policy in dealing with the problem of getting our national economy into sustained high gear that the country may once again, provide for the full employment of men, money and materials; for a progressive rise in living standards; and for increased security for the people of the nation.

While the various recommendations of the Program Committee affect and include the Negro group, as a part of the body politic, a chapter on Discrimination Between Groups of Citizens, refers more particularly to them. This Chapter, in full, follows:

Society's Obligation

"When faced with the problem of relief on a nation-wide scale, it is an obligation of organized society to see that there is no unfair distinction drawn between groups of citizens on economic, racial, or any other grounds. Human need is human need whether the citizen in need is employable or unemployable, whether he belongs to one race or another.

"By the distinction the New Deal leadership has drawn between employable and unemployables, making the unemployed employables a special concern of the Federal government and leaving the unemployables as a special concern of state and local governments, New Deal relief has resulted in a gross disparity between the relief accorded those two groups.

Racial Discrimination

"The burden of the depression has fallen with an extraordinarily heavy impact upon our Negro citizens. This has been added to the fact that, in their sincere struggle to establish for themselves a rightful and self-respecting place in the productive enterprise of the nation, they have faced and still face the fact of racial discrimination. This is a problem which, in so far as the influence of government can directly affect it, must be frankly faced. The New Deal has purported to give this problem special attention, primarily through the value of its relief program to the Negro. It clamis to have extended unprecedented benefits to them. The more enlightened members of the Negro citizenry of the nation, however, have begun to look skeptically at the record of the last seven years.

Shunted Out of Jobs

"They begin to realize that, by confining its concern with Negroes so exclusively to relief and doing little to further their struggle for a rightly place in private employment in the productive enterprise of the nation, the New Deal Program has operated to encourage a progressive shunting of Negroes out of normal productive enterprise into a kind of separate relief economy, leaving them, as it were, on permanent 'reservation' of public relief.

"A just and humane relief program will no more give government approval to, or acquiescence in, discriminatory treatment of citizens on racial grounds than it will devise or condone inequitable treatment as between employables and unemployables."

The Report is contained in some 115 pages, after a critical Foreword-analysis of present day conditions, chapters dealing with New Deal defeatism, economic and social conditions after seven years of New Deal control, the reasons why the New Deal has been a failure, contends that our American economy has not come to a dead end; and offers Labor, Farm, Business, Fiscal and Social Programs for the restoration of national unity, prosperity, the happiness and general security of the American people.

The exhaustive an ddetailed Special Study of the relation of national policies to the interests of Negro citizens made under the direction of the Program Committee of which Dr. Glenn Frank is chairman, will be submitted to the Resolutions Committee of the 1940 Convention.

Most Negro Voters Still Are Democratic; Some Drift To G. O. P.

Birmingham, Ala. News
February 4, 1940

Republican Gains In This Quarter Are Only Slighter Greater, However, Than Among All Other Classes Of Balloters

By Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J.—In the last presidential election the great majority of those Negroes who voted—principally in Northern communities—turned their backs on the party of Abraham Lincoln to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt. As the Republican party gathers in a series of Lincoln Day dinners across the nation next week, one of the problems that will not be overlooked is the problem of winning the Negro vote back again.

How much chance do the Republicans have?

While it is still a long way until election day, the recent surveys of the American Institute of Public Opinion show:

1. That the average Negro voter is still anxious to see the Democrats win in 1940.

2. But that if the presidential election were held today the Republican candidate might gather a larger share of the colored vote than Gov. Landon did in 1936.

Approaching Negro voters in all of the states where their political sympathies are important, the Institute asked a carefully selected cross-section: "Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in November?" and, "In general, do you approve or disapprove today of Roosevelt as president?

As the following figures show, the average Negro voter is more likely to be a Democrat and a Roosevelt supporter than the ordinary voter throughout the country. (Figures for "all voters" are from the latest Institute surveys):

	Favor Democrats	Favor Republicans
Negro Voters	66%	34%
All Voters	54	46

	Approve of Roosevelt	Disapprove of Roosevelt
Negro Voters	82%	18%
All Voters	63	37

Institute tests show that the average colored voter was jarred loose from his Republican associations in 1932. Along with voters in all walks of life, he crossed party lines eight years ago to help elect [illegible]rst Democratic administrati[illegible]nce Woodrow Wilson's.

In the 1936 election, the Institute's present survey shows, approximately 76 per cent of the colored voters interviewed (who voted at all) voted for Roosevelt, while 24 per cent were for Landon. Obviously, there has been a substantial movement on the part of Negro voters toward the GOP in the last three years, as shown by the number who now say they would like to see the Republican candidate elected in November.

The trend is shown in the figures:

	Democratic	Republican	Change in Dem. Vote
1936 election	76%	24%	
Today's Survey	66	34	—10

The indicated Republican gain among Negro voters since 1936 is only slightly greater than GOP gains among all classes of voters, however, and so the Republicans cannot be sure that the trend represents any special change in the colored voter's position. The most likely explanation seems to be that the colored voter is today voting far more in terms of his income status than in terms of his traditoinal party lines.

Whatever the trend of the colored man's political sentiments should be, he is likely to be an mportant factor in the election in several "borderline" states. In 1936, for instance, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois averaged more than a quarter of a million registered Negro voters piece, nad Ohio, Michigan and Indiana together accounted for more than 400,000 more.

ALABAMA G. O. P. SETS MEETING FOR MAY 17

(The Associated Press)

Birmingham, Ala., March 10.—Alabama Republicans set May 17 as the date for their state convention Saturday and arranged for election of national convention delegates from the nine congressional districts prior to the state meeting.

Four delegates-at-large and their alternates will be chosen at the state meeting, to be held in Birmingham.

Some district meetings, Republican leaders said, will be held in the districts.

The state committee filled vacancies in its ranks and heard National Committeeman B. Lonnie Noojin forecast a Republican victory at the polls in November.

Curtis Adkins, Asheville, was chosen to succeed Noojin, who resigned on his election as national committeeman. J. E. Puters, Mobile, was chosen to succeed the late S. B. Adams, Mobile, and Paul Parsons, Birmingham attorney, was selected to succeed the late J. I. Abercrombie, also of Birmingham.

NEGROES TO SEEK MORE G. O. P. POWER

Meeting Is Scheduled for Friday Night..

Georgia's Negro Republicans yesterday launched an effort to "obtain a larger membership in the party and a stronger representation in party councils."

A meeting was called for 8 o'clock Friday night at the Butler Street Y. M. C. A., at which James W. Arnold, of Athens, G. O. P. national committeeman; Clint W. Hager, of Atlanta, chairman of the state central committee, and H. H. Turner, county chairman, were invited to speak.

E. L. Collier, Atlanta Negro Republican leader, said members of his race were "satisfied with white leadership of the party in Georgia, but felt that Negroes should be given a larger representation on the state central committee."

Collier said at present only five of the 70 members of the state committee are Negroes, whereas a much greater percentage of the party membership are members of his race.

In addition to Arnold, Hager and Turner, the group also has invited Dr. H. J. Carswell, of Waycross; Dr. T. H. Slater, of Atlanta, and Forrester Washington, Atlanta educator, to speak.

Republicans To Hold Mass Meeting Friday

A Republican mass meeting will be held at the Butler Street Branch YMCA Friday night, March 15, under auspices of the Republican State Central Committee, the district committee of the Fifth Congressional District and the Fulton County Executive Committee. All persons of Republican leaning have been invited to be present.

Several leading Republicans in and out of the city are to speak including the national committeeman, J. W. Arnold; state chairman, Clint W. Hager, Dr. H. J. Carswell, Gilbert E Johnson, Dr. T. H. Slater, S. E. Clements and a national visitor who has prominently been mentioned as a Republican nominee.

A special drive for peace in the ranks of the Republicans throughout the state will be a special feature of the discussion. Georgians are urged to register before May 5 this year. Special memorials in the form of a resolution may be offered to the state chairman and the white leadership and to increase the colored membership of the various committees throughout the state and the representation to the forthcoming national convention which meets in Philadelphia, June 24.

Republicans from over the state have been invited to be present.

G. O. P. Gains in Ohio

Facts and figures analyzing the balloting in Ohio's special Congressional election Tuesday are not yet forthcoming from the political commentators and statisticians. It was predicted, last week, that Mrs. Frances P. Bolton would draw from the Democratic candidate some votes of women Democrats who not only admire Mrs. Bolton but wished to share in sending Ohio's first Congresswoman to Washington. Colored women who joined in petitioning her to enter the party February primary flocked to the polls Tuesday in her support. Election returns showed an increase of 7 per cent over the Republican votes cast in the twenty-second Ohio district in 1938.

A corresponding gain was noted in the seventeenth district which elected a Republican to succeed the late Democratic Representative William A. Ashbrook. Obviously, both districts followed the national trend away from the New Deal which has been steadily increasing since last summer and which is gradually carrying the Negro voter back into the Republican columns.

In the Ashbrook-MacGregor contest the New Deal was the issue. On the other hand, Mrs. Bolton, whose district is normally Republican, pled for a return to sound economy in the one speech she made in an exceedingly quiet campaign. In both instances the issues were clearly within the comprehension of the man in the street, who cares considerably less about the exchange of international notes than he does about the mounting tax burden and the continued unemployment of millions. These vitally affect the Negro and are matters in which he must have deep interest. If the Republican high command really means to capitalize on the fact that the New Deal is losing its grip upon the colored voter, it cannot delay its campaign among Negroes too soon.

While the New Deal has proved disappointing, there is much that the colored voter wants to know about Republican policies. If that party wants his support, it should supply the knowledge he seeks. The current trend to Republicanism must continue if the party is to be victorious in November. The ground already gained must be held. An extensive campaign among Negro voters is the surest means to that end.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Republican Party Has Opportunity To Advocate Real Americanism

Labor News

For the first time in forty years, the Republican National Convention met in Philadelphia to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

The convention assembled at an unusually trying period in world history. The problems which face America and the rest of the world today demand that best minds for any permanent and satisfactory solution.

While the European conflict threatens to push all esle aside, the platform makers and the party leaders can not afford to ignore the equally serious conditions here at home.

For colored leaders the situation is doubly trying. They face a dilemna in that they can not afford to be accused of a narrow partisanship, in pushing the claims of the colored citizen, to the exclusion of all else; and they certainly can not afford to go to the other extreme, and ignore the wrongs which need to be remedied and on which the Republican party ought to be asked to declare itself.

In the kind of world in which we live, America, no doubt, needs tanks and airplanes, a great navy and a larger army But these are not America's most important needs. What America needs, above everything else, is to set an example of the democratic way of life that will be compelling. This she has not done. And therein lies her weakness.

The Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence break down always at the "color line." Japan hates America today because of this. Americans in South America, by their conduct, have alienated the people of those countries, thus paving the way for those European nations which would undermine North America influence. At home, the colored citizen, whose loyalty has never been questioned, face segregation, discrimination and proscriptions at every turn.

The framers of the platform of the Republican party have an opportunity to take high ground, in connection with the treatment of its colored citizens and of these other problems.

At a time like this, when all kinds of "isms" are being advocated, in America and elsewhere, the Republican party has an unusual opportunity to take a stand for real Americanism, based on a square deal for every man and woman, irrespective of color, race or creed, in all branches of the government service (including the army and navy), in business, in industry, in the courts of justice and for the fullest participation of colored Americans, no matter where they live, North or South, East or West, in the civic life of their communities.

Reprint:—Philadelphia Tribune, June 28, 1940

SAYS ILLINOIS CONGRESSMAN ALL MIXED UP

Steamfitter

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Incensed by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell's address before the Democratic convention, Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman from Mississippi, challenged Mitchell to a joint debate on the presidential campaign in a letter this week. Howard's letter follows:

7-26-40

Kansas City, Kansas

"Although we are very personal and social friends, I must challenge you to a joint debate on the issues of the presidential campaign growing out of your address before the recent National Democratic Convention in Chicago, in which you made many statements that I know to be erroneous, even though they were not with the intention of misleading the public.

"1. My visits to more than 32 states convince me that instead of your party polling 80 per cent of the Negro vote ,the converse will be true, and Mr. Willkie will poll 80 per cent of the Negro vote in November.

"2. You are entirely in error when you say that Mr. Roosevelt has done more the Negro than any other President. To the contrary, since everything is great or small relatively, and considering what Mr. Roosevelt has done for white people by way of appointments and otherwise, he has done less for Negroes than any President in the history of the country.

YOUTH GIVES LIE TO RUMORS OF WILLKIE RACE PREDJUDICE

OCT 26 1940

In a letter to Time Magazine, in its October 21 issue, Roy J. Evans, a 23-year-old colored apprentice embalmer in Chicago, stated that there is no truth in rumors that Wendell Willkie is prejudiced against the Negro race and cited as proof his personal experiences with the Willkie family. His letter:

Washington Tribune

Sirs:

After reading the September 30 issue of TIME, I was inspired to write you my thought and what I personally know about Mr. Willkie. I am a colored lad, 23 years old, and am an apprentice embalmer and not a politician. I have taken up my amateur political career for one reason only, the New Dealers are spreading rumors around among the members of my race, stating that Mr. Willkie is opposed to the welfare of the Negro. In my small way I have been walking and talking and telling my people that these rumors are false. It would make a business letter far too lenghty if I went into detail about the facts and difficulties encountered in attempting to get articles published in any of the Negro publications. I will give you the facts about myself and my connection with the Willkie family. . . .

Washington,

I was born June 16, 1917, in Rushville, Ind., where I lived for 22 years. Rushville was a small town where the colored folks had the same opportunities as the white. Philip Willkie spent most of his time riding around in the city with my grandfather, my brother and myself. We grew to be very close friends. And in this way I became very well acquainted with the rest of the Willkie family.

D. C.

From personal contact and observation, I was surprised to learn that many colored people actually believed these false rumors that had been circulated about Mr. Willkie and his attitude toward our race. And I have taken a leave of absence from the funeral home where I am employed to tell my people about Mr. Willkie.. . . .

Most of my school days were spent in Rushville, where my brother and myself built up an excellent reputation. We were members of the Rushville Junior Band for two years, in the Senior Band for four years, and were also members of the High School orchestra. We also played in the orchestra in the church where the Willkies attended service. . . . . We were members of a white Boy Scout troop, and I later became Asst. Scout Master and finally Scout Master for the same troop. . . . I believe that this information, if properly circulated, will be a big help to Mr. Willkie and will kill a great deal of the prejudice the colored people have for him because he was born in Elwood, Ind. . . .

ROY J. EVANS.

WHY WE ARE FOR WILLKIE

OCT 10 1940

The Bystander has been and always will be a republican paper as long as the present management is in control. It believes in party responsibility. It knows that no party can do as much as it claims—the Republican party is no exception to the rule. But the fact that the Republican party is committed to the theory of fair play to all men and its controlling leaders both executive and legislative are not of the Negro hating group, we feel that the Negro stands his best chances with the GOP.

Iowa Bystander

As a matter of common sense, we know that all of the states in the north are committed to the proposition that Negroes have the same rights as white people. We also know that they don't get them always. But the fact that these laws are on the statute book prevents an unreasonable departure from justice and fair play.

The Bystander never falls out with anyone over his politics. It asks that the other fellow accord it the same courtesy. It wants every voter to look the whole situation through and vote for those things that are to his best interest.

BUT FRANKLY, THE BYSTANDER CANNOT SEE THAT THE NEW DEAL HAS WARRANTED THE SUPPORT WHICH NEGROES HAVE GIVEN IT

OCT 10 1940

It has not bettered the civil rights status of Negroes one bit.

Des Moines

It has forced him into the role of charity to a greater extent than ever before.

It has made less jobs for Negroes in industry than ever before.

It has reduced his income to such an extent that he cannot accumulate a reserve for harder times.

It has created in the minds of the people of the nation that the government will take care of them and that they need not prepare for reverses.

It has disallusioned people to think that the government can go on indefinitely with a program of wild spending without ever meeting the emergencies.

It has restricted the operation of its social legislation so that except for the old age pension, they don't apply to most Negro workers.

On the other hand, the program of the Republican party is sound. It has met its responsibilities in the past and it will do so again. It is as foolish to argue that the Republican party will put the people in soup lines as to argue that the Democrats will put the Negro in slavery where they had him seventy-five years ago.

The Republican party has made mistakes; it will make them again. But the best example of a change in sentiment is evidenced by the great increase in recognition that the state officers have given Negroes since their return to power in 1938.

The Bystander wants a new national administration. A change will not hurt the international situation one bit. We cannot get any nearer war than we are now without beginning to fire at the enemy and whoever is at the helm can do but one thing; fight if we are attacked. Economically we are unsound at home and Wililkie is the man to put us on the road to a sound recovery rather than an empty dream as we have it today.

No Issue?

OCT 10 1940

—The Kansas City Star.

Des Moines Register

S. J. Ray

Willkie Is Gratified For Louis' Support

NOV 2 1940

NEW YORK (SNS)—Joe Louis, world champion heavyweight boxer, received a telegram Friday morning from Wendell Willkie, GOP presidential candidate. The message read:

Daily

"Joe Louis:

"In completing my tour, nothing has given me more gratification than to receive the news of your support. This will be of the greatest possible value, and I can assure you that my administration will bring about a new era in inter-racial relations.

World

"Signed,

"Wendell L. Willkie."

CHAMP BOOED IN HARLEM

The world champion was booed at a Republican rally in the heart of Harlem Thursday night, but he took it like a champ. Louis told his hecklers he had been booed before and won just the same.

This brought a wave of cheers.

"You can boo until you get blue in the face," Louis said, "but I'll just keep ~~on talking~~."

Atlanta

4,000 JAM BALLROOM

Nearly 4,000 persons jammed into a ballroom to hear Louis speak for Candidate Willkie and equally as many waited outside.

Ray

Some of the listeners b[illegible] Louis when he said, "I endorse Mr. Willkie because he knows what $15 a week will do."

He waited until the booing subsided and then said, "You boys who are booing are boys under 21 who don't know. You don't know what your mothers went through. If Mr. Willkie is elected, he has promised in writing to put over the anti-lynching bill.

"Roosevelt has been in office for eight years and has done nothing about that."

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
October 31, 1940

Joe Louis Asks Negro Votes For Willkie

Heavyweight Champion Addresses St. Louis Mass Meeting.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 30.—(AP)—Joe Louis, heavyweight boxing champion, addressing a Negro mass meeting tonight, criticized President Rooseevlt for failing to keep his promise to eliminate persecution of the Negro in the south and urged members of his race to vote for Wendell Willkie "because he will do what the President has failed to accomplish."

"Roosevelt had two terms to do what he could do, but didn't give us an anti-lynching law," Louis said.

"I am just Joe Louis. I am a fighter not a politician. This country has been good to me, has given me everything I have, and I want it to be good to you and give you everything you need.

"I am for Willkie because I think he will help my people. I figure my people ought to be for him, too."

John Roxborough, manager of the champion, announced during the visit here that Louis would introduce Willkie at a Negro rally in New York City's Harlem district Monday night, election eve.

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PARTY AFFILIATION

Carry A Willkie Message

They paraded for Willkie, stealing some of the show in the Father Divine turnout Saturday morning. Left to right: Elvetter Kent, Carolyn Budd, Helen Ayles, May Franklyn, Josephine Mariott, Louise Cain, Marie Morse, Dorothy Johnson.

Will Vote For Willkie

Chicago, Illinois, — Mrs. Maggie Dumas of Carbondale, Illinois, 102-year old former slave, informs Charles M. Stokes, Vice-President of the Young Republican National Federation that she will vote for Wendell Willkie on November 5th. Mrs. Dumas pointed out what the Bible says about "Publicans" and "sinners" as her reason for staying on Willkie's side.

A SUCCESSFUL LAWYER.

NOV 1 1940

Wendell Willkie was a lawyer. Some of his clients have been big fellows and some have been little fellows. As a lawyer, Mr. Willkie was successful. Some people hold that against him. For the purpose of this election, that means that they prefer to vote for a lawyer who had few clients, little experience, and no success in his profession.

As a lawyer it was Mr. Willkie's business to tell his clients what were their rights and to defend those rights if they were challenged. More than that, he was called upon to give sound advice on intricate personal and business problems of the utmost concern to those who brought them to him. To do that successfully, he had to have integrity, knowledge, and good sense. The growth of his practice over a long period of years indicates that he possesses these qualities in a high degree.

Globe and

When a client in financial difficulties comes to his lawyer for advice, the lawyer cannot tell him to print some money or devalue his debts and will be most reluctant to advise incurring any more debts unless there is a good chance that they and the old ones can be paid. If the difficulties are domestic, the lawyer cannot advise a husband to plow his wife under, and neither can he end family discord by promoting it. The solutions he offers have to be practical. They have to be livable.

Nashville

The American people now have an opportunity to engage a lawyer who has been successful in offering that kind of advice to his clients. They had such an opportunity once before at a critical moment in American history. His name was Abraham Lincoln. He also had a diversified practice. Among his clients were many humble people. Also among them were the Illinois Central railroad, the Rock Island railway, the Chicago Burlington and Quincy railroad, the McCormick Reaper company, all of them among the largest corporations then doing business in Illinois.

Jenn.

Abraham Lincoln before he became President had no first hand experience in governmental administration. As a young man he had a brief period in the state legislature and in congress, but he never occupied an administrative office, public or private. In spite of this handicap—if it is a handicap—he managed to make a pretty fair record in the Presidency.

It is interesting in this connection to note that many nice people thought Lincoln's voice uncouth. They disapproved of his careless dress, his common speech, his easy informality. But there have been few regrets over the fact that the American people had the good sense to employ him when the chance was offered.

—Chicago Tribune.

"HE DOES NOT TREAT MY PEOPLE RIGHT DOWN HOME"

NOV 8 1940

What stronger or broader love could any man have for his people than Joe Louis expressed, when he said the President has had eight years to do something about the anti-lynching bill and has not done anything about it. He has not treated my people right down home, and I cannot support the New Deal. I am not a politician, I am a fighter. I have always been a Baptist and a Republican, and I cannot forget my people in their suffering down home. Mr. Willkie says he will treat my people right down home, and I believe he will keep his word.

These words coming from the heart of Joe Louis expressed the true spirit of Christian statesmanship. Not out of the heart of a politician or commercialized preacher, but out of the honest soul of the man who loves his neighbor more than he does a corrupt dollar. Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends. That is what Christ did. The individual who lives to care for himself first before he thinks of the welfare of his neighbors is an infidel and has no place with those who love the Lord in truth and Spirit. It matters not whether the individual is a boxer or a bishop in the great A. M. E. Church, or any other church. It is not the rank in the church or state that counts most in the summary of what men do, but it is the service that man renders humanity under God that counts.

Nashville

What people did Joe Louis have in mind when he said, the President has not done my people down home right; Mr. Willkie said he would treat them right, and I am willing to take his word. Joe had in mind the humble and persecuted Negro in Alabama where he was born, and all the Negroes throughout the South. We are the people Joe's heart bleeds for and his eyes shed briney tears. He has not forgotten the suffering of his race down home because of the personal success that has come to him in the North. With great wealth in his pocket, and a world-wide reputation, because he had vision for his race, his great heart bleeds for the relief of his people down home, from persecution and proscription by the Democratic Party under the New Deal.

Jenn.

Compare the words of Joe Louis with the subversive conduct of a few mercenary bishops, college presidents, and other high church functionaries on the New Deal payroll to determine which is worth more to the race as an inspiration and an asset —Joe, the prize-fighter, or an educated leader who places a meal ticket above liberty. Joe Louis loves his people down home under God; the "Big Negro" sells his people down the river to the Democrats to be segregated and humiliated for a meal ticket, a minor job, or a tainted dollar. This stripe of Negro leader uses the prestige they gain wearing sheep's clothing to promote their personal interest for tainted money. They never think of the suffering of their people down home. Their one thought is, how much money can I get for my influence up here. There are but a few Boyds, Williams, Princes, Pleasants, Sims and DePriests left among those who have not forgotten their people down home.

Ninety-five per cent of the Negro leaders on the Democratic payroll are like the multitude that followed Christ after He fed five thousand people on two fishes and five loaves of bread. The crowd meant no good to Christ; they followed Him for the loaves and fishes, and in like manner the mercernary Negro leadership that infests Democratic headquarters care nothing for the Democratic Party or the race; all they seek is a meal ticket, minor job—called advisor to my white boss—or a tainted dollar.

Joe Louis has set a fine example for the educated Negro leadership to follow. What a blessing it would be if the Negro from the South had not gone North and forgotten his people down home. He is so visionless that he cannot see the wisdom of using his vote in the North, where he can use it, to relieve his brothers in the South, who cannot use their votes to relieve themselves. So, the Northern Negro prefers to sell his people down home to the Democrats in the North for a miserable dish of pottage, like Judas sold Christ to the Roman soldiers. Jehovah must frown in anger upon those who play politics with rights and freedom of his people for a few corrupt dollars and employment under the New Deal. Just a few days ago, the president of Wilberforce University advised his people that the New Deal with all of its segregation was the salvation of the race in America. Happily this special demagogue was not born in the United States. He has forgotten his people down home who made him decent and respectable since he left the British Islands a few years ago and became a naturalized American citizen. We advise this educated refugee to read Joe Louis' speech—the President has had eight years, and he has not done anything about the anti-lynching bill, and he does not treat my people down home right. This president is unfit to head Wilberforce University.

—Union-Review.

Knoxville Tenn. Journal
November 1, 1940

Negro Women Sponsor Election Discussion

A round-table discussion of the Presidential campaign will be held at 7:30 p. m. today at the Negro headquarters of the Willkie-for-President Club, Vine Avenue, at State Street, by the women's division.

The Rev. David Bowie and Mrs. Georgia Murphy will be speakers, discussing the national, state and Congressional tickets. Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Betty Smith will be hostesses from Mechanicsville.

Kingston Tenn., Banner
October 17, 1940

Colored Rally at Courthouse Fri.

Judge Elmer Eblen, the first Willkie man in Tennessee, and others will address the colored citizens of Roane County tomorrow night, (Friday) at 7:30 o'clock, at the courthouse in Kingston.

Knoxville, Tenn. News-Sentinel
October 28, 1940

NEGROES TO HOLD BIG WILLKIE RALLY

A Negro rally for Willkie will be held at the High School in La Follette Tuesday night, with Walter C. Robinson, editor of the Chattanooga Observer, as principal speaker. I. W. Crippens, of Knoxville, one of the managers of the Knoxville Willkie Club, will introduce the speaker. A large number of Negroes from all parts of East Tennessee are expected.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

The Republican Standard Bearer

Journal & Guide
7-6-40
Norfolk, Va

IN choosing a candidate for the Presidency the Republicans departed from custom. Its candidates heretofore have been schooled, as a rule, in political experience. They have been party men by practice and tradition. Mr. Wendell L. Willkie fits into neither of the customary grooves. He has had no political experience and until 1938 he was a registered Democrat.

But for all of that the Republicans nominated the strongest man in their field of candidates. Despite his lack of experience with politics and his former political alignment Mr. Willkie proved to be the people's choice in a convention, which for the first time in the memory of any living politician, the people's will prevailed over that of the party organization.

The nomination of Mr. Willkie indicates a new trend of thought in America. The people are growing impatient with the politicians and their political arrangements and are looking for independent leadership that offers promise of a safe landing in the present storm which threatens to engulf the nation in war.

Moreover, they are looking for independent leadership that offers promise of a restoration of the American way of life to the calm and balanced peace and prosperity which predated the decade ending with 1940. This is a sort of dream which may be impossible of fulfillment in the atmosphere of world turmoil in which we live, but it is a wish nevertheless.

The trend is equally as apparent in the Democratic party. The latest poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion shows that 92 per cent of the Democrats want President Roosevelt to remain in the White House. They are willing to overturn the two-term tradition and set up a third-term precedent, largely because they believe that President Roosevelt is the only man who can deliver the Nation from its present difficulties.

From all indications the Republicans and the Democrats are permitting the people to name their Presidential candidates for the 1940 contest. There is no doubt that the former picked the one man who looms as a formidable contender, and there is little doubt that the latter will match him with the present occupant of the White House, should Roosevelt choose to run.

Platform Plank

Journal & Guide
7-6-40
Norfolk, Va

THE Republican party has inserted in its platform each quadrennium a plank which purported to offer assurance to Negro Americans. This time the pronouncement is more specific in meaning, less general in terms.

Colored Americans are pledged a "square deal in the economic and political life of this nation." That covers almost everything, if it can be achieved. But the document goes on: "Discrimination in the civil service, the army, navy and all other branches of the government must cease." That is not all. The denial of suffrage is denounced in no uncertain words: "To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen." Will the party start out now to redeem its past pledges on this point?

Finally, there is another pledge to do something about mob violence.

It is a plank in a party platform, made to run on. The Democrats will no doubt adopt a plank that is just as high-sounding in words. If there was only a way to translate party platforms into affirmative action they would mean a great deal more. This applies to all questions, which affect the common welfare of all American citizens.

They Won Seats In GOP Convention

Mrs. Mary C. Booze of Moulton Bayou, Miss., and Perry W. Howard of Jackson, Miss., are pictured here after they had defeated rival "lily white" claimants from Mississippi for seats in the Republican National Convention now in session at Philadelphia. They are national committee members from the state they represent. (INP).

OLD LINE LEADERS AMONG REPUBLICANS LOSING OUT, SAYS

Globe

Race Must Choose New Men and Women to Keep Pace With Times, Party Worker Contends

7-12-40

Nashville Tenn.

WASHINGTON, July 11—(ANP)—If as many said a new party was born in Philadelphia during the week, June 23, when Wendell Willkie was nominated for president on the Republican ticket, what is the position of the Negro in this alignment?

Fearful that the Negro is not being considered as an integral part of the plans and policies of the new political idea, a noted woman political figure from the Middle West warns that they must rouse themselves to a point where they must be considered.

"The day of the old line political leader is passed," she said, discussing the actions of well known persons, who attended the convention. "And it is equally true in the Democratic party as well as in our own. Too long, the Negro has come with his hand out, seeking he knew not what, and taking whatever he could get.

Globe

"Even in these days, when readjustments have to be made and new alliances formed, the Negro plays his same old pocketing game of politics, each one cutting his brother's throat. There is a chance in this campaign for Negroes to show their true worth, but they are more than likely to fumble the opportunity.

7-12-40

Nashville Tenn.

"The old order is passing, just as true as day follows night, but there is the same lack of political acumen among our so called leaders, as ever."

Negroes, she says, are not even considered in the new plans being formulated, and whether they stay in the Republican party or flock to the Democratic standard, they, because of their own selfishness and lack of foresight, will be doomed to the same categories they have held in the past.

Pointing out the shortcomings of the New Deal, in which thousands and thousands of whites have been aided and Negroes given the runaround, she wanted to know just which of the Negroes in the multiple appointments Mr. Roosevelt has made, have any voice in deliberations on policy of their organizations. And what would be the sta- of the Negro in the Democratic convention, and in the party after the nomination.

Admitting that the Negro had the balance of power and could sway in certain states, the vote from one party to another, it is this woman's belief that the vote will be split, unless the Negro decides to cast a majority of his votes with either of the two major parties, and by the split, will nullify any effect the strong black vote will have in pivotal states.

A third party is out of the question, she says, for the Negro will be as inconsequential in this party as he is in others.

However, she is asking if the Democrats will match the number of Negro delegates who sat in the Republican convention and took part in the deliberations of that body during its week's session in Philadelphia.

The outlook for the Negro vote, she believes, depends largely upon a changed attitude of the Negro politicians and a falling in line with the new policies which are bound to follow a liberal nomination and platform.

Referring to the plank in the Republican platform regarding Negroes, and that regarding the army and navy, she believed that Negroes could force this issue by a solid support of the Republicans and repeated demands on the bureaucratic administration of the services the Negroes are denied entry.

COMMUNIST PLOT TO BOMB G. O. P. HAILED BY G-MEN

Labor News

Eight Bombs Found In Meeting Place. A Dozen Radicals Arrested.

7-6-40

Houston, Texas

G-Men, State motor police and city detectives smashed a gigantic Red bomb plot which unless nipped at its source, might have destroyed the lives of hundreds of Republicans delegates and alternates now in Philadelphia.

7-6-40

No less than eight bombs, planted in Convention Hall and other strategic gathering points of the present convention, had been discovered by authorities as they continued the round-up of nearly a dozen men and women for their parts in the fantastic scheme.

All Liked To Radicals

Each of the characters now under arrest, although their identities were not immediately disclosed, were known to have connections with radical organizations.

It successful, the plot might easily have wiped from existence the greater part of the leadership of one of the Nation's major political parties. The location of such bombs as were found indicated that men of this calibre, rather than the delegates and alternates in general, were the real tragets of the bloodthirsty scheme.

Betrayed By Trooper

The plot itself, however, was never permitted to get beyond so closely in touch with its developments that State troopers and city detectives were actually planted among the plotters shortly after its inception.

One trooper performed his task so efficiently that he was one of those designated by his "comrades" to place the bombs. To escape and tip off his superiors he feigned illness so well that the other parties to the plot rushed him to a hospital. From there he notified his headquarters.

Leaders Seized

A few minutes later detectives raided the headquarters of the killers, and several of those who conceived the plan of political mass murder were captured on the spot.

Nutter and King Issue Joint GOP Statement

Afro-American

7-20-40

Baltimore, Md.

Say Willkie Had Taken Stand Against Discrimination

BELIEVES UNITY IS NECESSARY

No Prejudice in Army, Navy

WASHINGTON

"We are all the more disposed to work whole-heartedly with Wendell Willkie because he has gone on record as being opposed to race hatred and bigotry," declared T. G. Nutter and William E. King, recently appointed members of the GOP Campaign Advisory Committee.

Mr. Nutter, who is a native of Charleston, W.Va., and Mr. King of Chicago, were in Washington for the first meeting of the committee, held on Thursday.

In the joint statement issued by them, they also said:

Consideration Promised

"It is evident that under Mr. Willkie's leadership, greater consideration is being given by the Republican party to the welfare of colored citizens than at any time during the last forty years.

"Our candidate has caught the imagination of the American people and, he has color and personality, in addition to the sound judgment and experience demanded of a President.

"Mr. Willkie has taken a stand no other presidential nominee has taken with regard to discrimination against colored citizens in the armed services of the Government, including the army, navy and air corps and with respect to the employment of colored persons in government service generally.

"We believe with Mr. Willkie that we must have a government which regards itself as the servant of the people, and not its master; a government without prejudices, and a government under which we can move forward again as a united nation made up of men and women of confidence and good will."

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
May 19, 1940

Lively Session Of GOP Names Delegation

Dewey Advocate Walks Out After Brisk Heckling

A lively Georgia Republican convention highlighted by the ejection of a former district chairman and the "walkout" of a Dewey advocate Saturday elected four delegates and four alternates from the state at large to the national convention. All were uninstructed.

Georgia's 14 votes will be cast at the Philadelphia convention June 24 by these and ten delegates, with alternates, previously named by congressional district conventions. They also were uninstructed.

During a clamor over procedure early in the session, former First District Chairman B. H. McLarty, of Lyons, was put off the convention stage and floor. He protested he was there as a press representative.

Convention Chairman James H. Crummey, of Rochelle, who quieted the clamor, said McLarty was "politicking" among delegates during election of officers and stated the ejection was at the instance of National Committeeman James W. Arnold, of Athens.

Didn't Have Card

"He was not a delegate and did not even have a visitor's card," said Crummey.

The four delegates at large named were Clint W. Hager, of Atlanta, chairman of the state central committee, who also was re-elected for another two years in the latter position; National Committeeman Arnold, Ben J. Davis, Atlanta Negro and former national committeeman, and F. C. Gassett, Cartersville Negro.

Alternates were: Josiah T. Rose, Atlanta; Judge W. G. Cornett, Athens; D. F. Cofer, Atlanta, and Sidney A. Jones, Savannah. The latter two are Negroes.

The convention named Crummey permanent chairman, W. J. Shaw, Atlanta Negro, permanent secretary, re-elected Mr. Hager a chairman of the state central committee, and recommended re-election to the national committee of Arnold and Mrs. Bertha Field, of Marietta.

The Dewey advocate "walkout" occurred after the credentials committee had decided in favor of D. C. Cole of Marietta in a contest over the national convention delegateship from the Seventh District.

Heckling Appears

Frank Gleason of Rossville, loser in the contest who will appeal at Philadelphia, walked onto the stage and asserted "before I take a walkout I want to say that any man with the gumption to come out for Tom Dewey has no more chance in this convention than a snowball in Chicago."

Heckling burst out and the red-haired attorney retorted "I expected that but I want to say that the action of this iniquitous committee is disgraceful and highanded. It would make Dillinger blush."

He charged that Mr. and Mrs. P. G. Morgan were seated in the Seventh District convention recently "although theyare residents of Chattanooga, Tenn.—I've got the registration list here to prove it."

Mrs. Morgan strode onto the stage angrily and told Gleason "I've been a resident of Georgia for nine years and you know it because you are the attorney who drew the deeds for my property."

Smiling, Gleason replied "here's the resigtration list." Then as he left the stage he said "let's elect Tom Dewey president of the United States."

Mrs. Morgan returned to the rostrum briefly, smiling.

"I'm sorry I lost my temper but I want you to know I am not a four-year Republican," said the attractive brunet. "I am a Republican every day and have been every day of my life for 41 years."

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PARTY AFFILIATION

STATE CHAIRMAN HAGER NOMINATES A COLORED MAN FOR TEMPORARY SECRETARY GEORGIA STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

MR. CHAIRMAN:

Under the rules, customs and traditions of the Republican Party from time to time, it has been the law of our Party to set up a leadership to control and direct its destinies when the Republican people are not in session, and between delegated conventions. In the nation the Republican National Committee controls the party and directs its movements between sessions; and in the states the State Central Committee, or controlling committee directs the actions of the Republican Party and pilots its way from convention to convention. And in compliance with these time honored rules and precedences, I rise to place the name of William J. Shaw of Fulton County, Georgia, in nomination for temporary secretary of this Convention. I am not nominating Mr. Shaw as my personal selection further than I agree with the choice of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia I am carrying out the mandate of the State Central Comittee of Georgia, over which I have the honor to preside; and I want the Convention to fully understand that I agree wholly with every action of the Committee.

In all my experience as an attorney, District Attorney, I have never met a stenographer, or court reporter superior to "Bill" Shaw as he is popularly known in our Party. He is the most accurate and efficient stenographer I know, and I except none that I have met. Preceding the meeting of every Republican National Convention, the Republican National Committee meets and makes arrangements for the convening of the ensuing Convention; following that precedent and time honored rule, the Georgia Republican State Central Committee met and made temporary arrangements for your Convention today. Following the rules laid down by the Republican National Committee, the highest authority our party, your Committee chose James Crummey for temporary chairman and William J. Shaw for temporary secretary; suggested Dr. W. Y. Gilliam for permanent chairman and "Bill" Shaw for permanent secretary; and in presenting these names to you, I am obeying the instructions given me by the Republican State Central Committee, which you elected to guide your party until you could meet today. These orders are from your Committee, and I am a part of your Committee, and fully agree with every act your Committee performed including this nomination.

Our Party like all other religious or secular institutions, must have leadership; the representatives of the people cannot remain in session all the time; therefore, they must provide an agency to act for them between sessions when they cannot be present to act for themselves. What would be the predicament of our Party today both locally and nationally if somebody or authority did not meet in advance, arrange a program, and make necessary arrangements before we all meet together? I appeal to every Republican in this gathering, and every friend I have to vote for this nomination and to sustain the leadership of your State Central Committee. There is but little we can do to insure success at the polls next November, but we can at least abstain from doing things down here that will embarrass our party in the North, East and West. If we cannot add any votes in Georgia by reason of conditions existing here, and over which we have no control; we can at least refrain from such blunders as will drive away voters in the East, North and West. It takes votes to win and not sentimental prejudice. Votes know no color line and one man's vote without regard to race or color, will count just as much in the summary of the total vote as another. Mr. Chairman, I again appeal to every friend of mine and every believer in the principles, purposes, and aims of our Party, to vote to sustain the recommendations of your State Central Committee.

Mr. Hager took his seat in the midst of loud and long applause, and his motion to elect Mr. Shaw temporary secretary, unanimously prevailed.

—Union Review.

STATE G. O P.'S NAME FIRST RACE DELEGATE IN TWENTY-FOUR YEARS· DR. J. T. WALTON CHOSEN AS ALTERNATE

DALLAS, Texas — The liberal trends of the Republican Party towards Negroes was clearly exemplified here this week at the Texas G. O. P. State convention when after 24 years, Dr. J. T. Walton, prominent San Antonio physician was elected as alternate delegate at large to the National G. O. P. convention which convenes in Philadelphia June 24.

The change in practices of electing all white delegates is the result of a crusade by the Negro Labor News and Negro leading Republicans.

C. W. Rice, editor and publisher of The Negro Labor News and delegate for Harris County appeared in person at the first session of the executive committee that Negro members of the party in Texas would seek a representative on the Texas delegation to the national convention.

The dynamic editor pointed out to the committee that the exclusion of Negroes from its delegation was embarrassing the loyal Negro Republicans in Texas and was hurting the party's cause among Negroes in the northern and eastern sections.

and guests representing several sections of the state, attended the two-day session. The Negro delegates participated freely in the various meetings, were feted at the big barbecue given at the Fair Park auditorium and attended in large numbers the address by Thomas E. Dewey who is seeking the Republican nomination for president of the United States.

The white delegates were most cordial towards the colored delegates and the Negro and white delegates representing the same county sat together.

Other Negro speakers to appear before the convention were Rev. T. S. Boone, Forth Worth and Rev. R. Lowe, Dallas.

Following Dr. Boone's eloquent address, Attorney Orville Burlington of Wichita Falls, temporary chairman and key noter of the convention paid tribute and compliment to the race, and loyal Republicans stating that there was a time when Negro Republicans would "sell-out" their race but there are no such Negro Republicans now and if there were there would not be any white Republicans to buy them.

National committeeman R. B. Creger, speaking to a colored caucus, said, "there are no black and white Republicans, we are all Republicans and we should all strive to build a great party in the state."

He urged Negroes to take a more active part in the precinct and county conventions which would have their way for greater participation at the state convention.

Mr. Creger asked the Negro delegates to form a caucus and name their Negro representative. After a heated meeting presided over by John White, Harris County and W. H. Wilson of Galveston, a committee was named, with Dr. F. D. Parrot of Houston, chairman, to suggest a list of names of individuals best fitted to serve as delegates.

The committee report brought in names of Dr. Walton, Emanuel ("Dutch") Dibbles of Jefferson County, Mrs. Ella Whitley of Houston, Mrs. Landry of San Antonio and C. W. Rice of Houston.

After some discussion it was motioned that the committee's report be disregarded and Dr. Walton would be recommended as delegate and C. W. Rice as alternate.

The largest race delegation was from Bexar County with 14; Houston followed with 10.

All race delegates left with renewed interest and feeling that a new day had dawned for the Republican party in Texas.

Among the race delegates present were:

Houston: Dr. Fred D. Parrott, Mrs. Ella Whitley, Rev. W. M. Sykes, Rev. J. R. Burdette, Milas L. Jones, John White, Rev. W. A. Carr and C. W. Rice; San Antonio: Dr. J. T. Walton, Rev. W. M. Ellison, C. W. Franklin, M. E. Killough, Mrs. Gertrude L. Wilson, Mrs. R. L. North, Mrs. Gertrude Moody, H. V. Christopher, Miss Birdie Frank Walton, Miss Zelda Coker, Mrs. R. K. Somber, F. Ambree, Mrs. G. J. Pleasant and Rev. T. W. Harvey; Galveston: John McGaffey, J. R. Wiley, J. D. Barefield, J. J. Scott, George A. Brown, Mrs. Susie S. Johnson, C. L. Wilson and W. H. Wilson; Bryan: J. L. Thomas; Jefferson County, J. R. Ridley; Dallas: Rev. Richard A. Lowe; Fort Worth A. J. Uplike, T. S. Boone, Dan Oliver; Port Arthur: Manuel Dibbles; Corpus Christi: M. T. Oliver.

Part Colored Delegates Will Play In Republican National Committee

Wash. Tribune

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

The Republican National Convention which meets in Philadelphia beginning June 24 will be called to order at 12 o'clock noon by John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

6-22-40

This is the twenty-first Quadrennial Gathering of the Members of the Republican Party to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. It is the fourth of Republican Conventions to be held in Philadelphia.

Colored Bishop to Pray

Bishop John A. Gregg of the Fourth Episcopal District, African Methodist Episcopal Church, is to be one of the chaplains of the convention; also an outstanding musical representative of the race will be asked to sing "America," or some other patriotic selection, at one of the opening sessions.

There has been compiled at Republican National Committee Headquarters a list of colored delegates and alternates, regular and contesting, who will be attending the convention, numbering 85. These colored delegates and alternates will come from Arkansas, California, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Maryland, Michigan, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas and West Virginia.

Prominent Delegates and Alternates

Among these delegates and alternates will be some of the most prominent members of the race including one Republican National Committeeman, and one Republican National Committeewoman, Perry W. Howard and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, both of Mississippi; Bishop S. L. Greene, of the A. M. E. Church, of Little Rock, Arkansas, as an alternate-delegate-at-large, J. Leonard Lewis, business man of Jacksonville, as a delegate-at-large from Florida. Contesting from the same State is Attorney Samuel D. McGill and Joe H. James.

Georgia is sending two delegates-at-large, the redoubtable Benjamin J. Davis and F. C. Gassett, and two colored alternates-at-large, with Clarence S. Wigfall of Augusta, as a district delegate.

Jacob R. Tipper, editor of the Chicago World, will be representing the First Congressional District of Illinois; G. W. Saffell is the delegate-at-large from Kentucky.

Among the delegates and alternates from Louisiana are James Lewis, Jr., New Orleans, and Dr. J. H. Lowery, of Donaldsville-delegate-at-large; Dr. P. P. Cruezot and J. L. Hatcher, both of New Orleans, with Dr. R. M. Baranco of Baton Rouge, La., delegate, contesting.

S. D. Redmond, Republican State chairman of Mississippi, is a delegate-at-large. The Mississippi delegation has the largest colored contingent. Missouri is sending a delegate-at-large, William A. Morant of St. Louis and a district delegate, Sidney R. Redmond of St. Louis.

Charles A. Roxborough, Detroit attorney, chosen from the First Congressional District, is the only colored representative from Michigan. Mr. Roxoborough is at present chairman of the United District Congressional Organization and was recently appointed by Governor Dickinson, a member of the Appeal Board of the Unemployment Compensation Commission of Michigan for a term of six years.

Dr. Lorenzo H. King, of St. Marks M. E. Church, comes from the 21st Congressional District of New York City. Lawrence O. Payne, delegate-at-large and Perry Brooks Jackson, district delegate, both of Cleveland, are the colored representation on the Ohio delegation.

Texas sends an alternate delegate-at-large, Dr. J. T. Walton, of San Antonio.

West Virginia will be represented by Capt. G. E. Ferguson of Charleston as an alternate-at-large, and by W. W. Sanders, also of Charleston, district alternate. Both of the contesting delegations from South Carolina have colored representation.

Preparations for Entertainment

Elaborate preparations are being made for the entertainment of colored delegates and their friends by representative local arrangement committees. There is every assurance that these delegates will receive all the courtesies accorded other delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention. Banquets, garden parties, dances and speech-making gatherings are being provided for the enjoyment of all who will be present.

Other entertainments provided for the hosts of persons who will descend upon the city will include a repetition of the annual New Year's event, the "Mummer's Parade," a water pageant on the Schuylkill River, also visits to Philadelphia's places of historical interest, including Independence Hall with its famed Liberty Bell and Declaration Room, the Betsy Ross House and Old Christ Church. Opportunity will also be offered delegates to visit Valley Forge.

"Patriotism and Americanism"

One of the most notable of these special events will occur at 5 p.m., on Monday, June 24, the opening day of the convention, when all the delegates and officers of the convention will assemble in Independence Square before Independence Hall, with the doors of that edifice open, exposing the Liberty Bell to the view of the audience.

The theme of this meeting is to be "Patriotism and Americanism." Short addresses will be made by Chairman John Hamilton, and Former U. S. Senator George Wharton Pepper of Pennsylvania. Richard Crooks, of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will sing a new song especially composed for the occasion, the "Cradle of Liberty." There will also be special music by the Lulu Temple Shrine Band of 100 pieces and by the Philadelphia Orpeus Club.

Distinguished colored men and women from all parts of the country, representing achievements in many fields of activity, are among those who have indicated their intention of being present during the deliberations of the convention.

The convention will be in session, beginning Monday, June 24, for at least four days and probably also, if necessary, through June 28. Colored delegates undoubtedly will serve on all convention committees and will be well represented in the deliberations of the convention. One thousand delegates will constitute the full convention personnel and precisely the same number of alternates.

ASK G.O.P. TO CONSIDER RACE IN PROGRAM

Defender

Detroit Attorney Makes Demand Of G. O. P. Committee Group

6-22-40

DETROIT—A demand that the Republican party "recommit itself to the protection of colored citizens who suffer sub-American status," was made this week by Attorney Charles A. Roxborough, in a letter to Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, member of the Republican program committee which met in New York on Saturday.

Roxborough, as one of the leading Republicans in Michigan and head of the largest Republican organization in the state, was writing Mrs. Speaks and explaining his reasons for not attending the meeting.

However, he offered the following suggestions for the Republican convention and said the convention should "declare itself in support of such desirable measures" as:

1. Anti-poll tax legislation to end disfranchisement of potential colored voters in eight southern states;

2. Erase the blot of unrestrained, unpunished mob murder by the enactment and enforcement of the law to punish lynching, now being smothered in the Senate by the Democratic majority and Republican minority;

3. In this hour of national peril, when young Negroes with college diplomas in their hands and wearing Phi Beta Kappa keys, are bluntly told at recruiting stations that the country has no place for them in its defense service, other than a few dozen positions as stable hands in a few regiments at the most menial and degrading tasks, the party must challenge and attack this base ingratitude and injustice in order that the eligibility to defend the flag we love shall be measured only by the fitness and loyalty of the citizens and nothing else. This principle to apply to every department and in every relation.

Mr. Roxborough will be the only Race delegate from Michigan to the Republican convention next week in Philadelphia.

LOCAL WILLKIE NEGRO CLUB NEARS 1000 MEMBERSHIP

Many Democrats Among Joiners

According to announcement this week by Dr. F. D. Parrott, chairman of the Willkie-For-President Colored Club, membership in the club is nearing the 1000 mark. Dr. Parrott said he is surprised at the number of colored voters joining the Willkie movement. Among the recent joiners of the club is Carter W. Wesley, editor of The Houston Informer. Mr. Wesley, whose paper supported the New Deal in 1932 and 1936, told the colored delegates at the Republican State convention at Beaumont last week that he was supporting Wendell Willkie whether the Republicans use his paper as a publicity medium or not.

R. R. Rrovey, civic leader and politician who oftentimes changes his political party and who once used the Democrats in exas for the right to vote in the Democratic primary, joined the club and stated: "I am going down the line for the Republican party this year." Many other prominent citizens who joined the Willkie-for-President Club have commented on the fair attitude and recognition shown the Negro by the Republican party this year.

C. W. Rice who was a member of the Texas delegation to the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia and who acted in an advisory capacity in the formation of the Willkie-for-President Club, said he believes Negroes will break a twenty year record in Texas in voting the Republican ticket in November.

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REPUBLICAN

Tieless Joe Tolbert Ousted After Negroes Denounce Him

PHILADELPHIA, June 27.—After several Negro speakers had denounced him and accused him of being a representative of an antiquated ideal, Joseph W. (Tieless Joe) Tolbert, veteran white G.O.P. leader from South Carolina, lost his fight to seat his mixed delegation to the G.O.P. convention here Thursday.

Tolbert's slate of ten which included three Negro delegates and one alternate, lost out to the group headed by J. Bates Gerald. This latter group includes one Negro delegate and three alternates.

The Tolbert forces charged that the Gerald group was the outgrowth of a former lily-white group which ousted the veteran leader under Herbert Hoover's regime.

Negro supporters of the Gerald body denied the charge, however, and Dr. Charles H. Brown of Benedict college, delivered the coup-de-grace to the Tolbert forces.

"Mr. Tolbert represents an antiquated ideal which is not able to cope with the modern world," the minister said. "There are thousands of streamlined Negroes in South Carolina who are no longer attracted by the oddity of an old white gentleman without a tie."

White speakers accused Tolbert of reducing the Republican vote from 40,000 (under a Negro leader), to 285 in the last election, and of selling federal jobs to Democrats.

GOP Delegate Wins Gold Medal

By SARA NEELY

PHILADELPHIA — The recent Republican National Convention, the nucleus around which many outstanding personalities were gathered, included the Rev. Charles Hendric Williamson, delegate to the convention and president of the Henderson, N.C., branch of the NAACP.

Fifty years of teaching in the public school system of Henderson, during which time he nurtured such protegees as the Revs. Marshall Shephard and Joseph Boyd of Philadelphia, merited a gold service medal.

Born in Raleigh, N.C., his fifty-two years in the ministry began with his ordination at Tuppee Memorial Church on the site where his alma mater, Shaw University (where he attended on a State Sunday school convention scholarship) was founded.

Degrees of B.S., A.B., and M.A. were conferred upon him in 1888 1892, and 1896, respectively. Under his leadership, churches were erected at Charlotte and Warrenton, N.C.

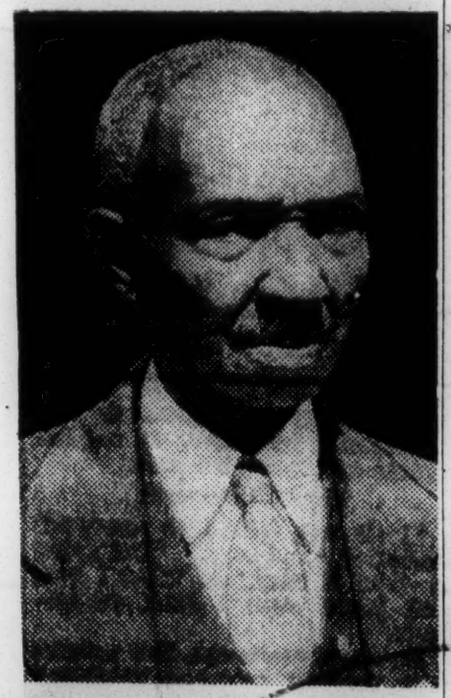
Aside from his duties as a teacher and minister, he has found an outlet for such expressions of humane service as the purchase of 880 acres of land which he developed into twenty-five and fifty acre sub-divisions and sold as a stimulus for better housing conditions.

As a result of his efforts, three Rosenwald schools were built, one at Vilesville, one at Narlina, and the other at Henderson, where he is now teaching.

For seven years he was a Colporter missionary for the American Society jointly with the State convention; president of the Shiloh Institute for boys at Warrenton for fourteen years; editor of the Baptist Sentinel for twelve years; and president of the Girls' Training School at Charlotte, N.C., while pastoring the Friendship Baptist Church there.

In 1907, $10,000 was placed at his disposal as commissioner-general of the Negro Department of the Jamestown Exposition to defray expenses.

While in the city he was the guest of his cousins, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Williamson of White Rock Baptist Church; Mr. and Mrs. E. P. Williamson and their daughter, Mrs. Gertrude W. Greene.



THE REV. C. H. WILLIAMSON

HOOVER WAS ALSO TOO BUSY

Mr. Hoover while President was "too busy" to see Negroes about the things that most interested them until he needed their votes.

Even when he did reluctantly allow a delegation to gather on the White House lawn, he answered only with the usual platitudes the impassioned plea of Roscoe Simmons to "Speak, Mr. President. Tell us that Lincoln is not dead!"

Eight years pass and a new President, a great liberal and humanitarian, has been occupying the White House, extolling the virtues of the Good Neighbor policy toward erstwhile despised Latin Americans and denouncing aggression in distant lands from China to Czechoslovakia, while trying to weave a new and more democratic pattern of life for the United States.

The Editor of The Pittsburgh Courier requests an appointment for the purpose of discussing the jim crow system in the armed forces of the nation that relegates colored citizens to the category of servants and laborers.

No topic could be more timely when prominent people from the President to the D.A.R. are making the welkin ring with appeals to safeguard democracy and to preserve this civilization as the last stronghold of human freedom and individual liberty.

But the President's secretary replies that the Chief Executive is too busy to "permit an appointment," and insults the intelligence of the Editor and the millions for whom he speaks by pretending that the vicious jim crow system exists because there is such a small turnover in existing jim crow military organizations that there is no room for more Negroes.

We do not think the President of the United States, who is also commander-in-chief of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, should any longer evade this burning issue by pretending to be "too busy" to discuss it.

SEYMOUR CARROLL HONORED

REPUBLICANS NAME COLUMBIA MAN TO NOTIFY NEXT VICE-PRESIDENT

Palmetto Leader 7-13-40

Dr. Charles H. Brown, I. M. A. Myers and James A. Brier Columbia Dispatch Delegates to Republican National Convention

Col. J. Bates Gerald Very Friendly to Negroes

Summerton, S. C., July 3—Col J. Bates Gerald of Summerton, the new State Chairman of the South Carolina Republican Party announced here to-day that Seymour Carroll of Columbia, field representative of the American Humane Education Society of Boston, has been named by the State Republican committee as the representative from South Carolina on the official committee from the Republican National committee to go to Salem, Oregon to notify U. S. Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon that he has been drafted as the Republican candidate for vice-president of the United States. Mr. Carroll was one of those who played marked ability and courage at the Philadelphia convention two weeks ago, and this reward comes because of his loyalty to the party. The dates for the notificaion will be announced after the Democratic National convention in Chicago, July 15th

Another to be honored at the Philadelphia convention was Dr. Charles H. Brown of Benedict college, a delegate who addressed the national committee at the opening of the convention. Dr. Brown was named an honorary national chairman of the Republican National convention from South Carolina. I. M. A. Myers, director of the school of rural education was elected as the secretary of the South Carolina delegation at Philadelphia.

James A. Brier, of Greenville a delegate, was the most colorful man from the South at the convention. Mr. Brier a veteran Republican leader from Greenville county caused more than 800 Negroes to register in that county a year ago. The Reverend S. M. Walker of Summerton served as alternate delegate at the convention.

Col. J. Bates Gerald of Summerton is the new State Chairman, and the Hon. George Norwood of Greenville, former president of the National Bank of Greenville is the national committeeman from South Carolina. Mr. Carroll is a member of the State Committee. A campaign will be carried on in this state this summer to get every citizen registered, so that he or she might cast his vote for Wendell L. Wilkie of New York, candidate for President of the United States and U. S. Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon for vice-president of the United States. W. B. Dougherty of Sumter, a former Republican postmaster at Sumter was named on the official committee that will notify Mr. Willkie of his nomination in August. Mrs. John E Messervy of Charleston was named as the Republican National Committeewoman from South Carolina.

G. O. P. Leader Calls News Story A Lie

Palmetto Leader

Kansas City Kansas 8-4-40

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Perry W. Howard, Grand Legal Adviser of Elks for the past 15 years, when the article appearing in the Afro-American with date-line of St. Louis, Mo., setting forth what purported to be extravagant expenditures of Grand Lodge Officers and the statement that the Grand Lodge Officers were concealing the Minutes of the Grand Lodge until after the Grand Lodge session was over, said:

'These statements are so infamously false that they are really pathetic. In the first place, every expenditure made of Grand Lodge money is approved by the Grand Lodge after a detailed study by two of the most efficient and meticulously honest Grand Lodge officials, Grand Secretary James E. Kelley, and Grand Treasurer, Edward W. Henry. Their reports reflect every penny received and expended by the Grand Lodge, and every item spent is voted on.

"Furthermore, perhaps, different to any other corporation, the Grand Exalted Ruler, cannot expend one dime or issue one check or get the voucher amounting to one penny unless it is signed by the Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer.

Doubtless, there are few people who know that the Grand Exalted Ruler and other active Grand Lodge officers were voted certain salaries, but the Grand Exalted Ruler set the example and cut his own salary voluntarily, and his Cabinet Members followed suit.

Speaking of the expense items of rent, etc., M. Howard said:

"I submit it to the sober judgment of any fair-minded person as to what institution or individual or group of individuals get as much for their money as the Grand Lodge gets for the little rent it pays for the Elks at the Grand Exalted Ruler's house. For, the Grand Lodge gets not only the run of the second floor for this little pittance, but the whole run of his house, which is the mecca of hospitality for all Elks who come to the city. And, too, the Grand Exalted Ruler's second name is hospitality.

"Every item that is expended is scrutinized, authorized, audited and checked by the Auditing Board, and every member of our Auditing Board is a certified public accountant—men of brains, character, and efficiency.

"No offices of any organization with size of the Order of Elks are run with greater economy than that of the Grand Exalted Ruler and Grand Secretary."

Speaking further, he says:

"They went so far as to charge Judge Henry, our efficient Grand Treasurer, with an item of traveling expense of $2,500, when there is not a word of truth in this statement.

"Then, too, they could not stay off our hardworking, efficient and competent Commissioner of Education, Judge Hueston, in that all of his scholarship money—money transmitted through him to the various colleges for the scholarship of our boys and girls—was so mentioned as to give the appearance that the Commissioner received this as salary or personal expense.

"We are very happy to state that there was never more enthusiasm in the Grand Lodge than now. The Grand Exalted Ruler has just returned from a trip to the Coast with the most glowing reports of enthusiasm growing out of reinstatement of lodges and the addition of new members. He was the guest of honor at a display by the Elks in New York on the 28th of July, with an audience of fifteen thousand witnessing a turn-out in the form of a ball game in the interest of the Civil Liberties Department. A crowd of practically eight to ten thousand witnessed a similar affair in Washington on August 1.

"As we make this statement, the whole State of Ohio is looking to the City of Columbus, where the greatest fraternal display is being made in the history of the Mid-West.

"If you are in St. Louis, you will see the greatest convention in the history of the Order, in point of attendance, enthusiasm and unanimity of action, and there, instead of the bickerings that this journalist prevaricator predicts, the Grand Exalted Ruler and all of his staff will be returned to office without a dissenting voice

"There is not a ripple on the skies, with all suits wiped out to the credit of the Order, and all troubles having faded away.

"The St. Louis article (it wasn't even sent from St. Louis) represents only the back-fire of the on-rushing waters of a fraternal current the like of which the world has never seen.

"We Elks of the World know the genius of J. Finley Wilson as a fraternal leader and we know that there are many who would like to take his place, but we do not know of any who can fill his place. Therefore, we shall exercise the good judgment of holding on to him."

Democrats Play Up The 'Ban' On Negroes In Willkie's Town

By GEORGE MORRIS

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn. Aug 6 1940

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15. — Elwood, Ind., the place where Wendell Willkie was born, and where he will on Saturday deliver his speech accepting the Republican presidential nomination, is regarded by New Deal leaders as a perfect setting for propaganda designed to hold the negro New Deal affiliation in the North unbroken.

Elwood is described as one of those Middle Western towns where the company of the negro is undesirable. At the time of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Senator Minton of Indiana, one of the New Deal stalwarts, addressed a Democratic negro meeting in South Chicago.

He is said to have described Elwood as a place where negroes are warned "don't let the sun go down on you here." He is reported to have told the Chicago negroes that a negro needs a passport to get into Elwood.

Negroes Cited As Favorites

In contrast with the social discrimination against negroes in Elwood and other Northern Republican centers, it is pointed out that negroes are the especial favorites of the Democratic Administration. Marion Anderson, noted negro singer, it is cited with good political effect, was selected out of all the American talent for the entertainment of the King and Queen of England when they were guests at the White House.

Mrs. Roosevelt's frequent social contacts with negroes working for attempting to sway negro relief clients either way, the obligation to the New Deal is well recognized, thus accounting for the tremendous Democratic majorities in the machine controlled cities of the North.

the uplift of the race, is cited as evidence of how alert she is to negro welfare, economically and socially.

Dr. Will Alexander, director of the Farm Security Administration, was quoted as saying in one of his addresses that the only social consciousness the South has is the insistence of whites that they are superior to negroes.

Chicago Is Hub

Chicago is the hub of negro political activity in such states as Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, where the negro vote is often a determining factor. More than half of the negro population is jobless and the way in which they are being provided for by the relief agencies has created a strong bond between the negroes and the New Deal.

Fifty-seven per cent, or more than 115,000 of Chicago's South Side population of 200,000, according to a recent survey, are jobless. Of these 75,000 are receiving direct relief; 20,000 are employed on WPA projects and others are provided for otherwise.

Without mentioning politics, or

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REPUBLICAN

Personal Attack Hit By Willkie

Washington Post

Washington, D.C.

Democrats Smear His Wife and Father, Candidate Asserts To Albany Crowd

(Willkie's Text, Page 4.)

By William B. Ardery,
Associated Press Staff Writer

Albany, N. Y., Oct. 12.—Wendell L. Willkie said tonight that the Democratic National Committee had distributed "a scurrilous and indecent pamphlet" which "even contains an attack against my father and my wife."

Addressing a loudly cheering crowd in Hawkins Stadium here, the Republican Presidential nominee said he had just listened to President Roosevelt speaking from Dayton, Ohio.

Quotes Roosevelt

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Then he added:

"In his speech he (the President) spoke at great length and in words that were eloquent about the necessity for tolerance in America and about the necessity for people in this new land—no matter what their racial origin—to live in peace and understanding.

"He very properly said that only thus could this way of life continue in America. Today the National Democratic Committee distributed as scurricluos, indecent an attempt as ever was made in American public life to raise the racial question.

"I shall speak on a later occasion about that scandalous attack by the New Deal. It even contains a nattack upon my father and wife. Thus we see as we have seen on many other occasions the difference between profession and performance.

Class Against Class

"From its very inception into office it has proclaimed highly and performed lowly. It has sought to array class against class, group against group, section against section—all for political profit. Here in the shadow of the Capitol I want to denounce it."

There were some boos from the audience, although Willkie was frequently interrupted by applause during the course of his prepared speech from which he departed to denounce the Democratic pamphlet.

Flynn Recognizes Pamphlet

[The pamphlet to which he referred, it was revealed in New York bore the imprint of the colored division of the Democratic National Committee, Hotel Biltmore, New York.

[A press representative of Democratic Chairman Edward J. Flynn admitted this unit of the committee had published the pamphlet, but the chairman of the colored division, Julian D. Rainey, in Boston, denied his unit had furnished any material concerning Willkie's ancestry.

[The pamphlet traced the German ancestry of Willkie and Mrs. Willkie and accused Willkie's father of anti-Negro activities in Elwood, Ind., Willkie's birthplace.]

Speaking in cold night air, Willkie's voice sounded hoarse at some points.

Willkie's speech delivered in a city which has been a democratic stronghold in recent years, marked the start of a campaign early next week through upstate New York.

The candidate described the New Deal tonight as "a liability to the American people" and said that "it does not help them to defend themselves—it prevents them."

Here after a four-day campaign tour through New England, Willkie said that President Roosevelt had made a "brave statement" in 1933 when he declared there was nothing to fear except fear itself.

"Now we are in a different crisis—a different kind of crisis," Willkie continued, "and the chief difference between this crisis and the previous one is that we do indeed know what to fear.

"We must fear the New Deal."

History of Bill

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Willkie devoted much of his speech to discussing the history of legislation, signed by the President Wednesday, to permit manufacturer to amortize over a period of years the cost of plants built for defense.

He asserted the Navy recommended such legislation two and a half years ago, that the Navy took up the question with the Treasury Under-Secretary in 1939, that later in the year John W. Hanes, then Treasury Under-Secretary, recommended it, and that on December 4, 1939, Secretary Morgenthau told reporters the defense manufacturers "would never get a break from him."

Last July, Willkie said, a White House conference was held on the problem because "defense had become urgent." The Administration, he continued, insisted on tying the amortization bill in with excess profits taxation and thus created additional delay.

Liability to the People

"It was not until four days ago that the President finally signed this bill to clear the tracks for the manufacture of the guns, the tanks, the planes and the munitions we need," he added.

Washington

"This kind of government is a liability to the American people. It does not help them to defend themselves. It prevents them.

"That's just one example of the way in which the New Deal has blocked the production of armament by private plants. The Administration agreed—then disagreed—and then agreed with itself. It crawfished."

Willkie said that Government arsenals were out of date, while they "should serve as a model to show the way to private industry in a national emergency."

Quotes Morgenthau

"Secretary Morgenthau was frank to say he would not give the manufacturers a break," he added. "The reecord shows that the New Deal has been equally unwilling to give the Government manufacturers, our national arsenals, a break.

Party Leaders Call It 'a Blunder'

"Democratic Campaign Facts, 1940," or at least one edition of this adjunct of the New Deal speakers' kits, backfired sharply on the Roosevelt campaign managers yesterday.

Washington

The furor its discovery in New York created was highlighted last night by a formal charge placed before the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee that Democratic Chairman Edward J. Flynn was "seeking to inflame the minds of voters with racial prejudice."

In addition to the denunciation of it as a "scurriuous and indecent attempt" to attack him on racial grounds, made by Wendell L. Willkie in his Albany speech last night, the "Democratic Campaign Facts" pamphlet distributed to New Deal speakers backfired sharply elsewhere.

The furore its discovery in New York created led, among other things, to a formal charge before the Senate campaign expenditures committee that Democratic Chairman Edward J. Flynn was "seeking to inflame the minds of voters with racial prejudice."

The pamphlet was distributed by the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee. It bears the notation on its cover that this unit of the New Deal campaign forces was distributing it from the Hotel Biltmore, New York.

The Biltmore is the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee. The Colored Division has offices across the street from the hotel.

The pamphlet directs attention to Wendell L. Willkie's German ancestry. It likens his nomination to the "blitzkrieg" methods of Hitler. By thinly veiled insinuation, it seeks to link the Republican candidate to interest in Germany by stating that he never showed any interest in politics until the Germans forced the present international situation.

Attempts to "Smear" Candidate

It further insinuates that Willkie's Republican supporters in Congress are blocking New Deal defense measures in the interest of Germany. And it attempts to "smear" the G. O. P. standard bearer further by accusing his father of anti-Negro activities in Elwood, Ind., Willkie's birthplace.

Newspaper publication of the distribution of the pamphlet quickly brought these results:

Gregory Coleman, press representative of Flynn, first denied he had ever heard of the pamphlet; and, a few minutes later, admitted it was being distributed by the colored division of Flynn's committee.

In Boston, Julian D. Rainey, lawyear and chairman of the colored division, repudiated the pamphlet, or at least that part of it which directed attention to Willkie's ancestry.

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"I repudiate it and please quote me on that," Rainey declared. "We did submit some material to Charles Michelson, publicity director for the Democratic National Committee, for his approval. None of it contained any reference to Willkie's ancestry.

Called "Stupid Blunder"

In New York, where many leading New Deal supporters were, privately, dubbing distribution of such a pamphlet a "stupid blunder," Democratic Lieut. Gov. Charles Poletti publicly deplored such attacks, although he didn't mention Willkie by name.

Washington

In a Columbus Day address, Poletti referred to the charges of Willkie that the Democrats were conducting a "smear" and "whispering" campaign. He said that any attacks on any candidate because of his German ancestry "deserve the condemnation of every right-thinking citizen of this country."

Post

And last night, in a telegram to Senator Gillette, of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee, Alan Valentine, of New York, chairman of the Democrats-for-Willkie, called attention to the pamphlet and made his charge of Democratic attempts to stir racial prejudices.

Washington

Valentine's wire was a request for Senate inquiry into distribution by the Democratic committee of the Government-printed pamphlet "Millions for Defense," which previously has drawn G. O. P. fire. Valentine charged violation of the Hatch Act in the distribution.

Attacks His Ancestry

D. C.

The colored division's pamphlet's attacks on Willkie's ancestry read in part as follows:

"Wendell Willkie's father was born in Germany. Willkie's grandfather was born in Germany. Willkie's mother's parents were born in Germany. Willkie's wife was born in Kentucky of German parentage. His whole background is German."

After directing attention to Willkie's German background, the pamphlet quotes Hitler's "Mein Kampf" as saying that "Negroes are lower than apes" and that France must be destroyed because polluted with Negro blood. It then says that Willkie never showed any interest in politics until the present international situation arose, and continues:

"Mr. Willkie was nominated at Philadelphia by the Hitler formula, otherwise known as the Blitzkrieg method. Hitler grabbed power and control of Germany in this manner (fifth columns, bribery, trickery and false propaganda.) Senator Vandenberg was the only Presidential candidate at the Republican convention to release his delegates to Willkie or any other candidate. Vandenberg is the leading obstructionist to preparedness in the Senate. He leads the interference to all things that would prepare us against the invasion of Hitler.

Racial Discrimination Alleged

"Willkie was nominated by Congressman Halleck, of Indiana. Halleck leads the opposition to the New Deal in the lower branch of Congress. He, too, leads the interference against all things which would prepare us against invasion. The floor leader and spokesman for Willkie at the Republican National Convention was Gov. Stassen, the Governor of the 'German' State of the Union—Minnesota."

THE SMEAR-WILLKIE NEGROES DO NOT REPRESENT THE RACE

OCT 19 1940

Words can scarcely be found of sufficient force to condemn the foul action of those black and white members of the Democratic party campaign committee responsible for the publication of a speakers' guide in which the racial origin of Wendell Willkie and Mrs. Willkie are attacked.

The action will turn the stomach of everyone of twelve million American Negroes, except the insane, the criminal and the feeble-minded.

Courier

The responsibility is clear. The Negro American is not party to this scurrilous outrage. Neither is the white race, considered as a whole. The responsibility rests squarely on the round shoulders of not more than a dozen poison-minded whites and Negroes in the employ of the Democratic National Committee in New York City.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

This tiny group of whites and blacks must bear equal guilt for this felony at heart. It was a job for only the most contemptible and vicious persons in the organization to unite in doing. It was the evil masterpiece of puny-minded whites and Negroes whose brains were addled by running sores and each of whom could find remedy in meanness only.

Certain whites with the Democratic campaign committee have sought some method to appeal to racial prejudice because of Willkie's German ancestry. Certain Negroes with the Democratic campaign committee have itched to make a public issue out of customs attributed to the candidate's hometown, Elwood, Ind.

These few vultures, and these only, got together to encourage one another to the foul attack on Willkie. These few Negroes would scarcely have had the courage to commit the crime had they not received encouragement and approval from their cesspool white associates. Certainly, these Negroes had no authority or power to issue such a document without the approval of some white person.

But there were those whites who wanted to spew their own poison. They knew they didn't have a chance through their own organs. They knew that the most slattern white speakers would not use such gutter material. They, therefore, fastened upon their irresponsible Negro confederates and used them as a sewer line for their own muck.

However, the fact that these Negroes were used by these whites does not excuse them. They had their own foul notions.

The fact of Mr. Willkie's German origin has nothing to do with his fitness for the Presidency. Mrs. Willkie is not a candidate. To bring her into the campaign in such a manner was churlish.

Who is it in the great American nation, save the Indian, whose blood does not stem from far-off lands? This is the land of the democratic ideal where men and women of all races, colors and creeds, have striven and sacrificed and spilled their blood to forge a new nation that should be of all the people.

Who is it, if not the black man, who must wage eternal struggle against the proscriptions of color? Who is it, if not the black American, who must fight a relentless war on prejudices due to race? Each new day, come rain or sun, twelve million black men and women in America must arise from their beds and renew this unending battle.

How then, can black Americans, except they be insane, criminal or feeble-minded, join the ranks of the bigot and the intolerant?

And especially against the German! Have black men forgotten Carl Schurz and hundreds of thousands of other German-Americans who lifted a hand to them in the dead days of the past?

The Pittsburgh Courier knows that Negroes as a whole have not forgotten. It knows that a few Negroes under the influence of wicked whites can lose their heads. That is what has happened this time. They are, as Mr. Willkie properly said, "contemptible curs." We want no part of them.

Knoxville Tenn. Journal
October 20, 1940

Negro Republicans Will Hear Jennings

Speeches by Rep. John Jennings Jr., candidate for re-election to Congress from the Second Tennessee District, and other Republican candidates will headline a rally for Knox County Negro Republicans at 7:30 p. m. next Thursday at Green School.

Music will be by the Brownlow Singers and another group headed by O. T. Brown, of Route 9.

This rally will be one of a series sponsored by the Negro Willkie-for-President Club in behalf of Republican state and national tickets. A Negro Willkie Ball will climax the campaign in November.

Louis Proves Political Champion

OCT 30 1940

PHILADELPHIA—(S N S)—Joe Louis Tuesday had proved himself something of a political champ.

Launching a speaking tour through the East in behalf of Wendell Willkie, GOP presidential candidate, World Heavyweight Champion Louis delivered two campaign addresses here Monday night. He was accompanied by Charles Roxborough, former Michigan senator and brother of Louis' manager, John Roxborough.

In one address before a gathering of 15,000, Louis said about 19 words.

Daily World

"I am going to vote for Mr. Willkie because I think he will do a lot for the people," Louis declared.

In the second address, the Brown Bomber said, "The Democrats here may be safe and sound, but it's the Democrats down South I'm thinking of."

"I'll never let you down," he added, "I promised my mother that. Don't you let me down. You vote the Democratic ticket if you want to, but I'm going to vote for Mr. Willkie."

Atlanta Ga.

"I've been sitting here doing some thinking. Mr. Roxborough and I don't need Mr. Willkie or Mr. Roosevelt, but it's time for us to do our part, and to think about things. You heard Mr. Roxborough tell you about relief and WPA. We ought to think about those things. There are too many stores open for us to starve."

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REPUBLICAN

MISQUOTED, MAYBE

Nashville Globe and Independent August 30, 1940

When the Republicans met in Philadelphia in June, one of the matters which they attended to with extreme care and deliberation was the writing of a platform upon which their nominees for President and Vice President would make their bid the votes of the American people.

It was following the insistence and urgings upon the part of many leaders of the Negro race that the party leaders wrote a so-called "Negro Plank" into the 1940 platform. That plank was supposed to be a pledge upon the part of the Republican Party, and of course a pledge that would bind the candidates of the party, to work for the passage of a Federal Anti-Lynching Law and also to work for the repeal of the iniquitous poll tax laws by which citizens in eight Southern States are disfranchised. The words used to put the Republican Party and its candidates on record as supporters of repeal of the South's poll tax laws appear under the "Negro Plank" in the Republican platform as follows:

> "To enjoy the full benefits of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen."

A news story carried in most of the Negro papers of the country recently gives account of a conference Mr. Wendell L. Willkie held with a number of Negro leaders at Des Moines, Iowa, on August 5. We quote from that news story as follows:

> "On being asked if he desired to say any thing with reference to the Negro question, Mr. Willkie immediately replied: 'I don't believe in any plan to get the Negro vote; I think they are all American citizens.'
>
> Following the Press Conference, Mr. Willkie held an informal interview with a group of Negro Republican leaders from the state of Iowa, wherein he said:
>
> 'If I am elected, I will carry out the platform of the Republican Party as it dealt with the Negro: I am behind the Republican platform on this plank 100 per cent.'

From the quotations above given we have concluded that Mr. Wendell Willkie is pledged to carry out the provisions of the Republican platform and that he became the Republican nominee for the Presidency without mental reservations as to any Republican tenets or pronouncements. We have not been disturbed by any of the "Smart Alec" predictions of Democratic supporters of Mr. Willkie that Mr. Willkie, himself, would be the Republican platform; that he could feel free to ignore what the party leaders had written, or put his own personal interpretation upon what the words of the platform meant. We still believe that Wendell L. Willkie is a thoroughgoing Republican, and as such, Republicans "to the manor born" can follow and support him with as much zeal as they would support a party veteran.

If there be alarm and misgivings as to the Republicanism of Wendell L. Willkie it has come from the reported stand he has taken with regard to the repeal of the poll tax law. We quote from the purported interview a representative of the Nashville Tennessean had with the Republican nominee, as it appears in the Tennessean of August 21 and which appears in the issue of the Globe of August 23:

> "I will discuss any national question that arises and intend to discuss them all in the course of this campaign," he replied. "But I do not feel that I ought to interfere in purely state matters."
>
> He declared that the courts had held that the matter of imposing a poll tax was an issue to be decided by each state individually and that the federal government has no authority on that subject.
>
> "This is a matter for the people of Tennessee to decide," he declared, and I think the decision should be made without interference on my part. Tennessee has the right to have a poll tax or not to have one, as a majority of the people wish."

We will not believe that Mr. Wendell Willkie has been correctly quoted by the Tennessean. To do so would be to charge that, instead of being a liberal nominee for the Presidency, Mr. Willkie is, a reactionary and therefore inimical alike to the best interests of the Negroes of the United States and of our Advancing South.

Watchtower

By ROY WILKINS

Roy Wilkins

DULUTH, Minn.—One of the noticeable items on this trip through the Middle West and North Minnesota country has been the sentiment for Wendell Willkie. There is a lot of talk for the former utilities man and a good bit of it comes from colored people. I do not mean that everyone has gone over to the Republicans for there is still a very strong Roosevelt following, but it is a little surprising to find sentiment in certain Negro circles so strong for Willkie.

In Chicago it is a little understandable because that city has been fed anti-Roosevelt "dope" for seven years straight by its big daily newspapers. The Chicago Tribune has fought the President from almost the very first day. It is interesting to hear Negro Chicagoans repeating almost word for word the stuff the Tribune has been handing out.

This is not a business trip and I have not been conducting a survey so I must admit that most of my contacts have been in non-relief and non-trade union circles. Even so, it has been revealing to note that the Negro middle and upper class reacts to the New Deal program not as Negroes, but as middle class people.

It seems impossible to deny that on a racial basis (even with all its faults) the New Deal administration has done more for the masses of Negroes than any administration in the past sixty years. They have been permitted to share, in varying degrees, in everything the government has undertaken.

But the colored people out this way complain about federal taxes. They complain about so much spending. They complain about the WPA and the relief program, saying (of all things) that relief is "ruining" Negroes so they won't work—at the wage scale the complainers think they ought to get. They complain about unemployment insurance and social security. They complain about union labor, saying Roosevelt has "put labor in the saddle." They say the Negro wants jobs and not relief and they tell you with a straight face that they think the Republicans, with a big business man like Willkie, will give Negroes jobs. And to cap the climax they complain about "breaking the third term tradition," and say they are afraid of a dictatorship.

Of all the complaints, the third term business seems silliest to me. Here is the Negro, chained by tradition, cheated out of his rightful place in the country by tradition, his young people denied opportunity to advance according to merit solely because of tradition, here is this Negro professing to revere tradition! Why, the quicker traditions are upset the better off the Negro will be. It is the refusal to change what has always been that has kept the race back. Let the white folks fight over the third term tradition if they want to. The Negro ought to welcome any change.

As for taxes, they hurt. There is no denying that. But how else would all the things have been done that had to be done? How would the people have been fed (and millions were hungry); How would life savings have been safeguarded? How would hundreds of thousands of homes have been saved? What would the farmer have done? Most of all, where would the morale of the nation have gone? The people who say Roosevelt has spent billions and has nothing to show for it forget the intangible of rehabilitation. That is a product which is not seen as easily as a bridge or a dam or a battleship. Moreover, as quiet as it is kept, and as loud as they are hollering now, many a small, medium and big business man would not now be in business with money in the bank (despite taxes) had it not been for the New Deal program.

I suppose it is idealistic to expect that middle and upper class Negroes will react any differently than other people of their class. One would think, however, that they would realize what has been done for millions of their less fortunate racial brothers. Of course they have had to help pay for it, but that should be the lot of the more fortunate, the more talented. For the first time in the history of this country government means something to the man farther down. Society—the pattern of life—is something more than a word in a book or paper.

It seems to me that sooner or later we are going to have to realize that the old dog-eat-dog days are on the way out and cannot be held here except by Fascism. That is the choice: a government distributing the responsibilities and benefits among all its citizens or a government driving 96 per cent of its citizens for the benefit of the remaining four per cent.

* * *

The new Secretary of the Navy, Colonel Frank Knox, has spoken out on the Negro and the message is disappointing. He says he regrets it very much, but the Navy will have to remain closed to Negroes except as mess attendants—servants. No gunners, no sailors, no technicians, no officers, even petty officers.

Colored people are supposed to grin and cheer for the defense program. They are supposed to throw their hats into the air every time a President asks for a couple of billion more for the United States Navy.

Colored Americans are supposed to hate Hitler and Fascism "because of what they would do to the Negro."

Taft Makes Preparedness Speech Here

Sees Colored Race As Invaluable Aid In Armament Drive

Preparedness, and the integration of the Negro into a program of national defense, were discussed by Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination, yesterday at the annual men's day service at Lincoln Temple Congregational Church.

Introduced by Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman from Mississippi, Senator Taft called on his hearers to face the fact that this Nation is not prepared.

There is, he said, no definite defense plan for Europe, England, the continental United States, the Caribbean and the northern coast of South America in addition, or all the Americas.

"Someone should, first of all," he said, "make a definite plan of what we are going to defend. The great question, indeed, is not what is the plan, but who is to make up that plan. An advisory board has been set up, but who are they going to advise? That is the important question.

"The Negro American is just as interested in defense as anyone else," he continued. "He should be an integral part of the increases in the Army and Navy, and in the mobilization of industries.

"In this respect, while Republicans can serve a great purpose in criticizing the plan until it is perfected, it is more imortant that the Negro should be consulted than that the Republican Party should be consulted," he said.

"In development of our air force, the Negro is well suited to be employed in proportion to his percentage of the population. Our parties, disregarding this, take the Negro too much for granted. They have not taken into account the necessity for proportionate representation of the Negro in our Government.

"Recently elected Republican Governors, a score of them, however, have learned that lesson. Proportionate representation of the Negro in employment should not only be found in the war industries, but in all other industries also. This is a matter which cannot be brought about by legislation," Senator Taft said, "but only by development of sentiment."

"At the same time, when layoffs are necessary, there should be a proportionate layoff, rather than a total layoff of colored workers, who will be rehired only after all others have been given jobs."

With reference to development of a totalitarian government here, and the relinquishment of its constitutional powers by the Congress, Senator Taft said:

"Development of a totalitarian power would, in nowise be good for the Negro, who constitutes a minority group. We should not, under any circumstances, give unlimited powers to any one man. There is no reason for Congress giving up its powers to anyone. There is no reason why Congress should not stay here and do its work—for which its members are paid.

"Let us determine what powers are necessary to be had. Then, let Congress go ahead and exercise those powers. There can be no need for any loose powers hanging around in the hands of any one man.

"The Negro is interested in the Constitution of the United States, rather than in the development of a totalitarian state. He is interested in carrying out the spirit and letter of the Constitution, in the light of the existing emergency, so that men in our public life may remain servants, rather than masters, of the people."

COLORED AND WHITE 7TH-DAY ADVENTIST HAVE CAMP TOGETHER

Nashville Globe

California Meeting Attended by 12,000

8-31-40

Los Angeles, Aug. 29—(ANP)—The largest camp meeting in the world held annually by the Southern California Seventh-day Adventists on their Lynwood permanent campground, closed its ten-day session last week with maximum attendance reaching 12,000 and including hundreds of Negro members of the denomination. Scores camped in the tent "city" of 900 family tents.

This year's encampment was marked by a spirit of interracial goodwill and Christian fellowship. One of the principal speakers at this great gathering was the Rev. Peterson of Washington, D. C., and newly appointed pastor of the Wadsworth church of Los Angeles. On the night that Rev. Peterson addressed the mammoth audience it sat spellbound from the time he sang "The Crucifixion" at the beginning of his discourse until the benediction was pronounced. No speaker in the history of these camp meetings was so warmly received as was Rev. Peterson, a local newspaper reported.

Other colored ministers in prominence at this convocation were Rev. R. R. Buttemer, pastor of the Watts Church of Los Angeles; J. H. Campbell, pastor in Monrovia and Owen A. Troy, pastor of the Sunset Avenue church of Pasadena. Revs. N. Banks, J. W. Allison and D. Black of the Southeastern Cal. Conference were in attendance part of the time.

A outstanding musical feature of the gathering was the music presented by the Sunset Spiritual Singers under the direction of Ruby Bontemps Troy. The Pasadena singing group made two appearances as did also the Wadsworth Harmelodians under the direction of Mrs. Vonnie Matthews.

Rev. Owen A. Troy addressed youth meeting and assisted in the meetings held for the young people in the spacious Rupp Memorial auditorium.

Rev. Peterson is secretary of the Negro department of Seventh-day Adventists, with general offices in Washington, D. C. Since July 4, he has been pastor of Wadsworth church, succeeding Rev. P. G. Rodgers who served as pastor for 17 years. Rev. Peterson is widely known in Los Angeles, having assisted in evangelistic work in this area as singing evangelist when he was a student at Pacific Union College. He is author of the book, "Hope of the race."

Rev. Rodgers, having exceeded the denomination's tenure of office by a number of years, has been asked to transfer to another conference for labor. Although opportunity for service is open to him in other districts, he will likely retire from the active ministry and remain in Los Angeles at his beautiful home, it is reported.

Name Rainey, S. Fauntleroy To Head Dems

Philadelphia Tribune 8-10-40

Two Philadelphians have been named to head the Democratic Presidential campaign among Negro Pennsylvanians. They are Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey and Mrs. Sommerville Z. Fauntleroy.

The appointments of Magistrate Rainey and Mrs. Fauntleroy were made by Dr. Luther Harr, manager of the Roosevelt campaign in Pennsylvania, and sanctioned by Meredith Myers, chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

Magistrate Rainey, who resides at 1709 Jefferson street, and has offices on Broad street near Allegheny avenue, has been active in all the Roosevelt campaigns. Mrs. Fauntleroy, who lives at 1924 Fitzwater street, was state interracial consultant under Governor Earle, and is a former member of the Democratic State Committee.

Negroes To Be At Willike Notification

Akron Beacon Journal 8-10-40

ELWOOD, Ind. — (ANP) — In keeping with the efforts of the notification committee in caring for the thousands of persons who are coming to Elwood for the Wilkie celebration the colored American is by no means overlooked. While the work of the committee is emerging from the mechanical stage, the hopes of those in charge are that when arrangements have been finally completed, and the "Big Day" has come to a close no one can leave Elwood with even the slightest complaint.

Extensive preparation for the hospitality of the colored citizens has been progresing rapidly along with other plans including the most minute details. Scores of colored visitors from the various Indiana cities will come along with their various delegations. The state of Illinois out of the city of Chicago has requested that reservations be made for some 1,500 colored visitors who are coming via Pennsylvania excursion.

Out at Calloway park on the grounds where the notification ceremony is to take place along with the scores of other organizations to be housed under tents wil be the colored voters bureau of the Republican State committe, which will serve as but one of the many centers of hospitality appealing to the great throng it hopes to serve. Mayor Bonham of Elwood along with Mrs. Capehart, Ray V. Gibbens and the entire staff mean to leaves no stone unturned in their attempt to make this 17th day of August a banner day for all regardless as of race, creed or color.

YOUNG COLORED GIRL CAPTIVATES NATIONAL MEETING

Globe and Independent Nashville Tenn

Stirs Women's Federation With Recital

Of New Deal's Wrongs To Youth

OCT 11 1940

CHICAGO, ILL.—The Chicago Tribune calls attention to the sensation created by a slim colored college girl at the closing session of the National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs just held in Detroit, Michigan. The girl, Miss Bertha Swindall, is president of the Young Republican Club of the 2nd Ward, Chicago, Illinois.

Her brief speech at the final session, the Tribune reports, brought members cheering to their feet. In its further report The Tribune states:

The young student of Sociology who was graduated last year from the University of Illinois, pictured 250,000 boys and girls wandering homeless about the country, thousands of children walking to school with cardboard soles in their shoes and thousands of others kept at home for lack of clothing. "And this," she cried bitterly, "is the state of our young people of which the New Deal boasts."

OCT 11 1940

Then Miss Swindall assailed the example set by a Government openly allied with the Chicago Kelly-Nash and other machines. "When the Government does not mind joining hands with crime, is it any wonder," she demanded, "that many of the poor 6 or 8 million young people who cannot expect support from industry or parents under the New Deal should turn to crime and prostitution?"

Independent

Miss Swindall, continuing her eloquent recital of the plight of youth, said: "Youth is up in arms. It is hard-boiled, it is cynical, it has lost its faith. Why? What is the true picture then, of American youth oday, and what can you do about its plight?

Nashville Tenn

"Under New Deal administration youth has no opportunities. The avenues of progress seem to have either gone with the wind or to have been removed by the brain trusters as detriments. There are roughly 20,000,000 young men and women between the ages 16 and 24. 4,700,000 are unemployed; 1½ million are in school; 2¼ million are on relief. 250,000 are bumming up and down the motor and rail highways. This is the improvement in the status of youth that the New Deal brags about. This the state of our young people of which the New Deal boasts."

Then came her fierce challenge: "Out of the hands of Washington and the blood of the American Revolution, out of the hands of Lincoln and the blood of the Civil War, out of the teachings of Jesus and the blood of the Cross, the torch of Liberty has passed into your hands, women of America. Will you keep it aflame and pass it on to my generation?"

The women's answer was to rise and cheer again and again.

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Atlanta, Ga. Journal
May 21, 1940

No Discrimination Against Dewey, GOP Leaders Say

Gleason's Support of New Yorker Silent, Statements Claim

Frank Gleason, of Rossville, was not ruled out as a delegate to the national Republican convention because of support of Thomas E. Dewey, Georgia Republican spokesmen asserted Tuesday.

Loser to D. C. Cole, of Marietta, in a contest over the delegateship, Mr. Gleason left the state convention here last Saturday, complaining that a Dewey man had "no more chance at this convention than a snowball in Chicago."

A denial that Mr. Gleason was discriminated against because he was a Dewey supporter was issued by Republican National Committeeman James W. Arnold, State Chairman Clint W. Hager, Convention Chairman James H. Crummey, and Central Committee Secretary Wilson Williams.

"The same convention which disposed of Mr. Gleason's contest," they said, "recognized Harry Sommers, of the Fifth Congressional District, an avowed Dewey supporter. If Mr. Gleason was supporting Mr. Dewey, no one in the state knew it.

"Committeman Arnold has a letter from Mr. Gleason stating that Gleason is a Taft supporter. Chairman Hager was told by Gleason that Gleason was supporting Stiles Bridges."

The party leaders also took issue with William Tietjen, of Americus, a delegate to the state convention, who announced he, his wife, County Chairman W. W. Wilson and W. A. Daugherty were withdrawing from the party because the state convention failed to keep it "white."

The convention elected a Negro, W. J. Shaw, of Atlanta, as its permanent secretary, and named four Negroes among the delegates and alternate delegates to the national convention.

Party spokesmen said Mr. Tietjen was a Democrat and that was why he quit the Republican organization.

Jackson, Miss., Daily Clarion Ledger
April 27, 1940

NEGRO GOP SLATE IS UNINSTRUCTED

Mississippi "Black and Tan" Republicans in State Meet Here

Mississippi's "black and tan" republicans last night named a slate of 11 uninstructed delegates to the national convention at Philadelphia in June.

An uninstructed delegation is customary, but a trend toward the banner of Senator Robert Taft was indicated in a statement by National Committeeman Perry Howard, who served as chairman at the state convention.

Howard, strong Taft supporter, said "the delegation is uninstructed but I am far from friendless in the group named." Howard himself will be a delegate-at-large to the Philadelphia meeting.

The chairman reported that 81 of the state's 82 counties had been represented at the conclave and a full slate of congressional candidates was being filed for the first time in 12 years.

"This is a republican year, you know," Howard said, "so we're going to make a showing.

"I don't think there's any doubt of a change at the national capital, even though we don't expect to scare any officeholders down here."

Mississippi polled 4,443 votes for Alf Landon in the 1936 presidential election.

A rival slate of 11 delegates to the national convention will be chosen May 13 by the "lily white" faction of the party. This group failed in a contest for convention seats four years ago.

Friday's convention named L. E. Oldham of Oxford, former U. S. attorney, to make the senatorial race.

S. D. Redmond of Jackson was reelected chairman of the state republican executive committee. He also will serve as a delegate-at-large to the Philadelphia session.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
May 3, 1940

Carroll Republicans Name Four Delegates

CARROLLTON, Ga., May 3.—The first Carroll County Republican Convention ever to assemble without a Negro delegate Friday had gone on record for sending H. C. Roberds, of Villa Rica, to the G. O. P. National Convention at Philadelphia next month.

The convention selected four delegates—largest number assigned any county in the Fourth District—to the state and district conventions to be held at the same time in Atlanta, May 18. They are: Mr. Roberds, W. M. Garrett, of Bowden; W. M. Cobb, of Temple, and N. N. Johnson, of Carrollton. The latter two were re-elected chairman and secretary of the County Executive Committee.

Dr. S. D. Roberts, Carrollton Negro physician, was one of five named as new members of the committee.

GLEASON, DEWEY MAN, WALKS OUT OF G.O.P. CONVENTION IN GEORGIA

Rossville Attorney Charges That Two of the Delegates Are Chattanoogans, and Are Qualified Voters in Tennessee

Atlanta, May 18.—A lively Georgia republican convention highlighted by the "walkout" of a Dewey advocate and the ejection of a former district chairman today elected four delegates and four alternates from the state-at-large to the national convention. All were uninstructed.

The Dewey advocate "walkout" occurred after the credentials committee had decided in favor of D. C. Cole, of Marietta, in a contest over the national convention delegateship from the Seventh district.

Frank Gleason, of Hossville, loser in the contest who will appeal at Philadelphia, waded onto the stage and asserted: "Before I take a walkout I want to say that any man with the gumption to come out for Tom Dewey has no more chance in this convention than a snowball in Chicago."

Heckling burst out and the red-haired attorney retorted: "I expected that, but I want to say that the action of this iniquitous committee is disgraceful and high-handed. It would make Dillenger blush."

He charged that Mr. and Mrs. B. G. Morgan were seated in the convention "although they are residents of Chattanooga, Tenn. I've got the registration list here to prove it."

(The Chattanooga city directory lists Mr. and Mrs. B. G. Morgan as living at 721 Walnut street, Apartment 1. Morgan is a former vice-president of the Chattanooga Young Republicans' club. They have been living in Chattanooga about eight years and according to registration lists, are qualified voters in Chattanooga's Sixth ward.

(In a statement to The Times, Mr. Gleason declared the Georgia republican credentials committee was "stacked" to prevent the seating of any delegate who was outspokenly in favor of Thomas E. Dewey for the presidential nomination. He said the committee offered to give him half a vote and the Morgans each a half-vote. Gleason declined and, after his heated remarks, walked out of the convention.

(Efforts to reach Morgan late last night were unsuccessful.)

During a clamor over procedure early in the session, former First District Chairman, B. H. McClarty of Lyons, was put off the convention stage and floor. He protested he was there as a press representative.

Convention Chairman James H Crummey, of Rochelle, who quieted the clamor, said McClarty was "politicking" among delegates during election of officers and stated the ejection was at the instance of National Committeeman James W Arnold, of Athens.

"He was not a delegate and did not even have a visitor's card," said Crummey.

The convention named Crummey permanent chairman; W. J. Shaw Atlanta Negro, permanent secretary; re-elected Clint W. Hager of Atlanta, chairman of the state central committee for another two years, and recommended re-election to the national committee of Arnold and Mrs. Bertha Field, of Marietta.

After Gleason's assertions Mrs. Morgan strode onto the stage and angrily told Gleason "I've been a resident of Georgia for nine years and you know it because you are the attorney who drew the deeds of my property."

Smiling, Gleason replied, "Here's the registration list." Then as he left the stage he said, "Let's elect Tom Dewey president of the United States.

Mrs. Morgan returned to the rostrum briefly, smiling.

"I'm sorry I lost my temper, but I want you to know I am not a four-year republican," said the attractive brunet. "I am a republican every day and have been every day of my life for forty-one years."

After this exchange the convention swiftly elected as state-at-large delegates Arnold Hager, Ben J. Davis, Atlanta Negro and former national committeeman and F. C. Gassett, Cartersville Negro and bursar of Morehouse college here.

State-at-large alternates to Philadelphia were elected as follows: Josiah T. Rose, of Atlanta; Judge W. G. Cornett, of Athens; B. F. Cofer, of Atlanta, and Sidney A. Jones, of Savannah, the later two veteran Negro party leaders.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND YOUTH IN 1940

By Glenn Frank

I was interested to come to Seattle for this meeting, as guest of the Young Republicans, for two reasons: first, because you are young, and second, because you are Republicans. I want to talk to you tonight, in your double capacity as young Americans and as Republicans. Older Republicans and tolerant Democrats who may be within hearing distance may eavesdrop if they wish.

It is always an exciting experience to speak to youth. One has the sense of speaking as a kind of ambassador to the future. If, out of the experience of mature years, one can but speak words worthy to be made flesh in the lives and careers of the young to whom they are spoken! That is worth doing beyond most tasks that come men's way.

In the years since 1929, with the chill and shadow and arrest that then fell upon American life and enterprise, it has not been easy to speak to youth in words winged with authority and assurance. The ballyhoo of professional optimists has sounded strangely hollow and insincere in these years. The winds of economic disaster have slammed shut too many doors of opportunity that should be open and which, by the grace of responsible leadership, can be reopened.

It is not the fault of youth that so many of the old words of political leadership have lacked their old appeal. Except where it has been misled, youth has neither lost its nerve nor gone sullen, but, with a new insistence, it is looking for the reality back of the rhetoric of its elders. It is to normal and healthy-minded youth, demanding reality and ready to face it, that I want to speak tonight.

I want to be honest with you. I don't want to minimize one whit the uncertainties that infest the economic affairs of your time. I don't want to raise in your minds any hopes that will be doomed to die unfulfilled. But I do want, if I can, to stir in you every hope that can be fulfilled. So, with a full sense of my responsibility to be realistic with you, I beg you to believe that life is still conquerable for your generation both in the field of public policy and in the field of personal achievement. The future belongs to you, to your mind, to your mouth, if you will but bring to the affairs of your time the sensitive insight, disciplined thought, and courageous action for want of which so many of your elders have stumbled into blind alleys, and, in their stumbling, needlessly complicated the life of your generation.

When you remember the turmoil and uncertainty into which the political and economic affairs of your time have fallen the world around, I can forgive you if, at the outset, you suspect me of mere cheer-leading when I beg you to believe that the American future holds something better for you than the thin and unadventurous security of a political subsidy or a place on the public payroll of an all-absorbing government.

If I were attempting to gloss over this turmoil and uncertainty, if I were asking you to follow blindly in the footsteps of the authors of this turmoil and uncertainty, if I were seeking to convince you that the vast impersonal forces of political policy and economic practice will not affect your lives, if I were telling you that individual effort is everything and the social arrangements of the nation's life nothing, then I would be betraying you with cheap words. But, even if I were dishonest enough to make such appeal to you, your ears would be closed to my words. The facts of uncertainty and futility have been too evident in the affairs of recent years to be smiled out of court by the trumped up optimism of any political pep talk.

I speak hopefully of your and your nation's future tonight, with complete confidence and with a sense of utter sincerity, for two reasons: first, because I believe in you and your youth, and, second, because I believe in the Republican Party and the leadership I am convinced it can bring to the tangled affairs of your time.

Since well before the 1932 campaign, the leadership of the opposition party has carried on an elaborate, amply finced, and well sustained attempt to smear the Republican Party as a party of reaction, blind to the problems and perplexities of the millions. The fact that you are here tonight makes clear that you, at any rate, have not been taken in by this smearing. You are right in refusing to be taken in. With Republican leadership, as with Democratic leadership, as with all human leadership, foresight may not always have been as good as hindsight, but the blunt fact is that most of the political, social, and economic progress America has made in the last half century has been made under Republican leadership. And I venture the prediction that, when the history of this period is written, it will be seen that the foundation for such social advances as solidly survive the New Deal were laid in Republican admininstrations preceding it, particularly in the administration immediately preceding it.

But I have a more immediate reason for believing in the Republican Party here and now in 1940, for believing that the Republican Party of 1940 will merit the allegiance of every young American who is hungry for a normal career. The immediate reason for this belief in the Republican Party is what the rank and file of Republicans are thinking and feeling today is more important than what any individual Republican leader, old or new, is thinking. I think I know what is today moving in the minds and hearts of the mine-run Republicans from coast to coast. I think I know because I am one of them. And then, for the last two years, I have been at an unusual post. As chairman of the Republican Program Committee which has carried out the most comprehensive sounding of party beliefs and determinations in the history of American politics, I have had the chance to eavesdrop the minds and hearts of multiplied thousands of rank and file republicans throughout the nations. Unless my hearing has been very bad, I know what these rank and file Republicans are saying among themselves. Others may be able to tell you better than I what this or that leader in this or that state is planning to do at Philadelphia next June, but I think I can tell you, with some degree of assurance what the overwhelming majority of Republicans are thinking. And I think it is important that, as young voters, you know this.

THE REPUBLICANS SAY:

Wallace "Barked Up Wrong Tree" In Expo Talk On Race Hatred

By EMMETT J. SCOTT
Republican Campaign Committee

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Vice-Presidential Candidate Henry Wallace in an address at the American Negro Exposition in Chicago last week, speaking to an audience of responsible colored persons, said:

". . . We must do all we can to get rid of hatred and discrimination and give human beings the opportunity to which they are entitled. There is no better way to rearm democracy." He inveighed against class, religious and racial discriminations.

It is ironical to note the Democratic Vice-Presidential Candidate addressing these remarks to the victims of racial hatred and discrimination. Instead he should have been turning his burning wrath upon that element of his New Deal-Democratic Party which has brought so much of misery and despair to the colored people of the United States,—the political oligarchies of the South which constitute the main and controlling body of the Democratic Party.

See Misplaced Effort

It is misplaced effort to be asking colored people to get rid of hatred and discrimination. They are not the authors of visiting discrimination upon others. They are the victims of a closely-knit political organization which by oppression, suppression and exploitation is chiefly responsible for the truly atrocious treatment colored citizens suffer in that southern region where democracy is a mockery, and where liberty and freedom are lip-service terms instead of symbols of law and order, equal opportunity, and civil liberty.

This observer, more than once, has called attention to the fact that this colored group in the South, where the New Deal-Democratic Party controls and suppresses the Negro vote by disfranchisement laws which are a disgrace in a land which boasts that democracy is its foundation stone, suffers from the kind of class and racial discrimination to which Mr. Wallace refers.

These colored citizens are excluded from the political programs of that section. They are not taken into any account except as pawns in the racket game of general exploitation. They are the victims of landlords and landbarons whom simply to characterize as avaricious would be paying them a supreme compliment.

Mr. Wallace's agricultural projects, one by one, have proved to be farces insofar as colored farmers in the southern section are concerned.

Also, sometime ago, we called attention to the fact that 90.7 per cent of all Negro farmers are in the eleven Southern states. The government appropriated $227,000,000 ~~a month~~ and benefit checks under its cotton acreage reduction program alone. It has been estimated that the farmers, both white and black, received about 3 out of every 1,000 of these compensation checks. The other 997 were devoured by landlords through a multitude of fraudulent subterfuges.

Farm relief under the guise of "subsistence farms", as operated through the Government's Resettlement Administration, is also a farce. Negro and white farmers found themselves compelled to live on approximately thirty cents a day.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Wendell Willkie Wins All Chicago; Shows True Colors On Race Issues

Upwards of 20,000 Acclaim Him on Windy City's Southside—Makes Definite Commitment on Race Question.

SEP 21 1940

Pittsburgh Courier

BY A. N. FIELDS

CHICAGO, Sept. 19.—"It is now my great pleasure and privilege to present to this vast throng a man whose brow has been touched by the hand of destiny."

These were the eloquent closing words of former Senator William E. King, who, in a burst of oratory seldom heard in political campaigns, presented Wendell L. Willkie, Republican candidate for President, to an audience of 25,000 people, assembled at the American Giants' baseball park last Friday evening.

Pittsburgh

The Presidential candidate, accompanied by Dwight H. Green, Republican candidate for Governor; C. Wayland Brooks, candidate for the United States Senate, and Judge Oscar E. Nelson, Republican candidate for State's Attorney, of Cook County, had been piloted to various plants and business sections throughout Cook County, including such industrial centers as the Union Stockyards, the Crane Company plant, and the Western Electric plant, where they were greeted by upwards of 60,000 workers.

EXCELLS ALL PAST CANDIDATES

As they traversed the streets of Chicago in a cavalcade of cars, the Chicago spirit of hospitality ran true to form. Enthusiasm was everywhere evidenced.

After a strenuous afternoon, the candidate arrived at the American Giants park, where he delivered an address, the character of which has never been equaled by any other Presidential candidate.

In language unmistakably frank, he emphasized the horror of American prejudice, condemning in no uncertain words what he called "the pretense and political hypocrisy of the present national administration in Washington. Mr. Willkie went squarely on record as being solidly for the passage of the anti-lynching bill, which he declared had been abandoned by the Democratic administration for political reasons.

EVERY AMERICAN RIGHT FOR EVERY AMERICAN

Said the candidate:

"When I am President and questions arise carrying the odium of intolerance and prejudice peculiarly affecting the interest of Negro people, you may count on me as standing square on the proposition of giving you every right and opportunity to work out your destiny in common with every other American citizen."

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Other speeches were made by the old warrior, former Congressman Oscar DePriest, C. Wayland Brooks, Judge Nelson and Stanton DePriest.

Among the prominent Republicans occupying platform seats were:

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Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
September 15, 1940

Willkie's Racial Appeal

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During a series of "down to earth" addresses aimed at the working man, the Republican nominee stopped off at the American Giants baseball park in Chicago and told 15,000 Negroes gathered there that federal legislation must be enacted to curb the evil of lynching.

Southerners at whom such measures are aimed by vote-hunting politicians had hoped that the acknowledged progress in the campaign to stamp out lynching, accomplished through education instead of by punitive and unfair laws, would be so impressive that the presidential candidates would not inject this questionable issue into the campaign simply for the purpose of winning over doubtful voters.

But it seems that Mr. Willkie could not resist the temptation when he appeared before his first audience of all-colored voters.

Federal anti-lynching legislation is aimed directly at embarrassing and unfairly punishing communities in the South which are striving to the utmost, and with a great degree of success, to root out the abominable crime of lynching. But this task is being accomplished by the sensible methods of education and the creation of good-will between the races, not by unwise and discriminatory laws. Southern congressmen in Washington will oppose federal anti-lynching laws as long as breath remains in their bodies, because they conscientiously believe that such legislation is needless, unwise, discriminatory and advocated by congressmen purely for its vote-getting aspects.

Mr. Willkie certainly will not win any additional support and good-will in the South by choosing this as a campaign issue.

YOUTH SPEAKS UP

OCT 11 1940

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Globe and

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Independent

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"Her brief speech," says the Tribune story, "brought members cheering to their feet."

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"The young student of Sociology, who was graduated last year from the University of Illinois, pictured 250,000 boys and girls wandering homeless about the country, thousands of children walking to school with cardboard soles in their shoes and thousands of others kept at home for lack of clothing. 'And this, she cried bitterly, is the state of our young people of which the New Deal boasts.

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Globe and Independent Nashville Tennessee

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"The women's answer was to rise and cheer and cheer again."

Seymour Carroll Leads Drive To Oust Joseph W. Tolbert From GOP

Courier

Negro Republican Leader of South Carolina to Launch Drive Against Joe Tolbert at State Convention.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 1—Seymour Carroll, prominent Republican of South Carolina, will offer a motion to read Joseph W. Tolbert out of the party when the State G.O.P. convention meets here, it was learned this week.

Carroll, it is said, has appealed for support in this movement to members of the State committee and is determined to oust Tolbert, white, from national as well as State politics.

Tolbert has been the major power the former national committeeman in the South Carolina convention.

Carroll has wired Emmett J. Scott of the G.O.P. national headquarters and Joseph W. Martin and informed them of his desire to oust Tolbert. He has requested that Tolbert be read out of the national party activities.

Indications are that his efforts are bearing fruit. Hundreds of letters and wires have been sent to Carroll from party members commending him for his actions.

Carrol is regarded as one of the outstanding Negro Republicans in the country.

NEGRO GIRL STIRS FEDERATION WITH RAP AT NEW DEAL

Chicago Daily Tribune

Chicago, Ill.

Challenges Women: Keep Liberty Alive.

OCT 1 1940

BY BETTY BROWNING.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Detroit, Mich., Oct. 1.—A slim Negro college girl from Chicago caused a sensation today when she challenged the National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs: "Will you keep the torch of Liberty aflame—and pass it on to my generation?"

She was Miss Bertha Swindall, president of the Young Republican Club of the Second Ward. Her brief speech at the final session of the Federation's convention here brought members cheering to their feet.

The young student of sociology, who was graduated last year from the University of Illinois, pictured 250,000 boys and girls wandering homeless about the country, thousands of children walking to school with cardboard soles in their shoes, and thousands of others kept at home for lack of clothing.

"And this," she cried with bitter irony, "is the state of our young people, of which the New Deal boasts.

OCT 2 1940

Raps Alliance with Crime.

Then Miss Swindall assailed the example set by a government openly allied with the Kelly-Nash and other machines.

"When the government does not mind joining hands with crime, is it any wonder," she demanded, "that many of the poor 6or 8 million young people who cannot expect support from industry or parents under the New Deal should turn to crime and prostitution?"

Then came her fierce challenge: "Out of the hands of Washington and the blood of the American revolution, out of the hands of Lincoln and the blood of the Civil war, out of the teachings of Jesus and the blood of the Cross, the torch of Liberty has passed into our hands, women of America. Will you keep it aflame and pass it on to my generation?"

The women's answer was to rise and cheer again and again.

Mrs. Taft Assails New Deal.

Mrs. Robert A. Taft also criticized the New Deal's failure to help young people.

"Young Americans don't want programs, they want jobs!" the wife of the Ohio senator declared. "No one can curse unemployment by New Deal methods; that fact has been amply proved. All the power and all the money asked for was granted. But the unemployment still remains."

Then Mrs. Taft attacked the "Confusion and unefficiency" of the New Deal's defense program.

"As early as 1933," she declared, "it was proposed by congress that two billion dollars of the public works money appropriated be spent for the mechanization of the army. But the President preferred boondoogling.

"Seven years later, when he was making eloruent speeches about the threat of war to the United States, we had modern rifles for only about a fifth of our small standing army, just one antiaircraft gun of the new type, and enough ammunition to last 20 minutes."

Mrs. Kohler Asks Action.

Mrs. Ruth de Young Kohler, author of "Women Worldwide" in THE TRIBUNE and a member of Willkie's advisory campaign committee, called on Republican women to fight the New Deal's campaign of personal ridicule, abuse, and "defeatist poison."

The federation endorsed the Republican party platform. A resolution favoring the "So-called 50-50 law" which provides equal representation in each state of men and women on all political committees was approved.

Also adopted was a resolution favoring "the principle of equality" and the right to work regardless of race, creed, sex, or marital status.

Blames Roosevelt For Plight Of Negro Voter In Southern States

New York Age - New York, N.Y.

OCT 12 1940

In what was considered in Republican circles one of the most fighting and frank addresses of the campaign to date, Emil N. Barr, GOP candidate for the office of Borough President, charged the nations Chief Executive with responsibility for the "disfranchisement of the Negro in the South."

Barr's address was made before 150 Negro Republican leaders, campaign workers and voters on Thursday night in the clubrooms of the Republican Club of the 6th Assembly District, stronghold of Kings County Republican Leader John R. Crews.

"I am amused and enraged when I hear the candidates and leaders of the Democratic Party asking the Negro people to vote for them," the GOP candidate stated. "If they want your vote, why dont they do something to better the conditions of the colored people down South. For 75 years the Negro population of the South has been disenfranchised. For 75 years the South has been in the control of the Democratic Party.

"They claim they are entitled to your consideration, but they do not claim that your sisters and brothers below the Mason Dixon line are entitled to their constitutional rights."

Charging the Democrats of the North are in "the saddle of the party" Barr laid the plight of Negroes of the South squarely at the door of the White House:

"I do not exempt the President of the United States from this charge," Kings County head of the local GOP ticket continued. "He is their leader, he is their standard bearer and what he says goes. If he means what he says about wanting to make you happy and keep you happy then it is up to him to do something. The only thing he has done is talk and he doesn't really mean what he says."

Warns Against Dictatorship

Characterizing Roosevelt's third term bid a bid for "perpetuation of power" Barr at the same time scored the recent commissioning of Elliott Roosevelt as a captain in the air forces of the country.

"Now, if a third term is all right, why not a fourth or a fifth?" he asked. "And perhaps when the present incumbent has tired of his reign he will have a Crown Prince to step in. And maybe that Crown Prince is a captain in the Aviation Corps today. When I was a doughboy my friends and I fought for Uncle Sam wherever we could fit in. We were glad to sign up for our country and we didn't go around making a search for special commissions which we didn't deserve or for which we hadn't worked."

Attacks Local Situation

Turning his attention to the local side of the picture, Barr reminded his audience that "Mr. Cashmore's first act when he took office was to dismiss two of the most popular Negro leaders your race has in this borough—George E. Wibecan and L. Johnson Warner."

"I have no quarrel with Mr. Cashmore for not retaining these two men," the speaker went on. "They were of a different political faith. But, do you mean to tell me that there was not in Kings County in the ranks of the Negro Democrats material suitable to fill these vacancies with Negroes instead of white men?"

"That is the kind of deal they are giving you," the candidate concluded. "And if you want that kind of deal don't vote for Wendell Willkie and don't vote for me. We don't want your vote. But if you want good government for all the people of the nation, for all the people of the borough, if you want to give those people of yours in the South a chance in this world then you have got to vote for the candidates of the only party which has shown a respect for your human rights and your deserts as American citiens."

Other speakers included Rev. Charles W. Stewart, pastor, Peoples' Institutional Church; Orin White, Negro leader, Sixth Assembly District. Also seated at the G. Judd, candidate for County Judge; Peter Giambalvo, candidate presiding table was Eva A. for City Council; Robert J. Crews, candidatet for Assembly; Republican Negro organization. Browne, reocrding secretary of the George E. Wibecan; Dr. A. M. Jacobs, Kings County Negro Camaization at the latter's recently paign Director; County Co-leader opened campaign headquarters, at Ethel M. Hall; and J. Herbert 50 Herkimer street.

New York Age

New York, N.Y.

OCT 12 1940

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

POLITICS WARMING UP

WHEN THE REPUBLICAN National Convention convenes in Philadlephia next week, there will be no less than 53 Negro delegates and as many alternates in attendance. While this number is not nearly as large as it should be, and not as large as it has been at previous G. O. P. conventions, it is nevertheless much larger than the group which officially attends a Democratic National Convention.

Chicago Defender 7-27-40 New York

During the next three or four months we will hear much of the merits of the two major parties as they affect the Negro, but it should be remembered that the interest of any organizations in our welfare may be guaged by the extent to which we are permitted to function in its governing body.

The Democratic party which is controlled largely by the Southern states, has yet to select one representative of the Negro race from that section to its national convention. The few colored delegates who will be in attendance are from Northern and mid-Western states which have large Negro populations.

It should also be remembered at the outset of a political campaign that, however, kindly disposed toward the Negro or any minority group a candidate might be, he must be dependent on the party machinery and subordinates to translate his intentions into concrete actions. That is why the New Deal, with all its good intentions, has been unable to end the vicious segregation in Washington or to do one thing to improve the political status of the Negro.

We hope that as the national campaign grows hotter, the Negro will study the party platform and not be misled by the promises of the candidates but that they will insist that the party organizations take a definite stand on the status of the Negro and adopt progressive measures that will better his political status in this country.

WILLKIE'S NOMINATION

Plaindealer 7-12-40 Kansas City, Kansas

The press of the country has had a good deal to say during the last few days regarding the nomination of Wendell Willkie by the Republican National Convention as the Republican nominee for the Presidency of the United States. There has been criticism and much of it. There has been praise and commendation and much of it. The criticism has not been confined to any section of the country nor to any political party. The praise likewise has ramified the nation without regard to race, class, party or section. As the days pass and we get farther from the convention scene and acts coo and sober reflection begins to assume proper place. This does not mean that the enthusiasm is waning or will wane. But it does mean that intelligent people in a nation like this will not long continue a spell of enthusiasm without inquiring what the enthusiasm is all about. That step of the campaign has already set in. Whatever magic there may have been in the name of Willkie, or whatever novelty there may have been about this method and apparently sudden rise to the place of nominee on the national ticket in the Republican Party may soon be relegated to the realm of assumption. People will now inquire into the record of Willkie and try to understand something of the causes and influences which produced this political phenomenon. This study will receive attention during the next few weeks. It is not the purpose of this editorial at the present time to enter to it. It is in order, however, to record two or three observations. Mr. Willkie's nomination is a confirmation of certain trends and practices in politics during recent years which may now, more or less, be taken as a natural course of things without as much criticism as in the past. This paper has called attention several times to the fact that party badges and symbols did not carry quite the significance with the intelligent voter today as was once the case. There are those who have not yet made that discovery. They still feel that one of the chief qualifications of a man running for office is that he has always been regular in the party under the name of which he happens to be running at the time. And loud-mouthed, empty-headed Negroes can make you sick standing on the street corners or hanging around barber shops or other public places yelling about the party regularity of this or that man. This paper has suggested that the time has passed for so much of that kind of stuff. People are concerned about who offers himself for public office, what he has been in life, what his attitude has been on great public questions, to what extent he has been able to realize concretely the ideals which he holds up or the political theories which he advances. But as to whether he has always been a Republican or a Democrat they are not much concerned. Some of our race leaders were afraid to rejoice over one outstanding, significant achievement in race opportunity two or three years ago when Negro medical students were allowed opportunities in the University of Kansas that for a half century had been denied. And why? Because the Governor who had the courage to insist upon application of the law which guarantees such rights happened to be a Democrat. The Plaindealer took the attitude that any public official who can be depended upon to act in accordance to law to promote the progress of our race group should be commended no matter what party he belongs to. And this paper is far from making any apology for its general attitude in that regard. This paper has contended that the Negro voters are not free as long as any group of political leaders or bosses can count on them going this way or that way solely upon the ground of party affiliation. The way to have friends for the race is to show appreciation for those who are taking a stand for what is right and fair and just. Willkie's nomination confirms that attitude and position. It is reported that even as late as last year Willkie was registered in his precinct as a Democrat. Imagine that if you can. And behold, at the national Republican Convention he is made the presidential nominee by the Republican Party. Then observe the press of the country without regard to political affiliation whooping it up for Willkie. Observe business leaders, industrial captains, bankers and others without regard to political affiliation suggesting reasons why they should support Willkie for President. It may not be out of place to observe that it is alleged that the first mention of Willkie for President was in Kansas, and that Kansas sentiment and participation did as much or perhaps more than any other state in the union to turn the tide toward Willkie's nomination. That is the way white folk play politics, while Negroes, many of them, run around and keep up a hullabaloo about party loyalty and party regularity. What the statesmen of this nation see and understand is that this country is in a bad fix and they want somebody to lead the way out. They have decided that Willkie is the man who can do it. And they snap their finger at the criticism that he has been a Democrat up until within recent months. And by the way, many of these same loud-mouthed Negroes who are always talking about party loyalty and party regularity are already on the Willkie Band Wagon. The point in all this is that the Willkie nomination is a confirmation of sound wisdom advocated by the Plaindealer.

Another thing the Willkie nomination does, it lends itself to certain indications. His nomination was not altogether the result of high-powered manipulation of a group of political bosses, but the wild enthusiasm culminating in a positive mandate for Willkie as a standard bearer. Here again the Plaindealer stands erect. To be sure, political bosses are shrewd men and there are times when they know how to take credit for things that they have never done. The fact is the people are awake. That is because they are tired and sore and disgusted. They want something that is new. They are going to have it. And while the bosses may still have the reins in their hands and occupy the driver's seat, but it takes the people to make up the Band Wagon. One other word before this editorial closes and that is that the Willkie nomination has certain implications. They are deep and steady and far-reaching. Something is happening in the thinking of the masses. Something is going to happen during this presidential campaign. The implications are of such that it may not be as easy as it once was to pronounce with a finality what the people will say with their ballot when they go to the polls in November. And all of this the Plaindealer steadfastly believes.

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

POLITICS WARMING UP

WHEN THE REPUBLICAN National Convention convenes in Philadlephia next week, there will be no less than 53 Negro delegates and as many alternates in attendance. While this number is not nearly as large as it should be, and not as large as it has been at previous G. O. P. conventions, it is nevertheless much larger than the group which officially attends a Democratic National Convention.

Clip 7/40 New York

During the next three or four months we will hear much of the merits of the two major parties as they affect the Negro, but it should be remembered that the interest of any organizations in our welfare may be guaged by the extent to which we are permitted to function in its governing body.

The Democratic party which is controlled largely by the Southern states, has yet to select one representative of the Negro race from that section to its national convention. The few colored delegates who will be in attendance are from Northern and mid-Western states which have large Negro populations.

It should also be remembered at the outset of a political campaign that, however, kindly disposed toward the Negro or any minority group a candidate might be, he must be dependent on the party machinery and subordinates to translate his intentions into concrete actions. That is why the New Deal, with all its good intentions, has been unable to end the vicious segregation in Washington or to do one thing to improve the political status of the Negro.

We hope that as the national campaign grows hotter, the Negro will study the party platform and not be misled by the promises of the candidates but that they will insist that the party organizations take a definite stand on the status of the Negro and adopt progressive measures that will better his political status in this country.

WILLKIE'S NOMINATION

Plaindealer 7-12-40 Kansas City, Kansas

The press of the country has had a good deal to say during the last few days regarding the nomination of Wendell Willkie by the Republican National Convention as the Republican nominee for the Presidency of the United States. There has been criticism and much of it. There has been praise and commendation and much of it. The criticism has not been confined to any section of the country nor to any political party. The praise likewise has ramified the nation without regard to race, class, party or section. As the days pass and we get farther from the convention scene and acts coo and sober reflection begins to assume proper place. This does not mean that the enthusiasm is waning or will wane. But it does mean that intelligent people in a nation like this will not long continue a spell of enthusiasm without inquiring what the enthusiasm is all about. That step of the campaign has already set in. Whatever magic there may have been in the name of Willkie, or whatever novelty there may have been about this method and apparently sudden rise to the place of nominee on the national ticket in the Republican Party may soon be relegated to the realm of assumption. People will now inquire into the record of Willkie and try to understand something of the causes and influences which produced this political phenomenon. This study will receive attention during the next few weeks. It is not the purpose of this editorial at the present time to enter to it. It is in order, however, to record two or three observations. Mr. Willkie's nomination is a confirmation of certain trends and practices in politics during recent years which may now, more or less, be taken as a natural course of things without as much criticism as in the past. 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TRUST WENDELL WILLKIE

Globe-Independent

We have caught some of the foul whiffs of the whispering campaign being conducted against Wendell L. Willkie because the Republican nominee for the Presidency is of German descent. It is our hope and belief that no thoughtful member of the Negro race will allow his vote in the present campaign to be swayed by this drive of racial intolerance. The fact is, all liberty-loving members of the race, who believe in human brotherhood, will resent the efforts of any politicians to persuade Negroes, the age-old victims of racial intolerance, themselves, to oppose any person for office solely because of his race or religion.

Nashville Tenn

German-Americans are, generally speaking, as fine a part of our American citizenship as any of the other races that have come to this country. Negroes have just as much reason to be for Mr. Willkie, a so-called German-American, as they have to be for Mr. Roosevelt, a so-called Dutch-American.

German patriots came to this country in the hour of its greatest travail when the colonists were fighting to establish a government based on a foundation of freedom and equality. They fought in the Revolutionary War, the outcome of which was emancipation from the slavery of Great Britain. Negro slaves also played a gallant part in that war and we, their descendants must never take sides with any present-day Americans who would oppress the descendants and kin of the patriots who fought and died to wrest this country from the grasp of British exploiters.

SEP 27 1940

The fact that the ancestors of Wendell Willkie left Germany because of religious and political persecution and came to America should be a badge of honor for them and at the same time strongly recommend the Republican nominee as a champion of tolerance and liberty for men of good will, whatever their racial identity or of religious beliefs.

It must not be forgotten that, 20-odd years ago, Wendell Willkie fought as an American in the World War and is a member of the American Legion. It must not be forgotten that he bravely fought the most subversive organization that ever rallied under the banner of racial and religious intolerance on American soil.

Negroes must not ignore the fact that Wendell L. Willkie, in the present campaign, has more courageously pledged his support to democratic treatment of Negroes than has even the Republican Party itself. Most certainly he has more courageously pledged himself in support of the rights and aspirations of Negroes than President Roosevelt has ever done or dares to do.

Wendell L. Willkie deserves the respect and confidence of American Negroes on his record and his profession of faith. We are enthusiastic in our belief that the candidate will not be disappointed in the response American Negroes will give to his fight for tolerance and equality of opportunity for all American citizens.

Mr. Willkie and American Tradition

OCT 5 1940

Republican candidate Wendell L. Willkie, in his trek about the country trying to win friends and influence people, stopped off in Texas long enough to make a bid for election to the Presidency of the United States before several enthusiastic audiences. He is quoted as having urged during one of his speeches that the "citizens should stick to their traditions."

Amsterdam News

In the South—if Mr. Willkie doesn't know—the people don't have to be reminded to adhere to their traditions. Fact is, they should be urged to break them.

Tradition to the Southerner means more than an adherence to the policy of only two terms for a President. Tradition to them means a denial of the right to vote to Negroes, jim crow rule, segregation, peonage and proscription. It means a continuation of so-called white supremacy, social inequality and lynching.

New York

Candidate Willkie, like other Republican candidates before him who have attempted to break into the solid South, must have discovered already that to curry favor in that section, it is necessary to compromise the principles of our Democracy.

N. Y.

In urging the South to remain faithful to its tradition, Candidate Willkie inferentially gives aid and comfort to the enemies of this country's progress. In doing so he sanctions a policy the best minds and the most loyal of Americans argue must be abandoned if this nation is to endure. The leading opinion in this country today is that the tradition of the South must be broken, and now comes a candidate for the high office of President, who urges the South to follow tradition.

WHY WE'RE FOR WILLKIE

OCT 5 1940

IT HAS BEEN OBSERVED that much of the Willkie for President support is based on a hatred for President Roosevelt and the social reforms he has sponsored. In the case of the Negro and Negro publications this is not so. No President ever entered office with so much good will from Negroes, who naively expected that they would get a "new deal" along with the rest of the country.

New York Age

But seven years of relief and WPA have sadly disillusioned even the Negro, so that the masses of people honestly believe that a change in government would be beneficial to everybody. But a year ago along came another world war, and in the stress of the emergency the New Dealers have forgotten their reforms and insisted that the paramount issue of the campaign is preparedness and national defense.

From a selfish point-of-view this is not the paramount issue insofar as the Negro is concerned. It is just as important, and we think more so, for the Negro to know whether he will have to remain on relief or support his family on a WPA job for the next four years under the New Deal or whether jobs will open up for him in private industry under Republican rule.

In the 1936 campaign the President made the issue "Recovery" and asked the public whether they were not better off and more secure than in 1932. But by 1940 the recovery program has bogged down so much that he dares not make this test. With the billions of dollars spent and all the experimentation by "braintrusters" we still have eight million or more unemployed and of this group more are Negroes than was the case eight years ago. And the damage the WPA and relief agencies have done in destroying initiative and self confidence in the individual will take years to eradicate.

But if we agree that National Defense is the primary issue of the campaign, we are still in the dark as to just what part the Negro will be permitted to play in our re-armament program. It has been announced that 36,000 Negroes will be drafted, and several new army units created with Negro personnel. But the President has issued no executive order putting an end to discrimination in the U. S. Navy, nor has he opened the favored branches of the army—the Air Corps and the Marines—to Negro soldiers. No provision has been made for the training of Negro officers to command Negro draftees, and they still tell Negro volunteers at Whitehall street that there are no openings for Negroes in the regular army as it is now constituted.

True, President Roosevelt has appointed Dr. Channing H. Tobias as an advisor on the Conscription Board but there is yet no one in the War Department to act as spokesman and with authority to look after the welfare of Negro soldiers. In the last war President Woodrow Wilson realized the need for such an appointment.

Thus we find, in reviewing the status of the Negro that he has actually lost ground under the New Deal. That most of the appointments he has gained have been in the temporary relief and alphabetical setups, such as the N. Y. A., the F. H. A., the C. C. C., and A. A. A.

Mr. Willkie has promised to restore individual initiative and the confidence of the business man so that he will feel free to expand his business and put men back to work. At the same time he has pledged to put an end to discrimination in the Army and Navy, based solely on color, and to remove the jim-crow practices in the Nation's Capitol and in the various branches of the federal service. He is handsomely endowed, both physically and mentally, to bring a new kind of leadership to this country, and we honestly believe that his candidacy offers the best opportunity for the betterment of inter-racial relations that we have had in the past twenty years.

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REPUBLICAN

WE HAVE PAID THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR FREEING THE RACE

It is a common occurence to hear a young educated Negro stand up and say, we have paid the Republican Party for our freedom from chattel slavery. If we have paid the Party what did we pay the debt with, and where and when did we pay it? And if we have paid the Republican Party for our liberation and freedom of soul and body, to whom do we owe our political allegiance? The party that freed us or the party that enslaved us and fought to keep up the slavery, and is still fighting to make us moral cowards and intellectual slaves? Since we have paid the debt we owe the Republican Party, and owe nobody else, are we contented to live in isolation and not affiliate with any other political party? If we decide to come out of isolation and affiliate with a political party, are we going with the party that freed us or the party that enslaved us?

The movement of the Negro from the Republican Party has never been a race movement, it has always been an individual movement. The Negro who made the move was always looking out for himself individually and not for the race. He expected personal reward; as a rule money consideration or a job. The Negroes who vote the Republican ticket, they do not do it for a price but as a part of the party, just as he would vote for or support his church. The Republican Party does not offer the Negro a commercial consideration for a vote, but expects him to support the party and share its benefits and privileges in common with other republicans without regard to race or color.

The Democratic party has never stood for or advocated equal rights and opportunities for the Negro. In fact, it has always opposed every right and privilege local or otherwise the Republican party has sponsored for the Negro. We challenge any and all democratic Negroes to point out one law or occasion where the democratic party has ever sponsored the Negroes' right to vote, equal wages and a fair share of the work of the country at a wage equal to the white man. Where it or its leaders have ever moved to suppress jim-crowism or racial discrimination against the Negro. It has always stood for his humiliation, disfranchisement, segregation and proscription. In the contrary we challenge any democratic Negro to point out one effort on the part of the republican party locally or nationally to pass any law discriminating against the Negro in the exercise of his economic or political rights. Every law protecting his interest was placed upon the statute books by the Republican party, and every effort to repeal these laws locally or otherwise was made by the democratic party. So, in good conscience the Negro must affiliate with the Republican party by voting for its candidates and principles if they would remain free and enjoy the rights that the Democratic party denies them. White primaries excluding Negroes from the exercise of the ballot obtain only in the Democratic states and no self-respecting people could in good conscience approve their own humiliation or denial of an equality of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of their country.

GOP Host To 400 Boys

More than 400 boys and girls frolicked and played games at the O. V. Catto Hall last Monday night as guests of the 2nd Division Republican Club of the 30th Ward. What had been planned as an outdoor picnic had to be taken indoors because of the inclement weather but the youngsters came and had a good time.

Members of the club assisted in serving sandwiches, lemonade, ice cream and cake to all present. The Elks Legion of Honor Junior Bugle Corps serenaded the group and music was furnished by the Radio Boys.

The annual kiddies affair was staged by Robert H. Johnson and John Richardson, committeemen of the 2nd Division and Mrs. Ella Johnson head of the committee on arrangement.

Willkie's Text, Pledging Jobs to 9,600,000 Unemployed

Says There Would Be 'No Slaves—And No Masters'

Grand Rapids, Mich., Oct. 1 (AP). Following is the prepared text of Wendell L. Willkie's address here late today:

One cry is universal throughout this great broad land. It is "Give us jobs." Jobs that we may regain our self-respect—jobs that we may feed our families—jobs so that all of us can continue to the well-being of America. We want no dole. We want work—work for all—so that our idle factories will hum again and the farmer plant again—jobs to give us the wages to buy what America produces—that is what they are saying throughout America.

There are 9,600,000 men unemployed, and I intend to get them jobs—to put them back to work—to let the good black soil of America produce all that it can, and the factories manufacture all the things we need, because the consuming power of the nation has not been touched, and with jobs, this consuming power will be released.

Birth Control for Pigs

The candidate for the third term recognized—before his first term—that the real problem facing this country was to get jobs for the men and women of America that didn't have them. He was right.

But the solution of his Administration was birth-control for pigs—while one-third of the Nation was ill-fed.

It was against nature, and against common sense.

Naturally, it failed. The New Dealers had to recognize—in 1936—that the primary problem was still jobs.

And now—in 1940—our major problem is still jobs.

There is one difference between the New Deal's position in this campaign—and its position in 1932 and 1936.

In 1932 and 1936 the New Dealers were vocal—they spoke on the subject. But in 1940—in the present campaign—all that is heard from the other side is a thunderous silence.

No Horizon Lines

It was some time ago that the New Dealers gave up talking about jobs. They now talk about unemployment—and they say that large numbers of the American people will always be out of work, because America is static—has reached the end of its growth—that there are too many Americans.

Well, I denounce that proposition—solemnly—and in the name of the American people.

There are no horizon lines to our industrial and agricultural frontiers.

And so—I am not going to talk to you about unemployment, as the New Deal does—and tell you what we can't do about it.

I am going to be affirmative—to talk to you about jobs, and how we are going to get them—you and I—and all of us—working together.

Now there are two ways for people to find work. One good American way is for them to work for themselves.

Two Kinds of Systems

The other way is to find an employer who needs you to help him—and who will hire you.

Most of us Americans would like to go in business ourselves. But we can't all do that. Even if we are ultimately able to work for ourselves, we have to start by working for somebody else. So, for most of us, getting a job means simply finding an employer.

There are only two kinds of employer systems in the world—two and only two. Under one system almost all of the people, who don't work for themselves, work for private employers. That is the system we have here in America, and it is the system we want to keep.

Under the other system, almost all of the people work for the state. That is the case in Communist Russia, and, in effect, in Nazi Germany and the other dictator countries.

Under a dictatorship there need never be any unemployment. The state tells you that you must do—tells you where you must do it—and tells you how you must do it. And you've got to go.

Yes—you have a job under those conditions. But you have bought that job with your freedom.

Freedom of Workers

We in America have made our decision with regard to that issue. We want to work either for ourselves—or for and with somebody else, and not for the state under a dictatorship.

Because we know—all of us know—that no matter in what shape it comes, dictatorship always means slavery for the people.

And finally it means the spirit which says, "You toil and make bread, and I'll eat it."

We believe, then, in the freedom of the workers to take whatever job they want—whatever jobs give them the good life—and the best opportunities.

No slaves—and no masters—this is the essence of democracy. That is the system I stand for, and that is the system you will get if you elect me President.

The Government—the legitimate, proper object of government is to do for the people what they need to have done but cannot do for themselves. Where they can do it themselves—for themselves—the Government ought not to interfere.

That is the old and tried American way, and it was successful. It was successful because it was based on principle—sound and crystal clear.

The New Deal seems to be united on the proposition that it should break with the past, but it doesn't seem to know where it is going.

So let us look at the problems facing those who work in our American system of free enterprise. Let us first see whether the New Deal is right in trying to kill free enterprise—or whether Abraham Lincoln was right when he said, "We shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it."

Three Reasons

As I see it, there are three reasons why American workers should fear the continuation of unemployment—

First, there are 9,600,000 people out of work today. That means there are 9,600,000 people looking for your job.

Second, our population is grow-

ing—is expanding. More than half a million new workers come to maturity each year. And more than half a million young men and women graduate from school—to look for jobs—jobs that they cannot find.

If they have no place to go, they will be out looking for your job, too. And the next year—and each succeeding year, there will be another half million of them.

And third—and this is the most important to all of you—it is simply not possible for the Government to go on supporting a growing number of unemployed. Somebody has to pay the bill—and that somebody is you—all of us who have jobs.

One-fifth of our national income goes for taxes.

The biggest item on that tax bill—aside from defense—it relief for the unemployed.

But even the taxes on you have not been enough. And so, of course, the New Deal has found an easy method of paying the big relief bill.

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Beyond Income

It borrows the money.

In the 7½ years, it has borrowed about $22,000,000,000.

If we go living beyond our income, there is bound to be a collapse.

Is this the doctrine of Wendell Willkie? Let the Democratic candidate of 1932 for the first term speak for me. In his political speech at Pittsburgh on October 19, 1932, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"If the Nation is living within its income, its credit is good. If, in some crises, it lives beyond its income for a year or two, it can usually borrow temporarily at reasonable rates. But if, like a spendthrift, it throws discretion to the winds, and is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending; if it extends its taxing to the limit of the people's power to pay and continues to pile up deficits, then it is on the road to bankruptcy."

Now, the question is, how can we get off this road to bankruptcy that the candidate for the third term talked about way back in 1932; and, if we can get off that road, how do we get back on the road to prosperity?

There is only one way it can be done.

The road to prosperity is paved with jobs—and the way to get on that road is production.

Production Makes Jobs

Just as the remedy for the ever-increasing national debt is jobs, so the way to make those jobs is to set production in motion, to produce.

What makes a job? The New Deal doesn't make jobs. It isn't the New Deal that gets you the truck that you drive or pays the rent for the store you operate.

The truth is—production makes jobs—business makes jobs—big business, little business, corporations, partnerships, and small companies. They all make jobs.

If you stop production—or if, as the New Deal has done, you discourage and cut down production—you have created unemployment.

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And you have cut the jugular vein of America.

So, the first thing that we are going to do to put the 9,600,000 back to work is to encourage increased production. That will mean that the present employers will hire more men.

But, it is not enough that the present employers should hire more men, although, of course, that is very important.

What we must have is new enterprises—about 700,000 of them to take care of our needs.

As you well know, it isn't easy to start a new business nowadays. Taxes, under the New Deal, are on such an inefficient and unscientific basis that they have discouraged new enterprises, and as a consequence, have prevented recovery.

Stabilize Tax Structure

So, the second thing we are going to do to put the 9,600,000 men back to work is to stabilize our tax structure—put it on a scientific and efficient basis—so that men can predict the future with some reasonable degree of certainty.

And this will be our yardstick on that: Enterprises that make a profit must pay a tax, a tax that is proportionate to the profit made. But the tax structure will be on a base that will not discourage new enterprises from starting, from hiring more workers. On the contrary, it will be on a stabilized basis so that the new enterprise will feel that it can risk its money in new enterprises to make jobs.

Post

Now, the New Deal has been frank about one thing. It doesn't like business. It has tried to put business in wrong with the American people—and particularly with labor. To a certain extent, I think that the propagandists and apologists for the New Deal have been successful in their attempt.

I think that they have fooled some of the people with their bunkum.

Wash

But most of us know that under our system private enterprise is merely another name for jobs. And most of us, except the New Dealers in Washington, know that you can't have a system that is half socialistic and half private enterprise.

So, the third thing that we are going to do to put the 9,600,000 men back to work is to cut out the red tape that now paralyzes this country, to simplify the innumerable regulations, cut down the weight of Government demands for reports—and more important, stop the hostile attitude of Government toward private enterprise.

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Labor Safeguards

Why do I say this? The whole country knows that I favor proper regulation of business—particularly big business. But too much red tape, too many regulations to fill out, too much supervision and suspicion on the part of the Government's representatives, actually makes enterprise inefficient—adds to the cost of operation, and to that extent—and in recent years it has been to a great extent—decreases the number of jobs and the amount of money those employed can be paid.

Labor must protect the safeguards it has won—collective bargaining, social security, a floor on wages and a ceiling on hours.

I am for them—and all groups in the country are for them.

But all the laws in the world will not save us from the facts. There is nothing so inexorable as a fact.

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OCT

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That is why I ask you to join with me in creating new jobs—in expanding our economy—in increasing our production. We can do it, you and I—together we can save America.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
September 22, 1940

Willkie's Paradox In Chicago Speech

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There is, of course, no element of secrecy in the fact that Mr. Willkie's grandparents fled from Germany to escape oppression. That story was fully told in the acceptance speech at Elwood. Unquestionably this heritage is one reason why the Republican candidate has such a keen appreciation of the human liberty this country affords. The real tragedy of this attempt to inject a racial issue into the Presidential campaign is that it comes from individuals who ought to have the keenest and most fundamental interest in eliminating racial prejudices.

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ing—is expanding. More than half a million new workers come to maturity each year. And more than half a million young men and women graduate from school—to look for jobs—jobs that they cannot find.

If they have no place to go, they will be out looking for your job, too. And the next year—and each succeeding year, there will be another half million of them.

And third—and this is the most important to all of you—it is simply not possible for the Government to go on supporting a growing number of unemployed. Somebody has to pay the bill—and that somebody is you—all of us who have jobs.

One-fifth of our national income goes for taxes.

The biggest item on that tax bill—aside from defense—it relief for the unemployed.

But even the taxes on you have not been enough. And so, of course, the New Deal has found an easy method of paying the big relief bill.

OCT 2 1940

Beyond Income

It borrows the money.

In the 7½ years, it has borrowed about $22,000,000,000.

If we go living beyond our income, there is bound to be a collapse.

Is this the doctrine of Wendell Willkie? Let the Democratic candidate of 1932 for the first term speak for me. In his political speech at Pittsburgh on October 19, 1932, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"If the Nation is living within its income, its credit is good. If, in some crises, it lives beyond its income for a year or two, it can usually borrow temporarily at reasonable rates. But if, like a spendthrift, it throws discretion to the winds, and is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending; if it extends its taxing to the limit of the people's power to pay and continues to pile up deficits, then it is on the road to bankruptcy."

Now, the question is, how can we get off this road to bankruptcy that the candidate for the third term talked about way back in 1932; and, if we can get off that road, how do we get back on the road to prosperity?

There is only one way it can be done.

The road to prosperity is paved with jobs—and the way to get on that road is production.

Production Makes Jobs

Just as the remedy for the ever-increasing national debt is jobs, so the way to make those jobs is to set production in motion, to produce.

What makes a job? The New Deal doesn't make jobs. It isn't the New Deal that gets you the truck that you drive or pays the rent for the store you operate.

The truth is—production makes jobs—business makes jobs—big business, little business, corporations, partnerships, and small companies. They all make jobs.

If you stop production—or if, as the New Deal has done, you discourage and cut down production—you have created unemployment.

OCT 2 1940

And you have cut the jugular vein of America.

So, the first thing that we are going to do to put the 9,600,000 back to work is to encourage increased production. That will mean that the present employers will hire more men.

But, it is not enough that the present employers should hire more men, although, of course, that is very important.

What we must have is new enterprises—about 700,000 of them to take care of our needs.

As you well know, it isn't easy to start a new business nowadays. Taxes, under the New Deal, are on such an inefficient and unscientific basis that they have discouraged new enterprises, and as a consequence, have prevented recovery.

Stabilize Tax Structure

So, the second thing we are going to do to put the 9,600,000 men back to work is to stabilize our tax structure—put it on a scientific and efficient basis—so that men can predict the future with some reasonable degree of certainty.

And this will be our yardstick on that: Enterprises that make a profit must pay a tax, a tax that is proportionate to the profit made. But the tax structure will be on a base that will not discourage new enterprises from starting, from hiring more workers. On the contrary, it will be on a stabilized basis so that the new enterprise will feel that it can risk its money in new enterprises to make jobs.

Now, the New Deal has been frank about one thing. It doesn't like business. It has tried to put business in wrong with the American people—and particularly with labor. To a certain extent, I think that the propagandists and apologists for the New Deal have been successful in their attempt.

I think that they have fooled some of the people with their bunkum.

But most of us know that under our system private enterprise is merely another name for jobs. And most of us, except the New Dealers in Washington, know that you can't have a system that is half socialistic and half private enterprise.

So, the third thing that we are going to do to put the 9,600,000 men back to work is to cut out the red tape that now paralyzes this country, to simplify the innumerable regulations, cut down the weight of Government demands for reports—and more important, stop the hostile attitude of Government toward private enterprise.

OCT 2 1940

Labor Safeguards

Why do I say this? The whole country knows that I favor proper regulation of business—particularly big business. But too much red tape, too many regulations to fill out, too much supervision and suspicion on the part of the Government's representatives, actually makes enterprise inefficient—adds to the cost of operation, and to that extent—and in recent years it has been to a great extent—decreases the number of jobs and the amount of money those employed can be paid.

Labor must protect the safeguards it has won—collective bargaining, social security, a floor on wages and a ceiling on hours.

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POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Senator Fidler's Record

Dispatch

There are two very good reasons why the Black Dispatch will support the candidacy of State Senator W. C. Fidler for re-election in District No. 14, Oklahoma county, primary July 9. Both of these reasons have to do with the senator's liberal attitude towards Negroes.

Sixteen years ago, when Senator Fidler was first elevated to the senate, there was not a single Negro election official in Oklahoma. A few Negroes were getting into the Democratic party at that time, but in no instance was official authority given to Negro Democrats to act as judges, precinct inspectors, registrars, clerks and counters.

In 1924, shortly after naming Bob Peebley, present 1st District county commissioner, as secretary of the election board, Senator Fidler instructed the county election board to re-precinct the Eastside, giving in each one of these newly created Negro precincts a complete Negro personnel.

The Oklahoma City experiment became so successful it has been adopted in many counties of the state, although in many of the counties there is still hesitancy to this plan which bottoms the Negro right into the heart of the Democratic organization.

It is this record of Senator Fidler which we wish to commend and which should cause every Negro in the 14th senatorial district to vote for him. In Senator Fidler we have a man who did not want the Negro standing on the outside of the party in Jim Crow clubs and segregated units. His political outlook and policies have given the black citizens of this state a responsible and definite place inside the door of the Democratic house.

The reason why the Negro Democratic Central Committee was recently abandoned is because the Fidler plan of direct party participation for Negro voters has proven its efficacy and Negroes welcome the opportunity to become integral parts of the policy-forming unit of the Democratic party. All who wish to consult the records of the county election board may do so, in order to be sure that the Black Dispatch has published an accurate statement of facts. Knowledge that Bob Peebly was the secretary of the election board and fashioned out the first Negro-controlled Democratic precincts in the state, should improve his position among the Negroes of the first district.

The second reason why we are sure Negroes should support Senator Fidler develops out of his fine social outlook in connection with the Negro Boys Training School at Boley. When Senator Fidler went to the state senate sixteen years ago, the Boys Training School was located at McAlester, just outside the enclosure of the state penitentiary.

Senator Fidler likes to give Ike Porter, a deceased Negro employee at the Lee-Huckins hotel, credit for the removal of the Negro Boys Training School from McAlester.

"I was standing in the lobby one morning shortly after my election to the senate when Ike walked up," said the senator in telling about the incident.

"Ike congratulated me and then said, 'Senator, I want you to try to bring those Negro boys away from the penitentiary. They are not criminals and I want you to know that there is no inspiration for those boys looking out through bars at bars.' "

This striking statement of Ike Porter stabbed clear through the sympathetic heart of Senator Fidler and he went immediately into the legislature and fought through the measure which finally located the institution at Boley. The removal of this school from the shadow of the state prison has received the commendation of all of the Negroes of this state.

This writer listened to Rev. C. K. Brown last Saturday night when he made a speech in the interest of another candidate. Rev. Brown dealt in general platitudes regarding the man who opposes Senator Fidler. We wonder whether or not Rev. Brown knew of this record of Senator Fidler? We wonder whether or not Rev. Brown would have made the speech that he offered the public had he known this record? We wonder whether or not Rev. Brown can point to one concrete definite thing his candidate has done comparable with the record of Senator Fidler.

We have the highest regard for Rev. Brown, but we believe in the light of Senator's exposed record he should abandon the position he has taken and join in support of Senator Fidler. Negroes went into the Democratic primary to find friends of justice and fair play. There is no attempt here to convert Senator Fidler into a spotless lilly, but we believe there is enough that Senator Fidler has stood for regarding Negroes, that has to do with fundamental and elementary citizenship, to cause every black man outside the insane asylum to vote for his retention in the state senate of Oklahoma.

Down in Texas, just a few miles away, Negroes are barred from the Democratic primary. Right now in Oklahoma there are counties where Negroes are denied the right to organize their caucases and elect their delegates to the county and state convention. The ten Oklahoma county Negroes who sat as delegates in the state convention Monday were there because of the basic political philosophy of Senator Fidler who sixteen years ago decided that Negroes had the right and ought to be an integral part of the Democratic organization.

There is only one reason why Negroes should desire to function and vote in the Democratic primary. Negroes should enter the primary to ferret out and discover their real friends. We have offered Senator Fidler's record to the Negro voters remembering the admonition in the Holy Writ, "By their deeds ye shall know them."

Negro G. O. P.'s Uncertain As to Policies of Republicans Until After Philly Meeting

Scott's Publicity Department Only Assignment Definitely In Hands of Group

Successor to Chairman Hamilton Looms

Dispatch 6/15/40 Oklahoma City

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Until after the Republican convention in Philadelphia the status of the Negro remains just as it has been for some time with no particular effort aimed at recovering the votes which the party lost in the past eight years, excepting the continuing activities of the publicity division.

This division, headed by Dr Emmett J. Scott, has been for the past few months, busy sending out releases to Negro newspapers pointing out as far as possible the failures of the New Deal to improve the condition of the Negroes who flocked to the Roosevelt standard.

All possibilities of naming persons to head up various divisions, East and West and Women's division, are confined, it is officially stated ,to rumors coming from uninformed persons. There has been no assignment to any such post and according to those in the office of the National Republican committee, there will be no such appointments until after a candidate has been named.

When asked point blank whether or not he was to head the Eastern division of the campaign, Dr. Scott answered in the negative and intimated he wouldn't accept such a position even if it were tendered him.

Many suggestions have been received in the headquarters concerning "planks" relating to Negroes to be adopted in the convention, and some discussion on these suggestions has been held, but nothing definite in this category has as yet been decided upon.

Declaring he would not accept any position where he would have to act as "buffer" for any higher-ups, Dr. Scott said he was engaged in the publicity division under Franklyn Waltman and in this department it was his duty to furnish papers with information and release on the activities of the party and on the shortcomings of the opposition party.

There are many who believe that the attitude of the Republican party toward the Negro has not undergone any change and they further contend that the same attitude will prevail through the entire campaign, with a selected few holding down positions of importance and the real workers of the campaign ignored.

It is generally conceded that the chairman of the committee scarcely knows where he will be in the general shake-up which may be expected to follow the selection of a candidate in Philadelphia. One writer has ever gone so far as to name the new chairman according to the election of the candidate saying that David Ingalls of Cleveland, will be the chairman of the committee if Taft wins the nomination and Strange will be chairman if Dewey wins the nomination.

At present, the whole situation is unsettled and uncertainty rules the office as it wouldn't be fair for Mr. Hamilton to burden his successor, if he has one, with any obligations committed while he held the office, nor is it likely that Mr. Hamilton will saddle whoever comes to the office with any campaign plan. All, of course, being contingent upon whether or not Mr. Hamilton is continued in office.

SIXTY RACE DELEGATES TO G.O.P. CONFAB

Defender

They Pledge Support To Thomas Dewey For President

6/15/40 Chicago Ill

NEW YORK — There will be approximately 60 colored delegates to the Republican National convention in Philadelphia June 24, and of all the candidates for President before them, Thomas E. Dewey alone has gone on record upon subjects in which these delegates and 12,000,000 colored Americans are most vitally interested.

These subjects are as follows:

1. JOBS—Mr. Dewey has said: "The next administration must set this country on its true course after seven years of New Deal misguidance. It must give the American economic machine the signal to 'Go ahead.' It must give this signal in order to bring about the new employment we so desperately need."

2. CIVIL RIGHTS—As one of the nation's most famous law enforcers Mr. Dewey believes in enforcement of civil rights laws. Last year he told the N.A.A.C.P.: "Your association's fight to end disfranchisement of the Negro citizen is the outstanding effort in America today to preserve the traditional and sacred principal that government derives its just powers from the consent of those governed."

Last March he said during an interview in Washington that he saw no reason to use subterfuge in appointing colored to office, citing the fact that he had named Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, Francis E Rivers, and James Yeargin, his assistants on the basis of ability only He added: "The nation is getting more open-minded on such things because tolerance is a process of evolution. The intolerant person is eventually destroyed by his own intolerance."

3. ANTI-LYNCHING—Mr. Dewey has left no doubt of his stand on this national subject. He was asked in St. Louis if he favored an anti-lynching bill and replied at once:

"I am for it 100 per cent." Asked the same question in Omaha, he replied: "I believe it should become a law."

4. RELIEF—Mr. Dewey said during a Washington interview:

"Don't think that any sane person expects to curtail all of the relief projects and social reforms the minute there is a change in the administration. We do not intend that anybody shall suffer, but we believe that a definite course in the direction of freer enterprises will restore confidence and the attendant prosperity will make these relief measures unnecessary.

"I believe that those who are now on relief will prefer this to their present status. There is not a man living who is worth his salt who would not prefer to have a job so that he can be free to support himself and buy his own home to being the recipient of relief which makes him subject to the dictates of others and crushes his initiative."

5. THE WAR—Mr. Dewey declared in Dallas: "In the twenty years that followed the last World War the people of this country reached a solemn determination that they would not become entangled in any future European conflict. I, for one, stand by that decision.

"This does not mean that we should be or can be indifferent to the frightful tragedy in which the world finds itself. Brute force has been unleashed upon the world.

Pamphlet Attacking Willkie's Ancestry Disowned By Officials

Pittsburgh Press

Document, Work Of An 'Enthusiastic Volunteer,' Never Issued, Demos Say

OCT 14 1940

NEW YORK—(AP)—A circular under the heading of the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee which attacked Wendell L. Willkie because of his German ancestry was disowned Monday by committee officials.

Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the colored division, said at a press conference that the pamphlet was the work of "a volunteer worker who is very enthusiastic," that the circular was never distributed, and that it came to light through a "newspaper man who pilfered a copy off the floor."

The volunteer worker, Charles P. Ray, Rainey said, had been dropped from the staff.

Edward J. Flynn, chairman of the National Committee, reiterated his repudiation of the pamphlet.

Rainey said the pamphlet had no distribution "except through Republican newspapers." He said he had ordered copies of the pamphlet destroyed Saturday morning and that he knew nothing of the pamphlet until it was called to his attention at Boston, where he spent the week-end at his home.

Copies Not Given Out

A statement by Ray issued at the press conference said in part: "The material contained in this circular was written by myself. I had intended submitting the finished copy to Mr. Rainey for his approval. Owing to the fact that I had to make a trip to Washington, the typist had the finished copy mimeographed. On my return Friday, I was unaware that this circular had even been mimeographed."

Ray's statement added that when this was called to his attention "I did not know that any copies had been given out and I did not give any orders for the distribution. . . . I was not authorized to prepare this circular and simply intended it as a suggestion to be used or discarded whenever it was brought to Mr. Rainey's attention."

Flynn said he had "gotten to the bottom of the incident of the misspoken colored circular."

He said that he had discovered the only circulation was by Republican newspapers, that so far as he could ascertain only a single copy went out from the colored division and "that was obtained by a newspaper man who picked it up himself."

Represented Volunteer's Idea

Flynn said that the matter, like other material, was awaiting the visa of responsible people connected with National Committee, that it represented only the idea of a volunteer, and that "of course it would never have been issued."

"I know nothing about it, Michelson (Charles Michelson, committee publicity director) knows nothing about it and Rainey claims he knows nothing about it," Flynn said.

Flynn said earlier he was "chagrined to think that some reckless individual had done such a disservice to our great president and party as to issue this stupid document.'

The Democratic chairman added that no one questioned Willkie's "100 per cent Americanism" and said he particularly regretted the use of Mrs. Willkie's name in the pamphlet.

"Reference to Mr. Willkie's family or to the president's family have no part in a political campaign," he said.

John T. McNamara, co-chairman of the Brooklyn committee of Democrats for Willkie, sent a message to President Roosevelt asking that he "publicly repudiate the smear campaign of some of your supporters aaginst Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Willkie."

"The stirring of race and religious prejudice against an American candidate is nothing less than the introduction of Hitler's and Stalin's methods into an American campaign," he added.

In Buffalo, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes characterized the pamphlet as "stupid and indefensible."

Ickes told a press conference that injection of "racial differences" in the present national campaign was "very unfortunate, particularly at a time when we should have national unity."

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Feudin' Negro Delegates Fail To Agree On Who's The Boss

Commercial

(An interesting sidelight on the Republican Convention in Philadelphia, concerning negro delegations from the MidSouth is given in this story published in the New York Post.)

6-24-40

The Douglass Hotel, a modest little hostelry which bears the name of the first and foremost negro Republican, boasts more feuds than a Kentucky mountain retreat as half a dozen presidential hopefuls battle for the 102 negro delegates and alternates to the G. O. P. convention.

Memphis Press

Although fewer than half the negro representatives will be qualified to vote on final roll call (and a dozen more may be ousted by the Credentials Committee), the candidates are sparing no time and expense in rediscovering the negro question, and in shamelessly raiding their rivals' camps.

Friends Are Parting

And with the uncertainty of mounting hotel bills hanging over half the delegations, the six-way assault is beginning to have its effect. Dark looks are being exchanged in the corridors of the Douglass; whispering campaigns are being sponsored; and lifelong friendships are being broken faster than Hitler promises.

The latest victim of a fast encircling pincer movement is the veteran Perry Howard, hulking Mississippi national committeeman whose 11 delegates had been faithfully promised to Senator Taft.

Faced with a three-way challenge before the Credentials Committee, Howard woke to find one of the rival slates being backed by his lifelong coworker and crony, Bob Church of Memphis. And worse still, Dr. S. D. Redmond, a member of Howard's own Mississippi delegation, announced that he was going to work for Thomas E. Dewey.

Howard took both blows philosophically.

"I ain't going to say nothing about Bob Church," he mourned, "except that it's a dirty trick. And Redmond is older than I am, so I've got to respect his gray hairs."

"Old Score" Settled

The only negro national committeeman's remaining supporters were not so reticent, however. They accused Church of settling an old score and looking out for the future at the same time.

"They foreclosed on all of Bob's property down in Memphis last year," one of these said, "and left him as clean of stuff as a hog is of feathers. And Bob was mad because Perry was still eating high up on the pig and didn't come to his rescue."

Others advanced more practical reasons. Church, they said, is in reality a stalking horse for a Wendell L. Willkie boom about to be launched among the negro delegates.

"He's supposed to be working for Governor James," this view ran, "but James is only a front. As soon as Mr. Pew gives him the word, he's going right out on the limb for Willkie."

There was nothing undercover, though, about the Dewey bid for the negro vote at the convention. Moving in ahead of the other candidates, he opened a special negro headquarters at the downtown Hotel Walton and placed two assistant district attorneys from his New York staff in charge, with 14 assistants.

Gannett Boomed, Too

An unexpected Gannett boom was revealed in the negro ranks too, when Scipio A. Jones, a negro lawyer from Little Rock, Ark. opened headquarters for the publisher in the nearby Baltimore House. And Charles Roxborough, brother of the co-manager of Joe Louis, was expected momentarily to do similar honors for Senator Vandenberg.

6-24-40

But all the headquarters were deserted by midmorning. Most of the negro delegates were hanging around the Bellevue Stratford Hotel where arguments were being heard on the multiple challenges.

"I hope they hurry up and decide whether my delegation is legal or not," one spokesman summed it up, "because it's getting to be a case of root-hog-or-die. All these hotels have jacked up the rent, and I wouldn't like living in the White House if I had to pay $6 a day."

Lack Of Tennessee 'Boss Rule' Held 'Liberal' G. O. P. Sign

Commercial Appeal

6-27-40

Memphis

By ERNEST B. VACCARO
Associated Press Sports Writer

PHILADELPHIA, June 26.—This year's Republican Convention, in the opinion of Paul Kreusi, chairman of the Tennessee delegation, offers evidence of a real rebirth of a "liberal" Republican Party.

More significant than the fate of the various candidates for the presidency, he said, is the lack of "boss rule" and nowhere is there less evidence of "boss rule" than among the 18 Tennessee delegates.

Healthy Exhibition

"This convention is a healthy exhibition of a turn toward popular rule of the party," the Chattanooga industrialist said Wednesday.

While he concedes that the old "boss" system expedited the selection of candidates, he contends it was not good for the country nor the party.

Other delegates agreed that National Committeeman B. Carroll Reece could apply pressure on at least a few of the delegates in favor of his choice, Senator Taft of Ohio, but that he is not doing so.

Mr. Kreusi, as chairman of the delegation, refrained from adding that he hasn't tried to apply pressure in behalf of Wendell Willkie, the utilities executive, his choice for nomination.

Bob Church Favors James

R. R. (Bob) Church, Memphis negro, with whom the late Representative J. Will Taylor co-operated to control party patronage and conventions in Tennessee, is supporting Governor Arthur James of Pennsylvania for the nomination. As far as could be ascertained today, his will be the only vote from Tennessee cast for James on the first ballot.

C. Arthur Bruce, Memphis lumberman and onetime Republican candidate for Governor, agreed with Mr. Kreusi as to the "boss-free" status of the delegation, but the two are far apart as to candidates.

Mr. Bruce is one of the most enthusiastic of the supporters of Dewey. Should Dewey fail to make a satisfactory showing, Mr. Bruce will not switch to Willkie. Senator Taft probably would be his second choice.

NEGROES TO TAKE PART IN WILLKIE NOTIFICATION

Negro Labor News

Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Consultant On Negro Affairs, Checks Erroneous Reports On Trip To Elwood, Ind.

6-10-40

Houston-Texas

ELWOOD, Indiana—At the instance of Joseph W. Martin, Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, consultant on Negro Affairs at the Republican National Headquarters, Washington, D. C., has spent the last three days in Elwood checking erroneous, inspired statements that Negro visitors will not actively participate in the Willkie Notification Ceremonies on August 17.

"These statements are not true," Dr. Scott said today.

"Every arrangement made, as I have fully verified, contemplates the complete co-operation of colored citizens in the Notification Ceremonies. Thousands of letters have reached Elwood advising of the coming Negro delegation. Entertainment plans include not only their prensence in large number. but their active participation as well.

"Colored leaders of outstanding prominence will have seats on the platform at the park ceremonies, and at the Official Luncheon.

Cornelius Richardson, Indiana Colored Republican leader, is a member of the general committee on arrangements and has arranged sleeping accommodations at Elwood hotels for those coming the night before for meals, and for general entertainment integrated with the announced programs of the committee.

"Ther are no programs of separation or segregation for Colored visitors. I have found the white citizenship of Elwood most friendly and co-operative in welcoming all visitors coming to the ceremonies, white and colored alike, from Mayor George M. Bonham down," Dr. Scott remarked.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
August 1, 1940

NASHVILLE NEGRO TO AID G. O. P. BODY

Bert Cumby Goes to New York To Assume Duties With Republicans

Bert Cumby, 28, Nashville Negro undertaker and secretary of the Davidson County Republican convention, left last night for New York to take up his duties with the Republican National Committee among young Negroes for the duration of the Presidential campaign.

Cumby last night said he didn't know precisely what his duties would be, but expected them to be connected with operations of a plan to mobilize young Negroes into the Republican Party which he worked out earlier in the year.

His plan calls for separate Willkie-for-President Clubs among young Negroes throughout the country, special publicity for their consumption and nationwide radio hookups devoted to the interests of young Negroes and the campaign.

Drafts of Cumby's plans have been sent to Wendell Willkie and Rep. Joe Martin, campaign manager, Cumby said.

Cumby has served as associate editor of the Young Republican, a paper published in East Tennessee, and is a former vice-president of the Young Republican Club of Tennessee.

He said his undertaking business had been closed until the end of the campaign.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
August 1, 1940

Cumby Leaves To Aid National GOP Drive

Bert Cumby, young Nashville Negro Republican, left last night for New York City to work in the Republican national campaign among the young Negroes in several states.

Cumby, who has suspended operation of a funeral home here for the duration of the campaign, is the author of a plan for the mobilization of young Negroes into the Republican national campaign which is now in the hands of the Republican high command, and is said to have brought favorable comment from many high in the Republican Party, including the presidential nominee, Wendell L. Willkie.

A Mississippi-born Negro, Cumby received his education at Memphis College and Fisk University. He has served as associate editor of the Young Republican, a paper published in East Tennessee. and is a former vice-president of the Young Republican Club of Tennessee. He is secretary of the Davidson County Republican convention.

Race Leaders Condemn New Deal Policies At Meeting With Willkie

Tribune
10-25-40

COLORADO SPRINGS, Col.—Continuing a round of interviews with important individuals of all races, creeds and professions, Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for President of the United States, last Wednesday, received the Rev. G. W. Reed, a bishop, with headquarters in the West, and J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks who discussed problems confronting the colored people of the United States, particularly discriminatory treatment.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Negro Problems to the Fore

The colored group in the United States is deeply concerned with the primary problems of unemployment, low farm prices, and the general business stagnation of the country, debt, mounting confiscatory taxes, and the domestic weariness which has broken the spiritual morale of many millions of people. Dr. Emmett J. Scott of Washington declared this week.

"We refuse to accept economic and racial prejudices as factors to discourage our proper hopes and aspirations as we seek to rise to the full level of American citizenship," he added.

"We recognize the fact that no political party alone can solve our age-old problems. We know we must do our part to overcome the normal difficulties of life, but while so engaged we shall continue to challenge the American spirit of fair-play in a demand that abhorrent prejudices be removed, and a fair chance be given us to advance in the American way of life."

Democratic Discriminations Cited

"The Democratic Party, composed mainly of those Southern States which disfranchise us and deny us the primary privileges of our citizenship, seeks continuance of its control of the Government and a strengthening of its power," Dr. Scott charged.

"We are called upon to meet the menace of such continuance, for the issue is now joined as to whether a Party which has been our consistent enemy, oppressing and debasing us, shall have our support in this hour of supreme peril to our country and the liberties of the people.

"By oppressive legislation, Jim-crowism discriminatory practices, and a formula of discouragement, meant and designed to consign us to a place of permanent inferiority in the body politic, the Democratic Party has proved that it does not consider us free men and free women," Dr Scott continued.

"We Want Willkie"

OCT 13 1940

Up to date the Journal has not taken any definite stand editorially on the matter of our next president of the United States. Today we wish to take our stand with those who are saying as thousands said at the Republican National Convention: "We Want Willkie." There are several reasons why we are for Willkie.

Savannah Journal

In the first place, we are opposed to the idea of a third term for any of our presidents. In fact we believe that it would be better if we had a law giving a president one term of six years and making him ineligible thereafter. If we should have a third term for any president we believe that it should not a Democratic president. The Democratic party has been in power long enough, yes, too long for the welfare of American Negroes. Prejudice has become deeply triumphant in our government.

The main reason we are for Willkie howeved is because he stands for the finest traditions of American life as expressed in the following quotation from his pen printed in the Congresional Record of January 4, 1940:

Savannah, Ga.

I believe in America because in it we are free—free to chose our government, to speak our minds, to observe our different religions;

Because we are generous with our freedom—we share our rights with those who disagree with us;

Because we hate no people and covet no people's land;

Because we are blessed with a natural and varied abundance;

Because we set no limit on a man's achevements; in mine, in factory, field, or service in busines or the arts of an able man, regardless of class or creed, can realize his ambition;

BECAUSE WE HAVE GREAT DREAMS—and because we have the opportunity to make those dreams come true.

That's why we want Willkie.

TREND TO WILLKIE SEEN IN HARLEM POLL OF VOTES

Strength of G.O.P. Candidate Increase After Negro Speech

OCT 26 1940

NEW YORK, N.Y.—A poll of 15,700 Harlem voters taken this week and covering all groups showed that Wendell L. Willkie, G.O.P. Republican candidate is rapidly overcoming a slight lead hitherto maintained by President Roosevelt in Harlem. Of the total polled, 6,800 preferred Willkie, 7,300 said they would vote for Roosevelt, 1,400 were undecided and 200 chose other candidates.

Washington

Willkie's strength is so definitely on the rise since his Harlem speech October 8 and since the Democratic "smear" campaign which Negroes resent, that poll takers of the United Negro Press which made the survey, are convinced Willkie will win in Harlem by a swing of the undecided vote before November 5.

Other conclusions of the survey are:

Washington

1. A comparison with 1936 voting shows that Willkie is pulling a stronger vote from the Roosevelt forces than Roosevelt pulled from Landon.

2. WPA workers and unemployed prefer Willkie in large numbers because they are tired of insecurity and want jobs.

3. Among first voters Roosevelt has 33⅓ per cent preference and Willkie 66⅔ per cent.

D. P.

4. Unemployed first voters are 51.2 per cent for Willkie and 48.8 for Roosevelt. Reliefers are 58.4 per cent Roosevelt and 41.6 per cent Willkie.

The poll proves beyond a doubt that the Harlem vote is far from "in the bag" for the New Deal.

One hundred poll takers each interviewed 157 people. Their reports run approximately the same. An average report by one of the poll takers analyzes what 157 typical voters will do November 5.

Of the 14 undecided, 8 are definitely leaning to Willkie and one to Roosevelt. 13 of the 14 undecided voted for Roosevelt in '36 and the other one is a first voter.

Republican Party Blowing Hot And Cold

OCT 24 1940

To the Editor::

In a recent issue of Time it was pointed out that Mr. Willkie would win many votes among the so-called Jeffersonian, Old Deal, Democrats, who resent the South being called the nation's No. 1 economic problem. Other reasons are:

Phil. Tribune

Objection to the New Deal's catering to Negroes in the northern states: objection to progress made by northern Negroes in recent years.

Phil. Pa.

As I see it, the Republican Party of old is blowing hot and cold where it will get more votes. The Democratic Party, for all its faults, has had the courage to fight the issue of liberalism and conservatism within the party.

The Negro-baiters in the Democratic Party have been put in their place—quite an achievement for the New Dealers, since the majority of them were Negro-haters. They will, no doubt, vote for Willkie.

H. F. G.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Taxes Are Paid By All Who Labor

Globe and Independent

In one of the most notable speeches of his 1932 campaign for the presidency made at Pittsburgh, Hon. Franklin D Roosevelt had the following to say about taxes:

"Taxes are paid in the sweat of every man who labors . . . Our workers may never see a tax bill, but they pay in deductions from wages, in increased cost of what they buy or in broad cessation of employment."

Contrary to what many persons may think, it is these laboring masses who not only pay taxes in excess of any other class of citizens but the sum total they pay is greater than that paid by any other class of citizens. This fact is vouched for, also, by Mr. Roosevelt.

In a letter to Roy W. Howard, publisher of the Scripps-Howard newspapers written on September 2, 1935, President Roosevelt stated the following:

'What is known as consumers' taxes, namely the invisible taxes paid by people in every walk of life, fall relatively much more heavily upon the poor man than on the rich man. In 1929 consumers' taxes represented only 30 per cent of the national revenue. Today they are 60 per cent."

Now it happens that what Mr. Roosevelt said in his famous Pittsburgh speech has been repeated by newspapers and political orators so often until there are few people in these United States who have any excuse for not knowing what was said.

Nashville Tennessee

Also, this matter of consumers or hidden taxes, has been dwelt upon so incessantly during the past eight years until even the masses themselves are supposed to have become tax-conscious, and skeptical about any promises of politicians to the effect that they can give the masses great material blessings without any cost to the masses.

SEP 27 1940

With the departure of the Hon. Harry Hopkins from the national scene we thought, that for the time being at least, we would be bereft of any New Dealer with the hardihood to boast that the cost of the things the New Deal had done had been or would be taken out of the "hides of the rich."

But we are disappointed, and doubly so because that old hoax is a part of the 1940 New Deal campaign among Negro voters. They have, apparently, given to Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the job of persuading his race that their shower of New Deal blessings has taxed only 2 per cent of Negro Americans.

The Democratic National Committee sent out a release a week ago in which Mr. Wilkins, who is also editor of the CRISIS MAGAZINE, sought to appease any of the Negro masses who might be getting the opinion that the New Deal hasn't been giving away much free stuff, after all. Wilkins confesses the good things were not exactly free, but undertakes to make the masses happy by telling them that the money has been taken from the pockets of a 2-percent wealthy class of Negroes. The New Deal propaganda sheet does not pretend that Mr. Wilkins is omnicient about economics. It leaves every reason to doubt that he is any thing of the kind as it introduces him merely as "the dapper and militant" editor of the CRISIS. It reveals Mr. Wilkins' theory about taxes to be as follows:

"He (Wilkins) is equally as frank about taxes and appreciates that no one black any more than white, wants to be taxed because it hurts. On the other hand, however, he pointedly reminds the small percentage of Negroes who really pay taxes that had it not been for Mr. Roosevelt, they too might have been in the bread lines.* * * *

The dapper, militant editor of the Crisis then proceeded to castigate that 2 percent of wealthy Negroes who object to the New Deal because they have to pay a few dollars more in taxes* ** One would think however that they would realize what has been done for millions of their less fortunate racial brothers. Of course they (Wealthy Negroes) have had to help pay for it but that should be the lot of the more fortunate, the more talented. For the first time in the history of this country government means something to the man farther down."

Now in view of what Mr. Roosevelt says about taxes and who pays them and how large a part of them is paid by working men and women, it would seem to be possible for New Dealers to avoid trying to mislead that class of citizens, who never see tax bills and do not get tax receipts when they pay hidden taxes.

But you can bet your bottom dollar, that for the duration of this campaign at least, there will be no hoax and no form of demagoguery that the campaigners for a third term will not resort to. They are forced to do so because they can not successfully defend the New Deal record of eight years on the claim that what they have "given" the people has been equal to what they took from the people in taxes. New Dealers from top to bottom always undertake to fascinate the public by pointing to how many things have been done under Roosevelt over and above what was done under any previous administration, but they are always careful to avoid giving an accounting that would set forth what has been spent against the amount they were given to spend to prove that their stewardship of the people's tax money had been worthily and prudently discharged.

SEP 27 1940

As a matter of fact and candor the New Deal administration has not given the masses of the people anything. It has spent money so recklessly until the tax burden on everything a person eats, wears or otherwise uses is the heaviest in all the history of this nation.

In addition, billions of dollars represented in what internal improvements have been, made plus the overcharge for these improvements, that has gone into the pockets of party henchmen represent government debts that the New Deal has cruelly transferred to the backs of unborn generations because the politicians did not have the moral courage to tax the people of this generation for all of the things "given" to this generation.

There has been absolutely nothing in the New Deal's gorgeous plan of "giving" things to the people that has represented anything wonderful in statesmanship. Any other administration in the past might have strained the borrowing power of the government to the limit to make internal improvements and win the votes of pressure groups. But other administrations had more conscience than the New Deal. They had more regard for thrift than the New Deal. They believed that, as near as possible, each generation of taxpayers should operate on a pay-as-you-go plan of living. They believed, like Mr. Roosevelt used to say, back in 1932, that governments are often wrecked by loose fiscal policies.

If only a few of the past administrations had taxed, borrowed, spent and wasted in proportion to what we have had under eight years of the New Deal there is no telling what kind of a country these United States would be today, nor what kind of evil government would be ruling over us.

From what we have read from the abundance of "dope" sheets being sent out by the Democratic campaign committee to Negro newspapers, (and, incidentally, with a request for free copies of any issues in which the stuff is printed) it is plain that the smart men dishing out this "dope" have no respect for the intelligence of the editors to whom they are sending it. Negro editors, worthy of the name, are not going to picture the masses of their race as paupers and persons who are not carrying their share of the tax burden that keeps this nation going. They are not going to help a gang of well-paid politicians in the scheme of dividing the race by peddling the falsehood that there is a small, 2-per cent group of wealthy Negroes who are opposing increased taxes because the money is to be used to help the poor and needy. That is sheer demagoguery.

Nashville Tennessee

Taxes are paid in the sweat of those who labor, just as President Roosevelt has said. And the Negro race certainly has its share of men and women who toil and sweat and spend their earnings for the necessities of life. They have a right to know the truth and to take pride in the fact that they are paying their way in life as fully and faithfully as any other class of citizens and neither Mr. Roosevelt nor anybody else is giving them anything.

TRUST WENDELL WILLKIE

SEP 27 1940

We have caught some of the foul whiffs of the whispering campaign being conducted against Wendell L. Willkie because the Republican nominee for the Presidency is of German descent. It is our hope and belief that no thoughtful member of the Negro race will allow his vote in the present campaign to be swayed by this drive of racial intolerance. The fact is, all liberty-loving members of the race, who believe in human brotherhood, will resent the efforts of any politicians to persuade Negroes, the age-old victims of racial intolerance, themselves, to oppose any person for office solely because of his race or religion.

Cleveland

German-Americans are, generally speaking, as fine a part of our American citizenship as any of the other races that have come to this country. Negroes have just as much reason to be for Mr. Willkie, a so-called German American, as they have to be for Mr. Roosevelt, a so-called Dutch-American.

Wilkes-Barre

German patriots came to this country in the hour of its greatest travail when the colonists were fighting to establish a government based on a foundation of freedom and equality. They fought in the Revolutionary War, the outcome of which was emancipation from the slavery of Great Britain. Negro slaves also played a gallant part in that war and we, their descendants must never take sides with any present-day Americans who would oppress the descendants and kin of the patriots who fought and died to wrest this country from the grasp of British exploiters.

Nashville

The fact that the ancestors of Wendell Willkie left Germany because of religious and political persecution and came to America should be a badge of honor for them and at the same time strongly recommend the Republican nominee as a champion of tolerance and liberty for men of good will, whatever their racial identity or of religious beliefs.

Tennessee

It must not be forgotten that, 20-odd years ago, Wendell Willkie fought as an American in the World War and is a member of the American Legion. It must not be forgotten that he bravely fought the most subversive organization that ever rallied under the banner of racial and religious intolerance on American soil.

Negroes must not ignore the fact that Wendell L. Willkie, in the present campaign, has more courageously pledged his support to democratic treatment of Negroes than has even the Republican Party itself. Most certainly he has more courageously pledged himself in support of the rights and aspirations of Negroes than President Roosevelt has ever done or dares to do.

Wendell L. Willkie deserves the respect and confidence of American Negroes on his record and his profession of faith. We are enthusiastic in our belief that the candidate will not be disappointed in the response American Negroes will give to his fight for tolerance and equality of opportunity for all American citizens.

I'M AGAINST ALL SORTS OF DISCRIMINATIONS AND SEGREGATIONS

Globe and Independent.

SEP 27 1940

Wendell Willkie

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Charles P. Howard, Editor and Publisher of The Howard News Syndicate—The Iowa Observer, Des Moines; The Tri-State Observer, Davenport; and The Waterloo Observer, Waterloo; has sent a report to Republican National Committee Headquarters of certain explicit statement made by Wendell Willkie, Republican Nominee for President of the United States, on the occasion of his visit to Des Moines. Mr. Howard's report follows:

Nashville Tenn.

Des Moines, Iowa—Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential Nominee, emphasised in Des Moines last Monday that he believes that "Negroes are just American citizens, and that "the approach to them for their political support should be the same approach as to other American citizens."

Mr. Willkie was in Des Moines August 5, for a conference with Mid-Western Governors and farmers.

SEP 27 1940

During the day however he was interviewed by other interests. His attitude on the Negro was disclosed at a Press Conference attended by more than one hundred Iowa newspapers editors, among these were three Colored representatives.

On being asked if he desired to say anything with reference to the Negro Question Mr. Willkie immediately replied: "I don't think there is any man in America who has spoken or written more strongly on the Negro Question than I have and I did it at a time when I had no idea of occupying my present position."

Mr. Willkie was later asked if he had any special plan for getting the Negro vote. He replied: "I don't believe in any plan to get the Negro vote; I think they are all American citizens."

Following the Press Conference, Mr. Willkie held an informal interview with a group of Negro Republican leaders from the state of Iowa, wherein he said:

"If I am elected, I will carry out the platform of the Republican Party as it dealt with the Negro; I am behind the Republican Platform on this Plank 100 per cent."

Further inquiry was made of Mr. Willkie as to whether or not, as President of the United States, he would see that the National Government led by the way in eliminating discrimination and segregation against the Negro citizens of the country. Mr. Willkie replied:

"I am for that and against all sorts of discrimination and segregation.

The Willkie party arrived in Des Moines from Colorado Springs, Colorado, aboard two chartered United Air Line Planes, Sunday evening, and departed Tuesday morning for Chicago before returning to Colorado Springs.

The Negro representatives who attended the Conference with Mr. Willkie stated they were deeply impressed with his sincerity and forthrightness on all questions affecting the Negro people of the United States.

Anderson S. C. Independent Trib

September 18, 1940

WILLKIE AND THE COLOR LINE

Some time, some place, we've heard The *News and Courier* of Charleston referred to as "The Old Lady" of such and such a street. Well, we'd like to know what the old hag has to say about the way its presidential candidate, Wall Street WENDELL is throwing his weight around trying to get the Negro vote.

Here's what WILLKIE said in Chicago the other day: "Now the Negro people of this country are citizens and entitled to every right that any other citizen is entitled to. And those who are so unfortunate as to be on relief are entitled to the same treatment on relief as everybody else. If you elect me president I shall see to it that relief is continued."

The State, in Columbia, is also calling on the *News and Courier* to state its views on WENDELL'S Negro stand:

"*The State* thinks that in such serious times the public needs more entertainment; therefore the respectiful request that the *News and Courier* express itself on the WILLKIE attitudes and statements with the same peppery vigor it would use if President and Candidate ROOSEVELT had said exactly what Candidate WILLKIE had said."

Will the *News and Courier*, Bible of all South Carolina Negro Republicans, now proceed to take its text from WILLKIE'S Negro speech?

Pickens Resigns As Head of Willkie Committee!

The Union Cincinnati Ohio

OCT 3 1940

New York—Dean William Pickens, director of branches for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, resigned effective October 1, as chairman and organizer of a national Colored Citizens' Committee, Non-Partisan, for the election of Wendell L. Willkie. Dean Pickens' action was taken after the committee on administration of the NAACP had met and voted to re-affirm the non-partisan position of the association and to request staff members serving on party committees to resign. George B. Murphy, Jr., publicity director, and Rev. James H. Robinson, acting youth director, both of whom had consented to serve n the committee for the election of Alfred K. Stern to Congress from New York, also resigned.

OCT 3 1940

Walter White, NAACP secretary, announced that he had declined an invitation to serve on the Citizen's Committee for Roosevelt nod being formed by Mayor LaGuardia.

REPUBLICANS SAY DAVIS' ELEVATION "POLITICAL TRICK"

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.

NOV 2 1940

By MORGEN S. JENSEN
(Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.—Charging that the elevation of Col. Benjamin O. Davis to the rank of brigadier general—the first Negro general in the Army's history—was merely a shrewd political gesture, many Army officers last week claimed that the promotion was made by the White House in an effort to woo to the Democratic party the tremendous Negro vote of the two doubtful states of New York and Illinois.

To justify their charge, they call attentfon to the fact that General Davis is 63 years of age, and, according to the law, he most automatically retire when he reaches the age of 64. There have been exceptions, when men have been continued "for the good of the service," but the general rule is that promotions are awarded four years before the officer involved is subject to retirement.

Many are of the opinion that the elevation of Colonel Davis, who now commands Harlem's 369th Anti-Aircraft Coast Artillery regiment, was the direct result of a wave of criticism directed against the Roosevelt administration and the War Department for allegedly approving of racial discriminatory practices in the Army.

Attention was called to the Army's recent "appeasement release," which declared that the services of Negroes would be "utilized on a fair and equitable basis" in the nation's defense program, including the new peace-time selective service system. It outlined a seven-point policy designed to achieve this objective, one provision being that Negro organizations were to be established "in each major branch of the service" and another that there would be no intermingling of "colored and white personnel."

Officers commenting on the War Department's tentative selection of General Davis to command a brigade in the Second Cavalry division at Fort Riley, Kan., said the Army's companion policy—one political importance is being attached to an unfortunate altercation which took place between a detail of New York City policemen and myself on Monday night last.

"As part of my official duty, I was endeavoring to obtain permission for a group of about 35 newspapermen and others to board the train on which they had to return to their places of duty in Washington. I showed my credentials. All of the people in the group also had official credentials to board the train. It was essential for them that they get on that train before it left. Unfortunately the police had received instructions to let nobody of segregating white officers and colored officers—would suffer a radical reversal if this assignment should be carried out. While the proposed command of General Davis would be made up of Negro troops, these are led by white officers, in accordance with the Army's regular practice, and 154 such men, ranging in rank from colonels down to second lieutenants, would find themselves with a Negro commander.

An outstanding belief is that the Democratic administration, instead of permitting such a situation to develop and in a stronger effort to encourage the Negro vote, will within the next few days announce that colored reserve officers for General Davis' entire brigade will be called to active duty, thereby relieving the present white officers for service elsewhere. Part of the so-called "appeasement release" declared that "Negro reserve officers eligible for active duty will be assigned to Negro units officered by colored personnel."

There are approximately 350 Negro reserve officers in the United States and part of the criticism directed against the White House was because these men were not being called to active duty. There are only five Negro officers in the Regular Army, three of these being chaplains.

General Davis and his son, Capt. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., are the Army's only Negro line officers. Captain Davis, a West Point graduate, had such high academic standing there that he ranked all the officers of his class assigned to the infantry, and he is now Professor of Military Science and Tactics at Tuskegee Institute.

Since its "Jim-Crow" announcement of October 15, the White House has been severely criticised by many sources for apparently attempting to create the false impression that Negro flying cadets are already receiving training in the Air Corps. One provision of the announcement said that "Negroes are being given aviation training as pilots, mechanics, and technical specialists. This training will be accelerated. Negro aviation units will be formed as soon as the necessary personnel has been trained."

Actually, "aviation training as pilots" is not being given to Negroes by the Army. The only government instruction of this nature is in the civilian flight training program of the Civil Aeronautics Administration at Glenview, Ill., near Chicago. There is a loosely implied interest by both the Army and Navy in graduates of the C. A. A. training program, particularly of its so-called secondary course, but no obligation whatever to accept them for military training.

Eastern Negro Republican Leaders Express Confidence Their States Will Vote For Wendell L. Willkie

New York Times
New York N.Y.

NOV 2 1940

Telegrams from Negro Republican leaders of Eastern states indicate Wendell L. Willkie will carry a majority of the Negro vote in those states, Francis E. Rivers of the Eastern Division, Republican National Committee, said Saturday.

"Our leaders in Delaware, Maryland, New York State, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and New Jersey all report victory ahead for Wendell Willkie," he said.

In support of this statement he quoted as follows from telegrams of various leaders:

"Massachusetts will go Republican by approximately sixty thousand majority. There are about 60,000 colored voters in the state. Willkie will win, although by a narrow margin. The main issues Negroes will take to the polls will be jobs and national defense." —George C. Gordon, director, Colored Republicans of Mass.

"Willkie will carry New York by one hundred thousand majority. The issue of jobs dominates this campaign and the colored man sees the hopelessness of a life on relief. He also highly resents the administration's flagrant policy on segregation and racial discrimination in administration of relief and in the governmental departments as well as confirmation of such a policy in the armed forces of the country. They also resent President Roosevelt's silence on the anti-lynching bill. The swing to Mr. Willkie is decisive and will continue until Election Day."—La-Mar Perkins, chairman, Colored Division of N. Y. Republican State Committee.

"Connecticut will go Republican by a small majority. We have 12,000 to 15,000 colored voters. Relief and jobs are the two principal issues."—William Hatchett, director, Colored Division.

"The Republicans are on the march to victory in West Virginia. Willkie will carry the state with 50,000 colored voters. Jobs are the main issue."—Harry J. Capeheart, director, Colored Division.

"We have ten thousand colored voters in Delaware and 70 to 80 precent of them will vote for Willkie. As far as we are concerned Willkie is in. There are very few colored Democrats among us. In order of their importance these are the issues Negroes will carry to the polls—segregation in the armed forces, failure of the New Deal to pass an anti-lynch law, and the third term."—John Hopkins, director, Colored Division.

"Believe Willkie will win majority of colored votes in chief Maryland cities. They believe he will furnish permanent employment. Jobs are the main issue."—Marse Callaway, director, Colored Division.

"New Jersey will go Republican and the majority of the 100,000 registered colored voters will go for Willkie—at least 70,000. Although campaign was delayed in starting, so was the campaign of the New Deal, so, relatively, this will not affect proportional vote between the two parties although it may cut down on the numbers of voters actually going to the polls. Main issues are relief and if it will continue, and general reaction over the recent Willkie smear attempt Negroes resent being involved in this attempt."—Marcus Wheatland chairman, Colored Division.

Similar advices have been received from Joseph V. Baker of Pennsylvania and James M. Stockett of Rhode Island.

Joe Louis For Willkie

NOV 2 1940

Joe Louis came out openly for Wendell Willkie this week.

One might have expected the champion to vote Republican. His manager is brother of a former Republican member of the legislature of Michigan. But it is noteworthy that he has publicly announced his support and will make five speeches for Willkie. The champion, who occupies a place all his own, in the affection of his race, is doubtless the first who has ever stepped from the arena of the pugilist onto the platform of the public speaker to discharge his full duty of citizenship as he sees it. He will vote for Willkie and call upon his race to follow his lead. Washington

To millions Joe Louis is nothing less than an idol. By them his message will be well received. None will dare to question the weight of his influence. His words will be simple and from his lips they will have the ring of sincerity.

Scarcely a fortnight ago Charles Edward Russell, who for a half century has led the fight for Negro rights, uttered his warning to colored voters. Frankly he advised them not to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt and based that argument on sound fact. Indefatigable worker in the cause of the NAACP, Charles Edward Russell has his following. Wash., DC

So, too, has John Lewis, who as the friend of Negro labor in his speech Friday appealed for support of the Willkie candidacy.

As Joe Louis, heavyweight champion, joins those other two champions of labor and of human rights, his plea will strengthen the Republican candidacy. Moreover he will prove the worth of his citizenship and will demonstrate that love for country which he often professes.

- MONSTER -

WILLKIE RALLY

THURSDAY EV'G, OCTOBER 31

WENDELL L. WILLKIE OF INDIANA

New York N.Y.

A SENSATIONAL PROGRAM!

Come And Hear The Facts

SPEAKERS INCLUDE:

ALFRED A. DUCKETT
Chairman, Executive Committee
Kings County Young Republican League

REV. GEORGE W. THOMAS
Pastor, Brown Memorial Church

REV. CHARLES W. STEWART
Pastor, Peoples' Institutional Church
President, Bedford-Stuyvesant Willkie Club

REV. JAMES B. ADAMS
Pastor, Concord Baptist Church

THOMAS BURKE
Former County Committeeman Queens Democratic Party

NOV 2 1940 AT

ELKS CRYSTAL BALLROOM

1068 Fulton Street Brooklyn, N. Y.

Sponsored by KINGS COUNTY YOUNG REPUBLICAN LEAGUE

As the CROW Flies

by DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

ANY candidate supported by the **New York Times** and Joe Louis ought to expect to be defeated. Washington

Mr. Willkie accepts the verdict. We thought he would. News

There are a number of prophets who are now explaining.

For the first time in the history of the nation, both major parties openly asked for the Negro vote and considered the conditions and demands of Americans of Negro descent. This marks an epoch. New York

Joe Louis

It is perhaps human nature that a person is secretly ambitious to do that which he is not engaged in, which he has never tried and concerning which the normal chances are that he has no ability. Despite this, common sense warns that a shoemaker should stick to his last. This may not always evoke the best ability for every deed but it will keep the square peg out of the round hole. I have always admired Joe Louis; not simply for his fine physique, but for his attitudes: his refusal to grin and make a monkey of himself; the care in spending his money; his love for his mother and especially his clean fighting without alibis. But Joe Louis cannot write nor make speeches. His education and native ability does not lie in this line. He makes himself simply ridiculous when he goes on the platform. This is not because he has not a right to his political opinions or a right to express them; but it is because he himself has no ability to express them and that his astute and thoughtful manager can express them a great deal better. We hope that Joe Louis will not repeat the farce of the campaign or succumb to the petty temptation of political monies. He has too much to lose.

Talk of chickens coming home to roost, England certainly has a hen-house full. East Indians have been bombed just as frightfully and with a larger percentage of loss of their wealth and lives than London is suffering under attacks today. Nothing in all that England has lost and may lose in the first and present World Wars, approaches what she did to Africa during the slave trade and during the partition. The plaint of the Irish people against the English is a terrible indictment. unprovoked war, sequestration of soil, exploitation through rack-rents, famine and pestilence, religious persecution, political slavery and the actual selling of some of the natives in the American slave trade. The Irish have not forgotten this. They cannot forget it. They cannot forget that today one-fifth of her soil and nearly one-half of her population is withheld from her jurisdiction and governed by England. Now comes the time when England needs Ireland and needs her desperately. The recent destruction of English ships is a graver threat than the airplanes over London. To fight this menace England needs naval bases in Ireland which would be two hundred fifty miles nearer the main and vital lanes of English commerce than any English ports. This concession, Ireland bluntly and firmly refuses. The situation is a tragedy. But whose is the blame?

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

AS I SEE IT

By C. W. RICE

WILLKIE IS RIGHT WHEN HE SAYS: "NEW DEAL HAS LET LABOR DOWN"; NEGROES GREATEST VICTIMS

SEP 28 1940

Wendell L. Willkie, nominee for the presidency on the Republican ticket said Monday night at Seattle, Washington,, what I have said for a good while—"The New Deal has let labor down." I have contended that the only way this country is to recover from its economic ills is to provide steady and uninterrupted employement for all who are able to and want to work. It is my humble belief that the government and unions alone can not do the job. It requires the fullest cooperation of industries, labor and government.

Mr. Willkie promises when he is elected, to safeguard labor's interest and added that "labor's fundamental need is more jobs, more growth and more expansion."

AS I SEE IT labor should give consideration to his statement that **"We can lick the employer if we want to. We can beat him down, we can frighten him, we can even eliminate him... But if we do that, you won't have any jobs... The only employer under those circumstances would be the state."**

Negro Labor

For nearly eight years the government and labor semingly, have combined to lick the employer. Labor has been looking forward to a Utopia—a job for every man but instead we find unemployment today worst than in 1936. Right here in Texas, accordng to reports by H. P. Drought, State WPA administrator, there are now 75,000 persons on W. P. A. and 150,000 on the rolls.

Why is this grave situation facing Texas and similar conditions existing in other states after seven and one-half years of the New Deal which promised prosperity?

It is simply because there has been too much one sideness on the part of government; too much governmental interference with business, and too many restrictions on the farms that have benefitted the few and hurt the masses.

AS I SEE IT new chances for the improvement of labor under the New Deal are slim. One reason is that industry has generally lost confidence the New Deal, the admnistration has no confidence in industry and labor is becoming skeptical. Many believe that if the New Deal continues we will have the same conditions for labor as now exists in Europe.

Houston Press

Peacetime Conscription

Some labor leaders view with alarm the peace time conscription measures. Both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. representatives say that "Despite any sugar-coating, conscription is essentially an anti-labor edict. It gives the anti-union employers a weapon far more powerful than the use of company unions or labor spies. Because if the employer wishes to get rid of an active unionist in his plant, all he has to do is refuse to grant any worker under 36 years of age a certificate that he is essential to industries and off goes the unionist into the army while the petty straw boss and the anti-union worker are safe. They'll keep on working at their jobs. The statement was released by a labor league working for the election of Norman Thomas as president on the Socialist ticket. The league is headed by A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union (AFL) and Nicholas Zonarich of the Aluminum Workers (CIO).

AS I SEE IT the Negro worker has, of all gruops suffered most from the New Deal's let down of labor. In the South he has lost most of his work as a farm hand. Thousands and tens of thousands have been forced to migrate to cities and depend upon dole or direct relief while the land that they once cultivated was left to grow up in weeds. Most of those workers will remain idle perhaps the rest of their natural lives because the bulk of our farm export market is lost for a long time.

There are not enough industries to absorb this farm labor. And, if there were enough industries, many of the good farmers now idle have passed the industrial age limit. There is another age group that would perhaps be eligible for industrial work but do not have sufficient mentality for technological training required in the large industires.

In the established industries in the South where Negroes have considerable employment they must now compete with highly skilled craftmen from the North and East who have come South seeking work because of the shutdown of factories in those sections.

The Negro is hardest hit from the New Deal because of the **discrimination practices and color bar of unions which have the endorsement of the government. Most of the government work created to relieve unemployment has gotten into politics. In the South Negroes are disfranchised—have no vote. Voters are given preference. Therefore, the Negroes can only expct the "leavings."**

AS I SEE IT the only hope for the Negro worker lies in the opening up of factories and increased agricultural pursuits with more vocational training.

Mountain City, Tenn., News
August 28, 1940

Negro Publisher To Support Wilkie

Pittsburgh, Ang. 20.—Robert L. Vann negro leader and publisher who backed President Roosevelt in the campaigh of 1932 and 1936, threw his support today to Wendell L. Willkie, Republican candidate for the presidency.

In an article in the Pittsburgh Courier, nationally-circulated weekly newspaper devoted to the negro interests, he said:

"We supported Mr. Roosevelt in 1932. We supported him with less enthusiasm in 1936; but he is a far different man today.

"Because of his changes and because of the subtle way in which he has shifted his position toward the American people and because of his willingness to frighten 130,000,000 people into believing that this country is going to be at war by Christmas if he is not elected, because of this type of deception and because of his absolute refusal to say a word in behalf of the 13,000,000 negroes in the United States during his seven years in the White House, we cannot support him in 1940."

'LILY WHITES' REBUKED BY MISSISSIPPI G. O. P.

Commercial Appeal

J. H. Gearhart Says Old Line Republicans 'In Control'

Memphis

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 14.—J. H. Gearhart, former United States deputy marshal, asserted in a statement Monday that Mississippi's old-line Republicans, the group headed by Perry Howard, negro attorney and recognized by the National Convention, "are in complete control of the party in Mississippi."

Although his statement made no reference to the Independent Republican group headed by former Gov. George L. Sheldon of Nebraska, or the Willkie Democrats under the supervision of Sam V. Anderson, attorney of Greenville, it warned the public "not to be deceived by people who are ambitious to make a showing, for they have been repudiated by the powers that be."

OCT 15 1940

Mr. Gearhart is Republican presidentiail elector in the Seventh District on the Howard ticket. His statement follows:

"We want you to know that the Republican State Committee is in complete control of the Republican Party in Mississippi, and so recognized by the Republican National Committee.

"Of course, we are glad to get all the votes than we can, but my suggestion to all my friends is that you vote the regular ticket headed by Elector Fred W. Hale and others. For that is the real ticket and you will get far more credit in the future for voting this ticket than any other.

"Do not be deceived by people who are ambitious to make a showing, for they have been repudiated by the powers that be.

"Therefore, take my advice and vote the Hale-Swalm ticket of presidential electors."

Knoxville Tenn Journal
October 3, 1940

Negro Willkie Unit To Be Formed Tonight

An organization of Negro supporters of Wendell L. Willkie in Knox County will be formed at 8 p. m. today at Negro headquarters, Vine Avenue at State Street. Carl Cowan, Knoxville attorney, has been named Negro manager for Knox County.

An advisory board, district workers and ward chairmen will be selected tonight. A musical program also has been announced.

Willkie Fits Our Specifications

Candidate Willkie said in his speech in Chicago last Friday:

> "You know, we talk a great deal of democracy in this country, and we have more of democracy in this country than in any other country in the world, but there are some things that we must do before this democracy can claim to be reaching any ways near perfection. And one of those things is to completely eliminate, in this country, any discrimination between people because of race or religion."

SEP 20 1940

Those are the bravest words said for equal rights since Lincoln delivered his famous Springfield, Ill. address in which he said this nation could not endure half slave and half free! Because of his evident sincerity and his tested ability Willkie is our choice for the next president of the United States!

Weeks before the national conventions, THE CALL said that race prejudice was the weak spot in America's armor, and that to defend democracy, it must first be democratic itself. Listen to Willkie again:

> "I have written out a few things here today, merely because I want them to be quoted. The real test whether our leadership is making democracy work is whether it excludes any portion of its citizens from full participation in the opinions and responsibilities of government on account of race."

Then to drive home his meaning beyond any question, Willkie added:

> "I SAY TO YOU, UNDER MY ADMINISTRATION THERE SHALL BE NO DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN PEOPLE BECAUSE OF RACE, CREED OR COLOR, in the appointment to federal positions; and that man who serves as MY SUBORDINATE WHO MAKES ANY SUCH DISCRIMINATION SHALL BE FIRED ON THE SPOT."

No coward spoke that! It could only come from the Willkie who declared that he did not want Father Coughlin's support if it meant that he had to accept with it Father Coughlin's intolerance; from the Willkie who as chief of a southern power system gave nearly ten percent of its jobs to Negroes; from the Willkie who fought the KKK in Akron years ago.

Readers of this paper know that out of the whole seven years not until this year have we expressed anything but confidence in Roosevelt's good intentions, even when not sure of his ability to carry out his plans. But now when he boasts of the "social gains" he has made, we are bitterly aware that Negroes paid in jobs lost for somebody else's "social gain." It is no compensation for our lawful right to earn a living that relief is doled out to us. Slavery is too recent for us to want to return to a condition where another dictates when we eat and where we live.

No man of sense believes the Negro will escape extermination, or being driven about like the Jews in Europe, if white workers are called on for taxes to support Negro idlers.

The law calls for equality. Every city ordinance, every state and federal law is required to conform to the federal constitution which says rights shall not be abridged on account of race and color. It is the enforcement that hurts Negroes. The President as chief executive is most to blame. Our belief is that zeal for democracy is not to be found in Roosevelt who thinks himself so indispensable that he seeks a third term. On the other hand we are sure a man who will declare his position on the Negro publicly will be equally stout-hearted in seeing that the law is applied equally. Prejudice has held our America back long enough. It is time that real democracy be given a trial, which it certainly will with Willkie as president!

Dawson, Ga., News
September 26, 1940

Willkie For the Anti-Lynch Bill

From the Athens Banner-Herald

Candidate Willkie has injected the proposed anti-lynch bill as an issue in the presidential campaign. This was brought about in a speech delivered before an audience of negroes, estimated at 15,000, in a ball park in Chicago last week. A bill is now pending before the senate of an anti-lynching character. It has been held up several times when attempts were made to have it voted upon. For years, from time to time similar measures have been introduced in congress for the avowed purpose of securing the negro vote in the west and in New York where the black belt is strong and has almost enough votes to swing an election to either of the major parties. For the last two presidential elections, the democrats have succeeded in securing the negro vote. This year, the republicans are making a strong bid to influence the negroes to return to the GOP organization which they supported for many years, but for the last two campaigns they have voted practically solid for the democratic party.

To array racial prejudice should be beneath the dignity of a candidate for the presidency of the United States. The remarks attributed to Mr. Willkie should have a salutary effect on these forward southerners and Georgians who have come out in print and otherwise made known that they propose to vote the republican ticket this year. With the anti-lynch bill as an issue, these gentlement will have a sweet morsel to swallow.

An honest effort is being made and has been made to eliminate lynchings in the southern states through education and not through force and arms. If the federal government undertakes to enforce such legislation, it will find that its plan will result in an absolute failure and create a resentment that will become retroactive instead of reducing the evil. If the lynching problem is left to the people of the south to solve, it will be solved in a quiet and orderly manner through education and good will among the races, but, on the other hand, if the measure now before the senate is passed, its enforcement or attempted enforcement will bring on a misunderstanding that is bound to revive a feeling of lawlessness that will be hard to control. Human nature is easy to lead, but when once driving and force is attempted the people revolt and the damage is inestimable.

We do not believe that Mr. Willkie will catch the negro voter on a promise of the passage of the anti-lynch bill. Certainly he will lose the fair-minded vote he had expected in the southern states. Regardless of the promises made by the republican candidate for the presidency, we do not believe that the people of the United Stats have any idea of turning down President Roosevelt for a third term. They have faith and confidence in him in directing the affairs of this nation during these unusual times when we are undergoing a crisis that has never been equalled before. His experience in national and international affairs are such as to demand his retention in office, and such camouflage arguments and racial issues as espoused by Mr. Willkie will be frowned down by his warmest supporters as well as those who class themselves as "Willkie Democrats."

CHICAGOANS ENDORSE GOP TICKET

NOV 2 1940

CHICAGO, Oct. 31—The Chicago Baptist Ministers conference with a membership of 300 pastors and a constituency of 125,000 members endorsed the candidacy of the two Negro Republicans in the Chicago campaign.

William H. King who is running for the United States Congress on the Republican ticket and William Haynes, who is likewise a candidate on the Republican ticket for judge, both of these men were enthusiastically endorsed by the Chicago Baptist Ministers in their regular weekly meeting held at the Progressive Baptist church of which Rev. L. E. Brown is pastor. Also the entire Republican slate of candidates received the hearty endorsement of the conference. Judge Oscar Nelson and Dwight H. Green, candidate for district attorney and Governor, have recently appeared in person before the Baptist Minister's conference. Dr. J. H. Branham is president of the conference. Rev. E. J. Coles is the secretary and Dr. L. K. Williams is chairman of the Committee on Public Policy.

POLITICAL 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

JOE LOUIS TOURS CITY FOR WILLKIE

New York Times

Says New Deal Relief Made His People Lazy After Pay Rises Took Their Jobs

New York, N.Y.

VISITS 'KNEED' POLICEMAN

NOV 1 1940

Learns to His Regret That Negro Patrolman Intends to Vote for Roosevelt

By BYRON DARNTON

Joe Louis, the heavyweight champion, spent yesterday electioneering for Wendell L. Willkie. He shook numberless strange hands, made a few speeches, signed his name for countless autograph-seekers, smiled automatically over and over again as he was presented to male and female politicians and—in the midst of it all—reached the conclusion that, compared to campaigning, "fighting is easy."

One of the most trying details of the day was the long stretch before breakfast. Joe arrived breakfastless at La Guardia Field on the 1 o'clock plane from Detroit. He was immediately taken in tow for a series of visits to the various Republican headquarters around town and not until 5 P. M. was he free to eat. In the course of a walk through Grand Central Terminal, flanked by politicos, reporters, photographers and ordinary citizens who had recognized "The Champ," Joe had ducked out of line to purchase a candy bar. But for a man who likes his steaks and likes them big, the candy bar was mighty mean fare. Two crunches of the Louis jaw finished it.

Visits "Kneed" Policeman

The highpoint of Joe's day was a visit to the home of Patrolman James Sloan, the Negro policeman who was either kicked in the groin or "kneed" by Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, at Pennsylvania Station last Monday night.

Since the incident has political significance in this hot campaign, in which Negro votes no longer are all in the Democratic bag, the visit was arranged with full panoply of publicity.

Joe stood at the bedside of the patrolman, clasping his hand,and photographers' bulbs flashed. Mrs. Sloan joined in the pose. The camera shutters clicked and clicked.

In view of all this, the subsequent questioning of the patrolman by the reporters was anticlimatic.

"What are your politics?" the patrolman was asked.

"I am a Democrat," he replied.

"Whom are you voting for this year?"

"I will vote for Mr. Roosevelt."

Joe Louis's face is no window to his thoughts. But when the patrolman made that admission it registered something that looked pretty much like disgust.

The first political event on Joe's calendar for the day was a visit to Republican National Headquarters at 70 East Forty-fifth Street. There, seated with Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr., Republican National Chairman, and Samuel F. Pryor Jr., vice chairman, Joe underwent a mass interview.

He wore a blue suit of rough material, white shirt with a red necktie decorated with vari-colored circles about the size of a dime, black shoes and clocked black silk socks. In his lapel was a bronze elephant head labeled "Willkie." He was chewing gum.

Photographers Are Busy

With Mr. Martin, Joe solemnly loked at a campaign pamphlet entitled "Everybody's Pitching for Willkie Now!" for the benefit of the photographers, under whose coaxing he relaxed into a slow smile. Then, in response to further requests, Joe made a fist. Beside it Mr. Martin and Mr. Pryor raised their fists. Joe's was about the size of both of theirs together.

The first question after the picture-taking was: "Why are you for Willkie?"

"Well," said Joe slowly, "I'm for Mr. Willkie because he promises my people more jobs, more jobs and better jobs. He promises them better jobs in the government. I think that's why I'm behind Mr. Willkie."

The fighter said he had not voted in the 1936 election—he was in California on election day and Detroit is his voting residence. In 1932 he was too young to vote. As to his politics, he said:

"I were born Republican. My mother always was Republican—Republican and Baptist."

One of the reasons for his opposition to Mr. Roosevelt. Joe said, was that "he promised to put through the Anti-Lynching Bill eight years ago and he never did anything."

"He's the cause of my people being on WPA," Joe went on "because when NRA made the unions they raised pay $3 or more, $19 to $22 a week, and white people got the jobs. It was a bad thing that wages were raised that way."

At this point Mr. Martin atttempted to intervene, explaining to the reporters that apparently Joe was confused. But Joe would have none of that. He knew what he thought.

"Take a janitor," he said. "The union made them pay a janitor $22 and a white man say for that much money I'll take that job."

The result, Joe explained, was that "the colored people were put on $15 a week on relief."

"I think Mr. Roosevelt is making a lot of lazy people out of our people," Joe continued. "They sit around waiting for the $15 a week."

Scoffs at Davis Promotion

He was asked what the effect would be of the recent appointment of Benjamin O. Davis, a Negro, as a brigadier general in the United States Army.

"That's just publicity for Mr Roosevelt," he said. "He must think that'll help to make it easy to forget things like he did the last eight years. He thinks that he can appoint one man and we'll forget all the last eight years."

One of the questioners asked how Joe felt about Jesse Owens, famous Negro ahtlete, who supported Landon in 1936, is for Roosevelt this year, and yesterday challenged Joe to a debate on the issues.

"I'm in this campaign for my people," Joe replied, "not for publicity on either side. I feel I'm doing right."

The interview was held in the press room at headquarters. After it was over Joe was taken on a tour of the various departmental offices. He was feeling the pangs of hunger about that time and, although invariably courteous, he obviously was not enjoying himself very much.

No so the excited men and women, white and Negro, to whom he was introduced or who merely saw him passing in the hallway. Strangers rushed up to him, hands outstretched, and he shook them all. Autograph hunters pursued him from office to office.

At 3:07 P. M. the group poured into the Grand Central rotunda. A woman carrying a slotted can, who was collecting funds for the New York City Cancer Committee, spotted Joe and advanced, rattling the can. Joe stopped and searched through pocket after pocket. One of his guards—Detective Charles A. Bards, a Negro and one of the top men of the department—came to his rescue. The detective produced a quarter and two nickels and plunked them into the can.

He Gets His Candy Bar

The party proceeded to one of the passageways that lead to the shuttle. There Joe stepped aside and bought his candy bar. Before he had time to strip it of its jacket a white lad, about 3 years old, escorted by his mother, stopped the champion and, extending a hand, cried: "Hello, Joe Louis." Smiling, Joe shook hands with the boy.

The next stop was Republican State Headquarters, 41 East Forty-second Street, where State Chairman Edwin F. Jaeckle assured Joe that he would "do a lot of good" in Buffalo by his support of Mr. Willkie. Joe is to leave by plane for Buffalo this morning.

"I want to thank you for what you are doing," said Mr. Jaeckle. "You are doing a job in a good cause."

"Thank you," said Joe, and, amid the applause of the office workers, he departed. Out in the hall he was accosted by a crowd of handshakers. One of them, a Negro woman, was heard to confide to a friend after she had shaken his hand: "I'm not going to wash my hands for a week. And I'm going to tell Alfred so tonight the first thing I get home!"

The County Republican Committee, 54 West Fortieth Street, was next on the itinerary. That jump was made by taxicab. There Joe called on Kenneth Simpson, who is running for Congress, and Mr. Simpson remarked that "if the news leaked out in San Juan Hill that Joe Louis did me the honor of visiting me it certainly wouldn't hurt."

To make sure that the news did leak out, pictures of the two men were taken, and in response to the photographers' request that he pose talking to "The Champ," Mr. Simpson, with finger pointed, told joe: "You must understand the issues of this campaign. They are, first issue, Willkie for President; second issue, Barton for Senator; third issue, Simpson for Congress."

Joe wrote on a campaign picture of Mr. Simpson: "For Kelly Simpson, from Joe Louis"—a memento for Mr. Simpson's 12-year-old son, whose given name is Kelly.

Agrees Fighting Is Easier

"Fighting is easy compared with campaigning, isn't it, Joe?" asked Mr. Simpson.

"Fighting is easy," agreed Joe.

In the street a limousine waited to take Joe and the others of the party to the home of Patrolman Sloan. In the group were Sara P. Sueaks, director of the women's division of the colored division of the national committee; Francis E. Rivers, director of the colored division, and the police guard, among them Lieutenant Samuel Battle and Detectives George Weber and George Brown. A radio car, sirens screaming, cleared the way up Fifth Avenue and through Central Park to 225 West 110th Street.

In a fourth-floor apartment Patrolman Sloan, wearing brown and white striped silk pajamas, lay in bed.

"I'm not feeling so well," the patrolman told questioners. "The pain runs sharp; it goes and comes.

Above his head on the wall was a colored print of Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, labeled: "Our Heroes—Ambassadors of Good Will." There also was a picture of Christ confounding the elders in the temple and various photographs of police groups, as well as a certificate from the Honor Legion of the Police Department.

Joe took position at the head of the bed, grasping the patrolman's hand. Then Mrs. Sloan was called in and with housewifely gesture she straightened her husband's sheet as she sat on the bed and posed for the cameras. Joe signed an autograph book for Gladys, the Sloan's 10-year-old daughter (they have five children).

When the pictures were completed, the patrolman answered questions. He did not know when he would be able to go back to work; the doctor had told him he must take things easy. He had not yet decided whether to sue Mr. Early. He would not discuss the details of the incident.

And then came the revelation that he was a Democrat for Roosevelt.

The tableau did not last long after that. Joe said, speaking of the patrolman's injury, "I am sorry this happened," and shook hands with Sloan. Outside, in the hall, Joe remarked: "It's a shame for anybody to kick an officer, no matter who he is." He agreed that that went for white men and Negroes alike.

Then Joe drove off to Harlem for a combination breakfast-lunch dinner in preparation for his night's campaigning in Queens and Manhattan.

HEAVYWEIGHT CHAMPION STEPS INTO MR. WILLKIE'S CORNER

Joe Louis, who has joined the ranks of Republican campaign orators, conferring here yesterday with Representative Joseph W. Martin, national chairman, and Samuel F. Pryor Jr., vice chairman. Associated Press

GOP Says FDR Elevated Davis To Get Votes

Hastie Appointment Is Criticized; Political Gestures

NOV 7 1940

WASHINGTON. —(ANP)— Republicans in the district are not entirely impressed with the recent announced promotion of Colonel B. O. Davis to the rank of brigadier general, and declare it a political gesture on the part of the President to hold in line and keep as many Negro votes from deserting as he can.

Pointing out that Colonel Davis had been overlooked in the recent mass promotions made by presidential order, and that he was not given the same consideration given the other colonels who were promoted, these well known persons are bitter in the denunciation of the President's use of the racial angle in this instance where a promotion, meritorious in itself, had to be made a political football in order to win adulation from the masses.

So keen on making the announcement, the Democratic national headquarters for the colored division sent out special delivery mates on the subject Saturday, thereby adding another political touch to the most deserved promotion in the army's history.

At the same time, the group criticised the appointment of Dean William Hastie to the War Department. As one well known man put it, a former officer, "We wanted a man in the War Department who knows when a gun is, not a jurist." Further criticism was levelled at the number of Washingtonians being appointed to these jobs, indicating a desire to keep the present setup inviolate and maintaining the departments on the same level with other departments in the government.

The fallacy of naming a social worker-former army man to the post of adviser on the selective draft was also pointed out. 'That is where the jurist should have been put," said the former officer who was not seeking an appointment for himself," and the social worker-former officer should have gone to the War Department. Whoever advised the President on these appointments was slightly mixed up and it is typical, he said, "of the type of advice the President receives."

Louis to Talk For Willkie Here

OCT 29 1940

Joe Louis, the political campaigner who also happens to be heavyweight champion, will make two public appearances in Harlem upon behalf of Wendell Willkie. On Thursday he'll talk at the A. M. E. Zion Church, with his mother, Mrs. Lily Barrow Brooks. On election eve the champ will be at a final rally in Golden Gate Ballroom. This Thursday the Louises also will attend a meeting at Newark Central High School.

Accuse White House Sec'y Of Kicking Negro

OCT 31 1940

Stephen T. Early Admits Kneeing Colored Officer In New York

NEW YORK—How President Roosevelt's secretary kicked a Negro policeman in the abdomen was the talk of all New York as the news spread that Patrolman James Sloane, of the 32nd Precinct, was painfully ill in bed following his assignment to help protect the President on his visit here Monday.

While the policeman kept a tight upper lip, everyone began wondering if the incident would have any effect one next week's election, while opponents of the New Deal made the welkin ring saying: "What more can you expect from the Southern-dominated staff of the White House?"

Hurt enough to be treated by a police surgeon, Sloane could only identify his assailant as "some big man" whom he attempted to prevent from entering President Roosevelt's special train at Pennsylvania R.R. Station.

While in Washington, White House secretary Stephen T. Early later admitted that he had encountered a group of policemen, "one of whom was a Negro," when he tried to gain access to the President's train.

Sloane, 42 years of age, who had undergone an operation last July for hernia, received first aid at the West 30th Street police station before he went home to bed.

Early Explains

When questioned concerning the incident on Tuesday, the White House secretary said that after the President had entered the station building, he (Early) and the rest of the Presidential party, accompanied by reporters, were refused admission to the building by a squad of policemen, even after producing credentials.

Early explained that a member of the secret service staff escorted them past the police into the station, where the party was stopped again by another squad of policemen, who blocked the party's way to a stairway leading to a lower level where the train stood.

"'Ain't nobody gonna get on that platform,'" Early reported the sergeant of the squad as saying.

"That cop was in no mood to listen. He didn't want to see anything (the credentials) or hear anything. He just started shoving. So I shoved right back.

Tells of Police Tactics

"With that, three of them started to come at me—the sergeant, a white policeman on one side, and a black one on the other.

"With only two arms to use, I gave them full force to the white men and gave the knee to the Negro."

Finally, the President's secretary said, he went back up the stairs, where he found a captain of police, who escorted him down the stairs to the train.

Meanwhile, the sergeant and his squad had permitted the rest of the party to pass down the stairs also.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Gen. Hugh S. Johnson Says

By HUGH S. JOHNSON

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 17.—Booing and hissing Mr. Willkie's earnest attempts to talk before he has said a word, throwing groceries and more dangerous weapons at him and his wife, falsely accusing him of religious and racial prejudice against the Jewish people and against Negroes, is all out of the same basket of fourth new deal methods.

OCT 20 1940

Macon

The booing, hissing and throwing has largely been done by Communist elements in some of the more radical labor unions. The fourth new deal has consistently encouraged them. It has held itself out as the Negro's sole haven of refuge. Its principal strength among Jewish people lies not so much in very proper hostility to Hitler, which the whole country joins, as in its broadly hinted purpose to launch us into war against him—which 80 per cent of this country opposes. Considering fiendish atrocities of the Nazis against the Jews, it is only human that their kindred here should wish to see Hitler punished with arms—so would I, if I were a Jew—but the political nourishment of that wish is very bad business.

Telegraph

It is all very well for the fourth new deal politicos to disown responsibility for this obviously organized heckling. They can't disown it. Not only is it a direct result of their settled political policies over the years, but it is too consistently done to warrant a belief that it is not inspired. It is exactly like the slick undercover class and group hatred of any kind. Disunity is weakness. We must be strong. All the people must be united and any president must be president of all the people.

OCT 20 1940

The heart and center of the doctrine of Communism is class warfare. Boos, hisses, dirty or dangerous missiles — instead of arguments—incitement to class or religious or racial prejudices—instead of pleas for unity—are the acknowledged and principal weapons of Communism. Fourth new dealers are properly hot against Hitler, but not nearly so rabid against the Reds. The Reds, just now, are our greatest danger, not because of their threats from abroad, like Hitler's, but because of their actual accomplishments to set classes against each other.

He couldn't be elected without them. In abusing Mr. Willkie, these abused people are supporting their tormentors.

Ga.

These slurs and innuendo against Willkie are false. As all who know him will agree, he is the least biased of men. He has just one prejudice, and it is fierce. It is a prejudice against prejudice and, as was shown in his denunciation of Father Coughlin, hot scorn of any man who appeals to prejudice for political or any other purpose. If I were a Jew or a Negro, I would far rather rest my case with such a man than with a politician who is allied with one prejudice in one place and a contrary prejudice elsewhere.

If there is one thing that this country cannot tolerate in this dangerous time, it is any appeal to job against Al Smith in the 1928 campaign.

Macon

There is a sinister contradiction here that these racial and religious groups should not overlook. The fourth new deal's citadel of streigth is the solid South, the prejudices they fear; the remaining organized stronghold of the anti-semitic; anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, Ku-Klux-Klan, a member of which was appointed by Mr. Roosevelt to the supreme court.

When the imitation Kluxer and anti-semite, Father Coughlin, hinted his approval of Mr. Willkie, he was promptly and scathingly rebuked and repudiated by the candidate. Did anybody ever hear Mr. Roosevelt repudiate his great followings of groups openly prejudiced against these races and religions? No, and nobody ever will.

OCT 20 1940

New Deal Stirs Race and Creed Hatred

NEGROES CHARGE RACE OPPRESSION UNDER NEW DEAL

Chicago Sunday Tribune

Chicago, Ill

Discriminations Cited by G. O. P. Campaign Group.

OCT 20 1940

More than 60 prominent Negroes from 3[illegible] states, members of the national planning board of colored voters of the Republican national committee, yesterday assailed the Roosevelt administration's treatment of their race.

Meeting in Republican headquarters at 120 South La Salle street, the board called upon all colored citizens to vote for Wendell L. Willkie, the G. O. P. nominee for President, as a protest against racial intolerance and segregation which they charge has been fostered by the New Deal.

"We view with great alarm the pass to which the present leadership of our government has brought the American Negro," the board said in a resolution presented by Francis E. Rivers, an assistant district attorney under Thomas E. Dewey in New York City.

AAA Discrimination Charged.

The resolution charged that the New Deal discriminated against the Negro by:

1. Appointment of only four colored field agents out of 115,000 in the Agricultural Adjustment administration altho 2 million Negroes are gainfully employed in agriculture.

2. Confinement of Negroes to unskilled labor in the Tennessee Valley authority.

3. Exclusion of Negroes from Greenbelt, Md., the government's 14 million dollar model community outside Washington, D. C.

4. Adoption of laws and policies "which enable prejudiced unions to exclude Negroes from employment in private enterprise and assign the colored applicant for work to inferior classes."

5. Promotion of residential segregation in the New Deal's handling of the Federal Housing administration, Home Owners' Loan corporation, and the United States Housing authority.

6. Discrimination and segregation in the administration of work relief.

Army Program Assailed.

"On Oct. 9, 1940," the resolution continued, "the New Deal showed its true colors when it brazenly stated the elaborate program of segregation for the Negro in our armed forces, the most vicious act of segregation ever perpetrated by the New Deal in that it recognizes and institutes a separte caste system."

The meeting was attended by Perry W. Howard, national Republican committeeman from Mississippi and the only Negro on the national committee; Sidney R. Redmond, director of the western colored division of the national committee, state and national Negro leaders, and other prominent colored citizens.

John D. M. Hamilton, executive secretary of the Republican national committee and Col. Theodore Roosevelt Jr. addressed the group. Hamilton said he had never been "more confident of victory in my 25 years in politics."

Wire from Willkie Read.

Rivers, who is director of the eastern colored division, read commendatory telegrams from Willkie, Joseph W. Martin Jr., chairman of the national committee and other Republican leaders.

Attorney Alex L. Jackson of the colored division of the Associated Willkie Clubs of Illinois yesterday countered Democratic claims that the Negro vote of Chicago's south side is "in the bag."

He said 145 local clubs have been formed in the colored sections of five wards and 43 per cent of the members voted for Roosevelt in 1936. Jackson asserted that Negroes are supporting Willkie in the hope he will keep the nation out of war and cause business prosperity to return.

Columbia, S. C. State
November 1, 1940

Owens Seeks Political Debate With Joe Louis

New York, Oct. 31—(AP)—Jesse Owens, Negro track star, declared for President Roosevelt's re-election tonight and challenged Joe Louis, World's heavyweight boxing champion, to debate the issues of the presidential campaign. The Negro fighter is campaigning for Wendell L. Willkie, Republican presidential candidate.

Negro Republican Leaders Meet

(Story in adjoining column.)

Chicago Sunday Tribune

OCT 20 1940

[TRIBUNE Photo.]

Some of the prominent Negroes who met yesterday at Republican headquarters. Left to right: Perry W. Howard, Francis E. Rivers, Emmet J. Scott, Sidney R. Redmond, Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, and Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks.

NEW DEAL'S CLAIMS FOR HOWARD DENIED BY GOP

NOV 2 1940

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 — Congressman Daniel A. Reed, veteran Republican of Dunkirk, New York, representing the 43rd District, who has served consecutively from the 66th Congress up to and including the present 76th Congress, took note Monday of the publicity sent out by the Democratic National Committee publicizing the "new" Chemistry Building at Howard University, Negro Institution, located at the Nation's Capital, which was dedicated by the Third-Term-Candidate October 26, 1936, and now trotted out for another Presidential contest. It is being stated that Howard University is indebted to the New Deal Administration for the Chemistry and other buildings on the campus of that institution.

Also, Congressman Reed in his statement released by the Republican National Committee said that this tricky performance is typical of former instances of the same character. The appropriations made for the buildings at Howard University by Republican Congresses and approved by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover were impounded on March 28, 1933 by the New Deal. The several buildings were then released one by one as New Deal Democratic "gifts." As a matter of fact each one of them was made possible by Republican Congressional action and approved by Republican Presidents.

Poor Strategy

NOV 2 1940

A commemorative postage stamp, White House tea, and the promotion of Colonel Davis followed in close succession last week as the Democratic Party sought to lure colored voters back into the fold.

But the time was later than the New Dealers thought. For nearly eight years the colored American had been the victim of discrimination by the relief administration and New Deal-created government agencies. For nearly eight years his government had meted out dole, but failed to reduce the exceedingly high unemployment rate among the race. Some unquestionably preferred a government hand-out to honest labor, but thousands of the self-respecting and able-bodied resented the condition which forced them upon relief rolls. Seventy-five years of progress had fired them with an ambition to get ahead. They accepted government relief as a matter of due necessity but not as a permanent solution to unemployment. It hurt their pride. It circumscribed their lives.

The stamp commemorating the signing of the 13th Amendment was not large enough to conceal the third-term politics behind it nor to overshadow the colored acute problem—unemployment. Throughout the years, even the average colored youth has learned to detect with amazing accuracy the camouflage tactics of prejudiced white Americans. The motive for issuing that stamp on October 20, was apparent even before search revealed the discrepancy between the date of the World's Fair celebration and the actual signing of the amendment.

Ever since the New Deal took over the national administration in 1933, colored Americans had been hopeful of a more liberal policy with regard to racial discrimination. Thousands had turned enthusiastically to Franklin Roosevelt. He was a Northern Democrat and their hopes ran high. He was above race prejudice, they thought. He would soon declare himself and undertake to right some of the colored man's wrongs. Surely, he would approve the anti-lynching bill. In more than seven years he did nothing of the kind. His third term managers realized this weakness. They were cognizant, too, that the trend to Willkie knew no color-line. The Roosevelt record could not stem the tide. So the idea of a White House tea for the National Council of Colored Women was born. The last guest had just departed when Fulton Lewis, Jr., news commentator, branded the tea as "a bid to recapture the Negro vote." The political motive was obvious. But as the Negro vote was wooed, the vote in the border line States was not to alienated. So the gracious Eleanor Roosevelt disposed of the tea with the notation that she "received" the colored women last Friday afternoon, while her faithful secretary, "Tommy," said with considerable emphasis that the function was *not a tea* but a conference. But neither she nor any one else has announced either the *subject* of the conference nor the names of *conferees*. And they can not.

Tea or conference—it is significant that the press which presupposes a keen interest among the news reading public in even the minutest detail of Eleanor Roosevelt's life has omitted a refenence to that White House reception.

NOV 2 1940

The fact is that several hundred colored women were entertained at the White House. But the gleam of silver, the bounty of elaborate tea service, or the radiant personality of a Roosevelt can not blot out the New Deal record as it has, by omission and commission, affected the colored American. Women throughout the nation, even in the depths of the Southland, where colored women's votes, if cast, are not counted have been aroused to a crusade against the evil forces of the New Deal. They are battling to free themselves and their children from New Deal slavery. The tea at the White House will not swerve them from their courses.

As for the promotion of Col. Davis, Hugh Johnson in his "One Man's Opinion" in the Daily News of October 28 handled that subject so admirably that further comment would be pointless.

The stamp, the tea, the army promotion have not proved good campaign strategy. Their very lateness made them obvious for what they really were.

The colored voter who has more common sense and intelligence than the third termites have assumed has weighed the New Deal and found it wanting. Disillusioned he, therefore, casts his lot with the millions of crusading Americans from all walks of life who will march to the polls on November 5 to vote for Wendell L. Willkie, champion of American Democracy.

Joe Louis Slugs for Willkie

Associated Press WIREPHOTO

REPUBLICANS TAKE THIS ROUND — Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis conferred in New York yesterday with G. O. P. National Chairman Joe Martin on how the fighter could aid Willkie's campaign

POLITICAL- 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

A NEW DAY FOR NEGRO REPUBLICANS IN TEXAS

The cordial reception accorded Negroes by white delegates at the State Convention of the Republican Party at Dallas and the interest Negroes took in the Convention demonstrated clearly that a new day has dawned for the Republican Party in Texas. At this Convention those in charge from the reception committee to the chairmen and national committeemen, extended Negroes the privileges of other delegates.

For the first time in twenty-four years, old timers say, Negro delegates were not segregated. For the first time in twenty years, the Negro secured representation in the delegation to the national meeting. Negroes served on committees. One of the two main speakers at the Convention was Rev. T. S. Boone of Fort Worth. Even at the barbecue and at the Fair Park Auditorium where Thomas Dewey addressed the Convention. Negroes mingled freely without discrimination. No other State Convention or the National Convention at Philadelphia could offer no more recognition to its colored constistuency that was shown at Dallas.

This is one year that R. B. Creager, head of the party for Texas, can go to the National Convention and face his critics without being charged with discrimination against Negro Republicans in his state.

We have said repeatedly that lack of recognition and representation of Negroes in the Republican Party in Texas was largely the Negro's fault. In the first place Negroes made a mistake by not becoming active in precinct and county conventions We were told at the state meeting that some of the Negro leaders had never attended their precinct meetings and would get their appointment to the state meeting from the county chairman, and at the convention they would usually hold a caucas among themselves and have a white speaker address them. This representative would in turn have some Negro to speak before the Convention stressing the race's loyalty to the party. Thereafter, arrangements would be made for "handouts" with the promises to conduct "campaigns" among Negroes during election year. So, Negroes in Texas lost interest for the lack of leadership.

This year, The Lebor News attempted, through its columns to encourage Negroes to attend precinct and county meetings and renew their interest generally in the Republican Party from the precinct meetings to the National Convention. As a result about fifty Negro delegates attended the state meet and an alternate at large was elected from the group to the National Convention in Philadelphia.

No money has been spent on Negroes. They paid their own way to and from the Convention and they should and will pay the expenses of their representative to the National meeting.

We urge that Negroes not stop at the achievements at the State Convention, but that they intensify their efforts in organizing their precincts and counties so as to get a large vote in November.

The Republican Party can be made strong in Texas if Negroes in the state qualify to exercise their rights to vote and join that element of white people who believe that all citizens should have their constitutional rights irrespective of race or creed. It is an erroneous idea that Negroes are wasting time in supporting the Republican Party in the South, because this section is predominantly Democratic. The experience the Negro will get in politics, will be a great benefit in training him to intelligently participate in the affairs of his government. The Republican Party, is the only party that offers him this opportunity.

We must not permit grafters, uncle Toms and pussy-footers to lead us. We must seek intelligent and courageous leadership. A leadership that can be trusted by the Negro race and can be relied upon by the white race as being sober-minded and not seeking racial domination.

A REPUBLICAN, PLEASE

Every man to his chosen calling.

The chosen calling of Mr. Wendell Wilkie is business, and the management end of business.

Business men are going to be needed greatly in the next administration and it is reasonable to believe that if that administration is Republican, men of the calibre of Mr. Wilkie will be sought and a valuable use will be made of their services.

But it is down right ridiculous to think of Mr. Wilkie as the nominee of the Republican party for the Presidency. No such blunder as that of nominating Mr. Wilkie as the head of the ticket is likely to be made by the delegates who meet in Philadelphia to select the party's standard bearers on June 24. The party leaders would need far more time than would be left between the date of nomination and the date of election to explain what consideration intervened to make them turn to the Democratic party for a Presidential nominee in 1940.

It is said, and not denied by any partisan of Mr. Wilkie, that he has only been a registered Republican for two years. It is stated also that as recently as 1932 Mr. Wilkie was a hard worker for the success of the Democratic party and supported the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt in that year.

If Mr. Wilkie was a Roosevelt supporter at that time, it is pretty certain that he spoke and wrote things glorifying Mr. Roosevelt that will make very embarassing campaign material to be used by the New Dealers when they go out, as they most certainly will, to smear the Republican nominee.

One of the big blunders of the Republican party in recent years has been its apparent willingness to "ape" the Democrats in strategy by being willing to change the party name, its principles and any other historic belonging for the duration of a campaign and solely for the purpose of capturing votes.

Let the Republican leaders and Republican delegates understand above everything else that the first element of their party they must respect and enthuse is some fifteen or sixteen million Republicans, who are unwavering in their belief in the principles of their party and who support party nominees loyally, even when the nominees may not be the ones they preferred.

No Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1940 can have any claim on the Republicans who bravely went down to defeat following the standard of Herbert Hoover in 1932, unless he, too, was in that band of loyalists. It is to be appreciated by Republican loyalists that quite a number of the 1932 Rooseveltians are now sorry of their mistake, and a still greater number of the Rooseveltians of 1936 are repentant. But this willingness to admit they went in the wrong direction in search of the "More Abundant Life" should not be rated a qualification for the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1940. They should be given ample time to "bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

The Republicans who meet in Philadelphia will, among other things, seek the best way of getting its share of dry behind the cars.

Negro supporters. We hazard the opinion that not ten per cent of the colored voters of the nation can appreciate the idea of turning away from the array of stalwart Republicans who are running for the Presidency and giving the nomination to a man who has not had his Republican baptism long enough to become

The Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1940 should go to a Republican, as it always has gone in the years past. Any departure from that rule is likely to prove disastrous to the Grand Old Party.

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Globe
Knoxville, Tenn.

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The Negro Cannot Pay The Republican Party For His Freedom, Says Ben Davis Of Atlanta

Age
6/Feb/40
New York, N.Y.

BORDENTOWN, N. J.—The place of the Negro in the present world crisis will concern eminent race leaders at the National Negro Y. M. C. A. Laymen's Conference here July 13th and 14th. Approximately 400 Y. M. C. A. leaders from 20 states are expected to participate. The conference will also be a rally to complete the $125,000 Expansion Fund launched in Washingington, D. C., two years ago.

Referring to the call to the conference on "The Negro and the Present World Crisis," Dr. Channing H. Tobias, National Senior Colored Work Secretary, said: "With national foundations crumbling in all parts of the world as the result of war, and with America facing a hitherto unknown seriousness concerning its participation in world affairs, it is natural that the American Negro should take stock of his present situation and outline a program for the future for the future of his group.

"Because of the important bearing of this conference on the future of our race, the program committee has invited the following leaders to contribute to our panel discussions:

"Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Washington, D. C.; A. Philip Randolph, New York City; Roy Wilkins, New York City; Jesse O. Thomas, New York City; Dr. Frank S. Horne, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Max Yergan, New York City; Dr. B. E. Mays, Washington, D. C.; Dr. J. M. Gandy, Petersburg, Va.; Dr. Howard [illegible] Long, Washington, D. C.; R. O'Hara Lanier, Washington, D. C.; Miss Dorothy Height, Washington, D. C.; Howard Kester, Black Mountain, N. C.; Carlton Lee, Atlanta, Ga.; W. R. Cochrane, New York City; Dr. F. D. Patterson, Tuskegee, Ala.; John W. Davis, Institute, W. Va.; Dr. Leon A. Ransom, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Frank T. Wilson, Lincoln University, Pa."

The $125,000 fund, which is expected to be complete by the time of the Conference, will extend Y. M. C. A. services to needy colored youth in all parts of the country, particularly to those in the deep south who have been long deprived of the benefits of a "Y" program. A considerable part of the fund has been raised already and a Century Club has been organized with the objective of raising $10,000. Qualification for membership in the club calls for giving or raising $100 per member by July 13th. Commissioner Hubert T. Delany of New York City is president and Dr. James E. Shepard of Durham, N. C., vice president. Already sixty memberships have been secured and, according to Dr. Tobias, executive secretary, there is every indication that the full one hundred members will be secured before the conference. The noted singer, Marion Anderson, through a recent benefit, contributed $1,236 to the fund. Local Associations throughout the country are also making special efforts to complete payments pledged by them earlier in the campaign.

The officers of the conference: Dr. W. R. Valentine, Bordentown, N. J., president; Dr. Conwell Banton, Wilmington, Del.; Charles H. Payne, Cincinnati, Ohio, and John W. Woodhous, Baltimore, Md., vice presidents; Henry W. Pope, New York City, secretary; and E. B. Weatherless, Brooklyn, registras-treasurer.

URGES INCLUSION OF NEGROES IN ALL G.O.P. DELEGATIONS

Daily World
6/Feb/40
Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Most of the Negro delegates and observers here to the two national political conventions of our major parties have no programs for their followers. In scanning the reports sent out from the two opposing political camps I find that the "Wonder City" has more Negro delegates than any of the other Dixie cities.

An interview with Atty. John A. Hibbler (one of the four state National Republican Committeemen) brought the information that the GOP's have not been "very active here in the past ten years." Tweny years ago there was an intra-committee battle in which the "lily whites" seized control. An entire Negro delegation that came near being seated went to the national presidential nominating convention.

Heading the Arkansas GOP will be the senior member, veteran Scipio A. Jones, nationally famous lawyer whose name is associated with the sensational "Sharecroppers case". Bishop S. L. Greene and Hon. John L. Webb round out the four-man Negro delegation.

Leading Negro Democrat here is Dr. J. H. Robinson, considered quite an influential man in the city. I have not been able to verify the information that he will be a delegate to the Democratic convention. He was out of place the afternoon I went by to check my advance information against his words. Likely he will not be because Negro Southern Democrats have never enjoyed such honor.

These delegates of the two major opposing parties appear like buddies eating sugar out of two different barrels. They make no contest and have at least one thing in common....nothing programs.

Stifled by lily whitism, the Negro Republicans (though they claim they can now work together) are ineffective and the Negro Democrats, hampered by the white primary are completely helpless.

These things appear strange in face of the fact that these twin cities (Little Rock proper and North Little Rock) have at one time had as many as twelve practicing Negro lawyers. With less than 25,000 Negro citizens, they still have five practicing lawyers. Less than five years ago they had seven active Negro attorneys. Two of the most brilliant young lawyers have strayed away.

I met one of these young lawyers last week. He is working for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and was a former law partner of Oscar DePriest, former Republican Congressman from Illinois.

It is a question with me as to the good these old men do. They do not owe their positions on the committees to any Negro voters. They do not necessarily have to represent Negro sentiment. Yet they are professional leaders. It is something to become alarmed over when any leaders of Negro people are not responsible to those people.

I fear that the nothing program political leaders are in for a spill. At least they will not escape a critical eye. But this entails the problem of finding their successors.

Louis Tells Why He's for Willkie

NOV 2 1940

Pro American
Attorney
md.

PHILADELPHIA

"Because of the conditions under which my people have to live in the South, I am voting for Wendell Willkie," declared Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis before 5,000 persons who crowded the Olympia Auditorium on Monday for the city's biggest political mass meeting.

The champion, who spoke for two minutes and forty-two seconds, was nearly mobbed by well-wishers and autograph seekers when he arrived at the hall. Preceded by Charles Roxborough, Detroit attorney, Louis appeared ill at ease when he was introduced.

Won't Let Race Down

"Many people might question why I am supporting the Republican candidate," Joe Louis said. "I am voting for Wendell Willkie because I know the conditions under which my people live in the South. I am from Alabama and since I have been thinking, I knew it would be letting my people down if I didn't support Mr. Willkie.

"I have never let you down, and I will never let you down as long as it is in my power. I have been thinking that it would be against my mother's desires if I didn't support Willkie and I never let her down.

Endorses Cooke

"We want Wendell Willkie to do something for our people. I also endorse Jay Cooke as I want to see my people progress."

Arriving in Philadelphia on Monday afternoon by plane from Detroit, Louis made his first speech for the Republican nominee in his proposed six talks along the eastern seaboard.

Louis was accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Lillie Barrow Brooks, who is also speaking for Willkie.

Others on the program were: Jay Cooke, candidate for U.S. [illegible] Francis E. Rivers, Republican divisional director; and J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks.

N.Y. Cop Assaulted

Louis left by plane at 11:12 a.m., for Pittsburgh and arrived there at 12:57 p.m., where he will make his second in a series of seven scheduled talks for Willkie.

In New York, Mr. Rivers said Tuesday morning that an immediate official investigation would be made as the fact that Patrolman James Sloan, of 225 W. 110th Stret, was kicked at Pennsylvania Station by an unidentified white man during President Roosevelt's arrival ceremonies there Monday.

Jim Crow at F.D. Meet

Harlem is rife with rumors that the man who did the kicking was a member of the Presidential party.

Negro Republicans Rally In One-Day State Convention Monday at Skirvin Tower

Attys. A. G. W. Sango And Charles Chandler Selected As Alternate Delegates At Large

Adopts Non-Political Old Age Program

Delegates to the State Republican Convention among whom were fifty-five Negroes, closed their one day session late Monday at the Skirvin Tower, after repeated attacks on the New Deal and indicated by their applause their choice for presidential nominee. Thomas E. Dewey, New York, as

Prominent Negroes from all sections of Oklahoma were elated at the results of Monday's convention when Attys. Charles Chandler, Muskogee, and A. G. W. Sango, Tulsa, were designated as alternates for delegates at large. Two other Negroes captured positions on the state set-up, when J. M. Matthews, Tulsa, was put on the credential committee, and Clarence Nunn, Logan county, was chosen as a member of the resolutions committee.

Delegates at large selected were Grant McCullough, Tulsa; Quinton Little, Madill; Mrs. Ryma McAllister, Shawnee; Herbert K. Hyde, Oklahoma City; John B. Nichols, Chickasha, and Ira A. Hill, Cherokee.

Officers of the state convention named were as follows: T. R. Blaine, chairman; Miss Nell Neville, Altus, vice chairman; Miss Marion H. Parry, Oklahoma City, secretary-treasurer.

Delegates were instructed to vote for Lou Wentz, Ponca City, for national committeeman, and Mrs. H. H. Sayre, Ardmore, for national committeewoman. The session began at 10 a. m. after a caucus had been held earlier. Negroes had previously held a caucus Sunday night. George Schwabe was elected temporary chairman and made the keynote address in which he bitterly assailed the New Deal. Mrs. R. L. Hall, Wewoka, was chosen secretary. Schwabe presided during the day.

The morning session was interrupted by Capp Jefferson, who announced his candidacy for congressman from the 5th district and spoke briefly to the hundreds of delegates assembled.

"After 75 years of constant loyalty to your party," he said, "Negroes have not received the consideration they should have." Jefferson was cheered by the group at the termination of his speech.

A heated debate was staged in the afternoon when a resolution was submitted favoring old age pension to persons 60 years old, without the receiver having to sign a pauper's affidavit. The matter was finally settled when a substitute was introduced and adopted which advocated "An equal, equitable nation-wide old age pension administered by a non-political board."

J. T. Armstrong, Luther, and Atty. Charles Chandler, Muskogee, also received cheers from the assembly during the soliciting of funds presided over by Herbert K. Hyde. Hyde called Chandler to the platform and presented him to the delegation, stating that Chandler, Muskogee attorney, had thrice carried cases to the supreme court for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Armstrong was praised as an industriousand pioneer leader of his community. Both contributed liberally to the campaign fund.

Among the Negro delegates in attendance were: Tulsa delegation, James A. Smith, C. L. Johnson, Chester McCreary, John Tyler Smith, Dr. P. S. Thompson, Atty. A. G. W. Sango, Dr. Melvin F. Payne, J. M. Matthews, Mrs. Etta Love, Dolman Harbin, Eugene Solomon.

Okmulgee delegation: H. J. Vance, Mrs. O. Douglas, Mrs. W. H. Hamilton, R. S. Gamble, Jesse Glenn, Mrs. Viola Davis, C. P. Wallace.

A. S. Glover, Enid; H. T. Hutson, Sapulpa; Dr. R. H. Bennett Chickasha; O. C. Burrow, pastor St. Paul C. M. E. church, Spiro A. C. Lomax, Ft. Coffee; Edward Johnson, D. Memsome, A. L. McGee and A. W. Russworm, all of Watonga; J. T. Armstrong, Luther; Rev. D. G. Franklin, Guthrie; Dr. W. S. Boyd, El Reno; Clarence Nunn, Logan county; Attorney Charles Chandler, Muskogee; W. Greer, E. W. Brown, W. H. Tatum, Mrs. Lonnie Logan Ray Jefferson, W. L. Lewis, Attorney E. T. Barbour, Lewis Bailey and L. H. Horn, all of Oklahoma City.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
April 21, 1940

NEGRO TO SPEAK

Roscoe Simmons, G.O.P. Leader, At Auditorium Today

The Davidson County Voters League announced last night that Roscoe Conklin Simmons, nationally known Negro Republican leader, who nominated Alfred Landon as a candidate for President, will speak from the Ryman Auditorium today at 3 o'clock.

Also on the program will be a 50-voice choir, and a 15-piece band. It is expected to be the largest meeting of its kind ever to be held here for Negroes. A special section has been reserved for white people.

REPUBLICAN PARTY SHOULD ELECT NEGRO DELEGATES

The Texas Republicans can greatly help the cause of their party nationally by electing Negro delegates to the 1940 National Republican Convention at Philadelphia.

National Committeeman R. B. Creager has been criticized by national Negro party leaders for failing to elect Negro delegates. This year, since the Democrats are going to put forth strong efforts to hold the Negroes in their fold, Negro Democratic leaders are going to seize upon this point to influence the Negro voters in pivotal states that the Republican Party has not changed its front toward the Negro since a wholesale desertion in 1932 and 1936.

It is evident from local and state elections held and surveys made this year in Northern and Eastern sections that Negroes are trekking back to the folds of the Republican Party. Texas can help. The eyes of the nation are upon her as to what both parties will do toward giving recognition to Negro citizens.

We hope the state executive committee will place the Republican Party's interest as a whole beyond racial lines. This is indeed a critical year in the history of American politics. American liberties are imperiled and can only be defended by the ballot and all people should be given their recognition as citizens, irrespective of race or creed.

We believe the responsibilities of preserving the liberties of this nation will rest upon the shoulders of the party of Lincoln and Grant, as it did in the mighty struggle between the states.

At present, all Americans should be interested in the European situation. We should oppose dictator rules which are death prisons where democracy and liberty have gone their last round and where ruthless methods, even blood purge, wipe out any and all persons who express opinion against the dictator.

From the report of the Dies Committee and other authorities on un-American activities, this country is filled with Stalinites and Hitlerites. They are even holding key government positions, to say nothing of the vast amount of propaganda put out to throw us on the side of the dictator.

It is up to the Republican Party to come forth and lead the way. That can only be achieved by giving proper recognition to all its members from precinct conventions to the highest affairs of the party.

Mississippi Republicans Reelect Perry W. Howard, Mrs. Mary C. Booze

JACKSON, Miss—Perhaps in the most unprecedented Republican Primary and most largely attended convention in the history of the Republican Party in Mississippi, Perry W. Howard was returned to the Republican National Committee, and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, whose character and modesty were lauded before the convention, was reelected National Committeewoman.

Eleven delegates and 11 alternates were elected, and Mr. Howard's administration was completely approved and applauded.

Upon his recommendation, candidates for Congress were put out in each Congressional District and a candidate for the U. S. Senate against Senator Bilbo was nominated in the person of Col. Lemuel E. Oldham, former U. S. Attorney for the Northern District of Mississippi.

Perhaps there has never been in any state a finer spirit of cooperation among the party leaders than was shown at this convention.

Among the 450 delegates and alternates present were 190 native white Republicans, and there was the finest of unanimity among all elements in support of the present regime in which there is largely colored leadership.

Florida Republicans Give Glad Hand To Race Voters

ORLANDO, Fla.—(ANP)—Schism reportedly entered the ranks of the Republican party in Florida last Tuesday, when a carefully planned rump state convention elected a slate of 12 delegates to the national convention in Philadelphia and made a strong bid for the colored vote by electing four Negroes among the 12 delegates and three among the 12 alternates.

The rump convention was called to select delegates in opposition to those already named by the regular organization, headed by J. Leonard Replogle of Palm Beach, retired Pennsylvania steel magnate who is now national committeeman from this state.

ANTI-DEWEY BLOC FORMING

Both of the delegations are unnstructed, but it is generally conceded that the Replogle delegates are for District Attorney Thomas A. Dewey of New York, the insurgents are all reported as anti-Dewey. Among the aspirants reported as casting covetous eyes on the rump delegates are Ohio's Senator Robert A. Taft, Michigan's Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and Frank E. Gannett, New York publisher who has a winter home in Miami.

Charges of "steam roller" tactics followed a meeting here on March 18 of Replogle and associates, controlling the state executive committee, when that group elected their slate of delegates. The call for the rump State convention was signed by Judge William M. Gober of Tampa, vice chairman of the State committee.

The delegates at large are Allen E. Walker of Winter Haven, Wesley E. Garrison of Miami, John G. McKay of Miami and Samuel D. McGill, Negro, of Jacksonville. There alternates are Mrs. Edith McGrath of Yankeetown, Arthur R. Thompson of St. Petersburg, W. A. Foss of Orlando and J. Herman O'Neal, Negro, or Orlando.

LIST DELEGATES

District delegates are Merle E. Rudy of St. Petersburg, James M. McDonald of St. Petersburg, Joseph H. James, Negro, of Jacksonville, E. A. Pottsdamer, Negro, of Tallahassee, Ralph De Genito of Miami, Sam R. Solomon, Negro, Miami, John F. Water of Daytona Beach nd Emory Akerman of Orlando.

Walker who was elected permanent chairman of the convention, announced that Negroes were participating in the election of Florida delegates to a Republican National Convention for the first time since 1924 and invited them to participate freely in the proceedings. Negroes were named to the nominating and resolutions committees as well as to the list of national delegates.

Nearly 100 Negroes, sitting at one side of the room, were among the nearly 300 delegates at the convention. The Negroes took Mr. Walker at his word and participated in the proceedings much more actively than is the rule in Southern states.

MOOT ON LYNCHING

The Negroes failed to persuade he convention to consider a resolution endorsing the anti-lynching bill in Congress. The convention managers explained that the proposed resolution had been introduced too late for careful study, and that, anyway, the national committee's platform committee was considering a plank on the ubject.

Anti-Dewey Bloc Seen In Making

Atlanta, Ga. Journal

Tuttle Named to Head Fulton GOP Committee

Elbert Tuttle, Atlanta attorney, a major in the National Guard and counsel for the Fulton County Board of Education, was elected chairman of the Fulton County Republican Executive Committee at a mass meeting Saturday at the courthouse.

The chairman succeeds H. H. Turner, who appeared at the meeting but left before its conclusion.

Other officers elected were E. A. Humphries, vice chairman; Harry Sommers, secretary; and E. A. Thornwell, treasurer.

The meeting elected 14 white men and five Negroes as delegates to the district and state conventions to be held here May 10 and May 18 respectively.

The meeting and the report of the nominating committee were conducted in utmost harmony, contrasting with the wild disorder and dissension that marked the gathering four years ago.

Clint W. Hager, former United States district attorney and chairman of the state central committee, presided.

Bidding for Democratic support of the Republican platform, the meeting passed a resolution holding that "the reasons usually given by those who would like to but do not support the Republican Party are inadequate and do not justify or excuse their position."

The resolution added: "The people of the South naturally owe their allegiance to the political party which now stands for those principles rather than one which, whatever it may have been in the past, is now controlled and dominated by men who do not seem to like the American system of government and rather prefer the systems prevailing in Russia and Germany, with government control of everything and themselves in control of the government."

The resolution contended that "the time has now come to scrutinize the one-party system of the South and inquire whether it has not cheapened and degraded our state and local politics, blocked our progress and destroyed our influence in national affairs."

Joe Louis Puts His O. K. On Willkie 'for the People'

OCT 29 1940

By the United Press.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 29. — World Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis today was in the midst of a tour in behalf of Wendell L. Willkie today.

The Brown Bomber began his stumping tour here last night in company with Charles Roxborough, former Michigan State Senator and brother of Louis' manager John Roxborough.

The fighter addressed more than 15,000 persons in two appearances. His first speech was one sentence, his second 103 words.

Addressing a noisy gathering, Louis said:

"I am going to vote for Mr. Willkie because I think he will do a lot for the people."

Then he sat down.

Louis told his second audience it was "the Democrats down South I'm thinking of. The Democrats here may be safe and sound."

"I'll never let you down," he said. "I promised my mother that. Don't you let me down. You vote Democrat if you want, but I'm going to vote for Mr. Willkie.

"I've been sitting here doing some thinking. Mr. Roxborough and me don't need Mr. Willkie or Mr. Roosevelt, but it's time for us to do our part and to think about things.

"You heard Mr. Roxborough tell you about relief and WPA. We ought to think about those things. There are too many stores open for us to starve."

Daily Worker

Atlanta

New York Daily Mirror

Telegram

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN (EARLY-SLOAN INCIDENT)

Gen. Hugh S. Johnson Thinks Victory For Willkie No Longer In Doubt . . .

NOV 5 1940

By HUGH S. JOHNSON

NEW YORK CITY—Here is another and a final last-moment catch-all of campaign absurdities, purveyed in part by such stooges of municipal bosses as Mayor LaGuardia turned out to be. Fiorello earlier characterized Boss Flynn as the political scum of the earth —a kind of Tammany croker or boss tweed.

Macon

Yet, the Little Flower swung on a Detroit guy who innocently asked him if Boss Flynn sent him there, the answer should have been "yes." The answer he got was assault and battery.

Telegraph

The Fourth New Dealers already have something of the arrogance of Hitler's men. Three New York police officers, in line of duty, recently refused permission to two unknowns to crash a police line holding back a crowd. One of them happened to be Steve Early—a secretary of the president. According to Mr. Early, he used his hands to push back two. The third, according to the cop [colored] he kicked in the groin. Steve indignantly said he only "used the knee." Groin-kneeing is the diritiest fighting there is. We had a hard time teaching it to soldiers in 1918. Americans detest dirty pool. We had to do it, because when you are breast-to-breast with an enemy in war who wants your life there are no Marquis of Queensberry rules. That's how Steve learned it.

But Steve wasn't at war. If he were an ordinary citizen, even his hand assault on the two white officers would have sent him to jail. If that Negro cop, against whose cloor he discriminated by a kick, had died, it would have been at least manslaughter—maybe murder. A knee in the groin is even less fair fighting than a kick in the belly. Apparently the New Dealers are above the law.

The mayor says that Joe Pew dictated the nomination of Mr. Willkie at Philadelphia. Any honest newspaperman who was there knows that this is a bare-faced lie.

I know and like Joe Pew. He is forthright but an economic royalist with the courage of his conviction. He pays the best wages in industry. He takes care of his workers in sickness and in health. His men will tell you that he is the best employer they know, but he is frankly a political reactionary.

Macon, Ga.

At Philadelphia he was enthusiastic for Robert Taft. All the politicos were against Wendell Willkie. Mr. Pew actually did control the Pennsylvania delegation. When the critical ballot came, he missed the boat. After sticking consistently with Taft—on that last ballot, when Pennsylvania's time to vote came, the state passed. If Joe Pew's intention was to push Willkie over and claim credit, he certainly missed the bus. Before Pennsylvania could vote, the upsurge of popular opinion for Willkie had been so great that he was nominated before Pennsylvania voted. Every newspaperman knows the truth of what I say. Joe Pew never came out for Willkie until others had nominated him.

One reason for the defeat of Al Smith in 1928 was that he went through the Middle West surrounded on the back platform, not by those prairie roughneck neighbors of mine, but by life-long friends—New York and Tammany politicians. They may be all right but they can never click in the great open spaces. Al's answer to criticism was: "I am not ashamed of my friends. Take me as I am or not at all." That is high principle, but not good politics.

NOV 5 1940

Willkie hasn't been a particular friend or familiar of Joe Pew. But when he recently went through Pennsylpania, Joe hopped the train and stayed. That wasn't Wendell's fault. It was just his innate sense of hospitality. He couldn't kick an ardent supporter out on the right-of-way. It would be a hell of a campaign that had to turn on an issue like that. Willkie is a commoner by nature and conviction. Campaign circumstances cannot change him.

As the election draws nearer, it becomes clearer that smear doesn't work. Many observers believe that the silent Willkie upsurge may bring a landslide. The young amateurs may not understand machine politics but they know how to ring doorbells. In going around the country, I hear that everywhere — from Lansing, Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago to Kingston in New York, I am told, not by Willkie fans, but by worried New Deal friends of mine.

The result is no longer in doubt. Willkie will win

Apology to Early

NOV 28 1940

By Hugh S. Johnson

I have in my mail, with persuasive documentation, the following from a friend:

"I hope you won't be offended by a friendly suggestion—and it is wholly friendly—that you might want to make some acknowledgment that Steve Early really wasn't to blame in the New York melee. You were very rough on him."

This refers to the incident at the Pennsylvania Station in New York, during the campaign, when a colored cop was reported in the news to have attempted to stop Presidential Secretary Steve Early from crossing a police line and received an injury in the groin which Mr. Early himself reported as "I gave him the knee."

World Telegram

Like many of us in his generation, Steve is getting on in both years and poundage and, even taking him at his published word about the kneeing, I always wondered about just how much damage any one of us ex-gladiators could do to a well-conditioned New York cop. Since then several responsible newsmen witnesses have reported Mr. Early as more sinned against than sinning. That is enough for me. I didn't think I was "very rough" on Steve. I wouldn't do that intentionally. If I was, this is to correct it.

Mr. Early is a faithful and loyal servant of his boss. It sometimes takes him to positions which do not comport with some of his own philosophy, as I understand it. That is unavoidable in complete faith and loyalty to a single leader.

New York, N. Y.

The kickback on the news stories as they were first reported could be very serious to Mr. Early. To the extent that they were wrong, and that now seems considerable, it would be a result wholly undesirable. Mr. Early has made some errors, such as his Monroe Doctrine for Hitler and Japan, but any man in his continuous spotlight is bound to make such errors.

I have no apologies to make for my criticism of most of the White House Janissariat, but never in my mind have I included Mr. Early among those who recklessly plan our future from positions of official irresponsibility but close personal relation with an overburdened President.

Steve is one of the fairest and most fearless of the President's associates, and, at least among those I know personally, the most dependable. His removal would be a minor calamity. There are too few Steve Earlys in Washington.

* * *

There is nothing now to indicate any such result, but the racial and religious sensitiveness that has been generated in this country by some aspects of the recent campaign passes all understanding.

NOV 28 1940

Witness accounts of such people as Thomas F. Reynolds of the United Press, Raymond Brandt of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and several others indicate, in contradiction of earlier reports, that Mr. Early acted only in a reflex of self-defense. They indicate also that the incident is of far more significance in publicizing the "Where-the-hell-ya-think-you're-going" attitude of some of our police than of any bullheadedness of civil officials.

I know of few visitors, including myself, to either the Continent or Canada—and I might add Mexico—who have not been impressed with a difference in copperesque courtesy in those alien lands to our own disadvantage. Especially in England and Canada it seems to be possible to get a far greater respect than we know for law, and even traffic regulations, with far less rough stuff and fewer bawlings-out.

Whether this evil flows from our own reluctance to respect authority from an ingrained insolence of office is impossible to prove. But it is just as bad in our armed forces, where respect for authority is the first lesson. There is no cop more overbearing than a practiced M. P.

For any unintended unfairness to Mr. Early which now appears clear, I am sorry.

NEGRO POLICEMAN FELLED WITH KICK IN THE GROIN; ROOSEVELT SECT. ACCUSED

NOV 2 1940

New York Age

No sooner had the New Deal High Command reached this city for its triumphal procession through this Democratic stronghold than one of its potentates struck a foul blow at a Negro.

New York N. Y.

Victim of the brutal attack was Police Officer James Sloane, 42, of the 32nd Precinct, who was kicked in the groin by the New Dealer for attempting to do his simple duty. On the long end of the dirty stick was White House Secretary Stephen T. Early, personal aide and attendant to President Roosevelt, who admitted to newspapermen that he had attacked the Negro officer when the latter and a white brother officer attempted to stop him from boarding the President's train because they did not recognize him.

When Sloane and another policeman sought to keep Early from entering the train, in Pennsylvania station shortly before midnight Monday, according to eye-witnesses, Early "kneed" the colored patrolman cruelly, dropping him to the ground in agony. Questioned by police as to the reason for his action, the Roosevelt aide is said to have told high police officials before he identified himself:

"He's lucky that's all he got."

Seen at his home, 225 West 110th street, at noon Tuesday, Sloane was suffering intensely from the attack which was a close followup to a recent serious hernia operation in July. Obviously under terrific pressure from his superiors, to maintain a discreet silence or lose his job, Sloane would have nothing to say for publication.

"I have nothing to say," the victim said. "But, I will say one thing. I am going to see a lawyer and a darned good one at that."

The policeman who has been on duty for twelve years, would not admit that his breaking his silence might cost him his position. But there are a wife and five little Sloanes whose bread and butter is earned by their father.

Like the good New Dealer that he is, Mr. Early in Washington on Tuesday had a plausible story to release which "didn't make things look so bad after all."

The President's secretary explained that he and Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau were stopped by a white sergeant and a group of policemen including Sloane. According to Early's statement, they showed identification cards, but that the sergeant refused to allow them to pass.

"I had only two hands," Early said. "I shoved the policeman on my right with my right hand, and the one on my left with my left hand. I gave the knee to the one in front who happened to be colored."

At Penn Station

DEC 9 1940

Sirs:

Reporters who saw the incident in New York's Pennsylvania station Oct. 28 involving White House Secretary Stephen T. Early regard as outstandingly poor reporting TIME's version published under the heading "Early's Temper" in its election issue.

At least two members of the White House Correspondents' Association who were present at Pennsylvania Station published first-person, eyewitness accounts of what actually occurred. One was John C. Henry of the Washington *Star*, a copy of whose story is attached. Another was Raymond P. Brandt of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. TIME's version agrees with neither.

Newsmen who were present unanimously agreed that Mr. Early was the victim of an unfortunate incident and do not concur in TIME's report that Mr. Early "misbehaved in a way no decent citizen should." Newsmen who were present challenge TIME's presumption in purporting to voice their sentiments by saying they were "sorry for him, blaming it all on his hot temper."

Mr. Early became involved in this situation only after Washington newsmen and other members of the White House party appealed to him to intercede with the New York police to permit them to board their train. He acted only on our appeal to exercise his rightful authority as secretary to the President. Eyewitnesses agree that he was courteous in the extreme until the Sergeant and the police in the Sergeant's detail refused to examine his credentials and used force to hurl him back into the party he was seeking to accommodate.

We suggest that TIME use the formula ordinarily followed by reporters and check its version with the eyewitnesses of this incident.

THOMAS F. REYNOLDS
President, White House Correspondents' Assn.
GEORGE E. DURNO
International News Service
JOHN C. HENRY
Washington *Star*
RAYMOND P. BRANDT
St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*
BRUCE PINTER
New York *Herald Tribune*

▶ To able Correspondents Reynolds, Durno, Henry, Brandt and Pinter, all credit for standing up for their views. *Editor & Publisher*, after getting the opinions of the numerous correspondents, wrote, "The consensus was and is —that Secretary Early was victimized when he attempted to perform a service to the newspapers of the United States." Correspondent Henry's article described the patrolman's injury as sheer accident. TIME actually interviewed eleven eye witnesses before writing its story and believed its account was factually accurate. TIME did not intend to imply that Secretary Early was the aggressor.—ED.

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PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN (SLOAN ***EARL Y INCIDENT)

Early Stirs Wide Protest By Kneeing Negro Cop

World Telegram
New York N.Y.

Many Express Resentment; Officer Denies He'll Prosecute

OCT 30 1940

Strenuous protests were made today by men in public life, both white and Negro, against the attack made on Patrolman James Sloan, New York Negro policeman, by Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, who has admitted "kneeing" the policeman.

Patrolman Sloan, who declared that he was kicked in the groin by Mr. Early while guarding the President's train, said last night on separate occasions to two World-Telegram reporters that he would seek a warrant for assault as soon as he was able to leave his bed.

Today he insisted: "I never told anybody about a warrant for any one."

'Talking to Nobody.'

When he was asked whether his superior officers had talked to him about the case he said: "I'm not talking to nobody—this is my affair."

The New York police officials under command of a Mayor who is a strong supporter of the President, were not inclined to discuss the affair. Capt. Walter T. Harding, in command of the W. 123rd St. station and in charge of the police inquiry, would not say what progress had been made in the investigation and declared that it would not be completed for three or four days.

Those who protested against the assault included some of the nation's best known educators. They were unanimous in condemning the act.

Asks Grand Jury Action.

Walter H. White, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said that the association demanded that there be no delay in the police investigation and that the facts be presented to the Grand Jury immediately.

Lamar Perkins, former Harlem Assmeblyman and chief of the National Committee, said that he had volunteered his services as a lawyer to Ptarolman Sloan without cost if the patrolman wished to bring civil or criminal action.

Praise for Officer.

"The only offense of Patrolman James Sloan was to carry out his orders," said Mr. Perkins. "Previously, cited for valor, he kept his hands at his sides while kicked in the groin by 'a big New Deal man.' Injured though he was he could have broken in half the enraged and petulant Stephen T. Early, who took advantage of his official position to do bodily injury to a colored police officer. Here in this assault we have a graphic illustration of the New Deal's interest in the colored man.

"Not even the shadow of the White House—not even the reflected glory of basking in the Presidential presence—should permit Early to escape punishment, particularly when he stooped to the foul fighting tactics of the bar room, the waterfront, the hobo jungles, to have his way with a man restrained from defending himself by the official position of his assailant."

Robert Ogden Purvis, vice president of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., issued the following statement from that institution:

"At a time when national unity is of such very great importance, it is most regrettable to have any racial animosity shown by any person in a position of public importance, regardless of his political office."

John W. Hanes, former Undersecretary of the Treasury in the Roosevelt Administration and a trustee at Hampton Institute, said if the report of the assault is correct, "it is an act which shocks every decent American, regardless of race, creed or color." He called the action "unpardonable."

Alan Valentine, executive director of the National Committee of Democrats for Willkie, protesting as "a private individual and a member of the Quaker faith," wired Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine, urging that he investigate the case in full and see "that the action taken with regard to Sloan's assailant is exactly that taken with any ordinary citizen who deliberately attacks and injures a uniformed policeman on duty."

'Greatly Shocked.'

Dr. Walter Grey Crump, M.D., of 837 Madison Ave., trustee of Howard University and vice president of the National Committee for the Advancement of the Colored People, professed himself "greatly shocked" by the "unfortunate incident."

Francis E. Rivers, director of the colored division of the Republican National Committee, who was graduated from Yale University as a Phi Beta Kappa member and formerly was Assistant District Attorney under Thomas E. Dewey, said:

"I deeply regret Mr. Early's assault on a member of my race who was only doing his duty in protecting the President of the United States. In these troubled times, it is too bad that one so highly placed as Mr. Early would contribute to national disunity by such brutal assault."

Injured by Early

World-Telegram Photo by Stieglitz.
Patrolman James Sloan.

The Rev. Norman Peale, pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church, Fifth Ave. and 29th St., said "The action of Stephen Early in kicking a Negro policeman is indicative of the fundamental insincerity of the New Deal with the people, the humble people."

'Low Mean Trick.'

Joe Louis, currently in Pittsburgh, stated "If Mr. Steve Early kicked that colored policeman in New York he pulled the foulest blow in boxing. It don't make any difference whether the policeman is white or colored. it still is a low, mean trick."

Patrolman Sloan, interviewed last night at his home, 225 W. 110th St., where he is confined to bed, denied that he had been kneed.

"He didn't kick me with his knee, as the papers claimed—he kicked me deliberately with his foot," he said.

"If I did that to him, I would have been suspended and brought up on charges. I have the same privileges as him. I'm a citizen and I also vote. He didn't act as a citizen; he didn't act his part as an official.

"I received orders not to let anyone cross the line. This man could have done the same thing the President did, riding down in the elevator and going the usual way to the train. Instead, he came through the crowd.

"He tried to cross the line and I stopped him. He told me he was secretary to the President. I told him I didn't care who he was —that I had orders not to let anyone pass.

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"He then kicked me deliberately in the groin, where I was operated on, and as I fell down I yelled to other police officers to grab him. Before I yelled that, this man said to me:

"'You better be glad that I didn't do more than I did.'

Bars Apology.

"A photographer took my picture and asked me for my name as I was on the floor. I refused to give my name. The captain and sergeant looked over. I said 'That man kicked me.' He said 'Stay where you are 'til I get back.'

"The captain talked to the sergeant, who escorted this man toward the President's train. The captain told me to report to the W. 30th St. station, where I was treated by an ambulance doctor.

"I didn't know at the time who the man was except he told me he was secretary to the President and he had to get through."

Asked if he had received any apologies from Washington, Patrolman Sloan said:

"No and I'm not going to accept any. I'm going to the extreme limit. The man meant what he did."

Dewey Office Won't Act.

Milton Schilback, acting District Attorney in the absence of Thomas E. Dewey, was asked today whether his office was taking action in the case, and said:

"If there is any case it evidently will come from the police. As far as I know the police are still making an investigation of it."

The patrolman, operated on in July for a hernia, has been on the force since Dec. 13, 1928. He has five children, ranging in age from 8 to 18, and has been commended for bravery on duty.

Report Card.

The "aided" or report card at the Thirty-second Precinct on W. 30th St. reported the incident thusly:

"James Sloan, 42, male, 225 W. 110th St., apartment 42. Date—Oct. 28, 1940, 11:15 p. m. Place of occurrence—33rd St. and Seventh Ave., Pennsylvania Railroad Station. Nature of illness—Contusion of lower abdomen. Home.

"Was attended by Dr. Mascutelli, of St. Vincent's Hospital for injuries received while on duty. Was kicked by one Stephen Early, secretary of President, U. S.

"Name and address of witnesses—Patrolman Heiden, No. 8842, of Thirty-second Precinct; Patrolman Flanagan, No. 18,456, of Thirty-second Precinct. Report received by Desk Lieut. Hubert Golden."

Dr. Mascutelli, questioned today, said he found Patrolman Sloan able to stand and that he was unable to find any break in the groin muscles, in his superficial examination. He said he advised Patrolman Sloan to go home and put applications in the area of the bruise, then to call his physician. He said Sloan seemed extremely nervous and excited, but gave him only a sedative for his nerves.

Early, Roosevelt Aid, Kicks Negro Cop Who Barred His Way in Penn. Station

World Telegram — New York City

After a Negro policeman reported today that he had been kicked in the groin at Pennsylvania Station last night by a man who was trying to board President Roosevelt's train, Stephen T. Early, White House secretary, admitted in Washington that he had "kneed" the policeman.

The victim of the affray was Patrolman James Sloane, 42, who was on special duty at the station. He reported sick and went to his home at 225 W. 110th St. Interviewed in bed this morning he said little except that he had been given "strict orders by superiors not to speak about this case to police reporters."

He confirmed a report that he had been operated upon for a hernia in July and when asked how he felt today replied, "Terrible."

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The patrolman said he did not know who kicked him except that it was "a big man." He has been on the force since Dec. 13, 1928, and a year ago was commended for bravery for wounding and capturing two bandits in an attempted holdup.

Capt. Walter Harding, commander of the W. 123rd St. station, announced he was making a complete investigation of the case and already had interviewed several persons.

Asked about Sloane's statement that he had been ordered not to talk, Police Commissioner Valentine said this afternoon he doubted whether such an order had been issued by any of the patrolman's superiors.

"As a matter of fact," he added, "there is no necessity for any orders being issued, as the rules of the department prohibit members from making speeches or granting interviews on police business without the written permission of the Police Commissioner.

'Regrettable' Incident Deplored By Early, Who Offers Apology

White [illegible]tary Gives Version Of Scuffle With Police In Gotham

NOV 1 1940

WASHINGTON—(AP)—A message of apology went Friday to a New York Negro policeman from Stephen Early, White House secretary, for whatever part Early may have had in the altercation which the policeman said resulted in his injury.

B'ham News

The incident, which Early called "regrettable" in a formal statement Thursday night, occurred in New York's Pennsylvania station Monday night when a party of White House officials and newspaper men were attempting to board the presidential special train for Washington.

"I do not believe I did anything wrong in this incident," Early said in making the apology. "I did not attack or kick any officer."

The policeman, James Sloan, 42, said the next day he had suffered abdominal injury from a kick by a member of the presidential party. The same day Early told his press conference that in a jostling set-to he "gave the knee" to one of a group of officers who shoved him after refusing to examine his credentials, so he could board the train.

B'ham News

Early's statement Thursday night, which charged that "in certain Republican quarters political importance is being attached to an unfortunate altercation," did not mention Sloan by name.

Atlanta

It said, however, that he wished to apologize to the officer who "believes I was responsible for hurting him" and to Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine "for having had any part in this regrettable affair."

Word came from New York, meanwhile, that Sloan had told Joe Louis, world's heavyweight boxing champion and a Willkie supporter, that he was a Democrat and would vote for President Roosevelt next Tuesday. Louis visited Sloan's bedside Thursday.

Early asserted in his statement that "I cannot understand why Republican politicians are attempting to find political significance in this incident" and said he was "anxious to cooperate in a full investigation of the facts."

This regulati[illegible] [illegible]een in force a great man.

The Comm[illegible] said he had no personal k[illegible]ge as to who kicked Sloane, but said the affair was being investigated.

Mr. Early said in Washington that he went to the station with Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau and a group of newspapermen. When they made for the stairs to the President's train they were stopped by a group of policemen with a white sergeant, described by Mr. Early [illegible] as "assertive," in command.

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Mr. Early said that he and the other members of the party showed their identification cards without result and that the sergeant insisted, "There ain't nobody going to pass here," and several policemen began pushing him.

"I had only two hands," said Mr. Early. "I shoved the policeman on my right with my right hand and the one on my left with my left hand. I gave the knee to the one in front, who happened to be colored."

After this incident Mr. Early, still unable to get to the platform, went to the upper level of the station, where he found a police captain who returned with him to the stairway and took Mr. Early and his party to the special train.

Steve Early.

WHITE HOUSE SECRETARY KICKS NEGRO

New York Policeman on Duty at Station Is Injured

NOV 1 1940

NEW YORK. — James Sloan, 42-year-old policeman reported late Tuesday that he was kicked in the groin by Stephen T. Early, White House secretary, when Early appeared at the Pennsylvania station at midnight Monday to board President Roosevelt's special train.

According to Sloan, a man, unknown to him and carrying no credentials, appeared at a gate on the lower level of the Pennsylvania station and after being halted, kicked him. The policeman was confined to his home Wednesday and had been treated by a police surgeon for contusions of the abdomen.

The Call

Sloan said he had been warned not to speak about the incident and that accounted for his lateness in reporting the affair.

"Gave Him The Knee"

When questioned about the incident, Mr. Earley said that he and his party were halted by a squad of policemen when they approached the train, that they exhibited identification cards, but that the sergeant made the same reply.

"The policemen then began to push," he said, "and I pushed back. I put up both hands to ward off the police and in the struggle gave the knee to one of them."

Mr. Early said he and his party then went to an upper floor and identified themselves to a police captain who escorted them to the train.

Kansas City

A complete investigation of the case is being made, according to Capt. Walter Harding, commander of the West 123rd St. police station, who has stated that several persons have already been interviewed.

mo.

A strong protest over the incident arose from persons throughout the nation.

Joe Louis Makes Statement

Champion Joe Louis, who was at the William Penn hotel in Pittsburgh at the time, made the following statement: "If Mr. Steve Early kicked that colored policeman in New York, he pulled the foulest blow in boxing. It don't make any difference whether the policeman is white or colored, it still is a low, mean trick, but I don't see how any colored person can have any respect for Mr. Early after this. And I certainly feel sorry for Patrolman Sloan."

John W. Hanes, former under secretary of the treasury in the Roosevelt administration and a trustee of Hampton institute, made a statement of protest.

Alan Valentine, president of the University of Rochester, urged the New York police commissioner, Lewis J. Valentine, to give Officer Sloan every protection and to see that the case is investigated.

Robert Ogden Purvis, vice president of Hampton institute, said, at his home in Hampton, Va. "At a time when national unity is of very great importance it is most regretable to have any racial animosity shown by any person in a position of public importance, regardless of his political office."

Other Protests

Others making protests were the Rev. Normal Peale, pastor of Marble Collegiate church, New York Dr. Walter Gray Crump, of New York, trustee of Howard university, trustee of Tuskegee institute, and a member of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Francis E. Rivers, director of the colored division of the Republican National committee, issued the following statement:

"I am not commenting on Mr. Stephen Early's attack on James Sloan, colored patrolman, in my capacity as director of the colored division of the Republican National committee, but as a Negro who has received high honors at the hands of white citizens. They did not ask by race at Yale where I was a member of Phi Beta Kappa; they did not ask my race when I was appointed assistant district attorney to Thomas E. Dewey. I deeply regret Mr. Early's assault on a member of my race who was only doing his duty in protecting the president of the United States. In these troubled times, it is too bad that one so highly placed as Mr. Early would contribute to national disunity by such brutal assault."

More Than a Boner

OCT 31 1940

The most disgraceful incident in the current campaign was the brutal attack upon James Sloane, a Negro policeman, made by Stephen T. Early, press secretary to President Roosevelt, in the Pennsylvania station, New York city.

In spite of efforts to suppress the officer's side of the story it is evident from Early's own version that the policeman was simply doing his duty. He was one of several patrolmen who had been assigned to the job of preventing any unauthorized person from boarding the president's special train.

Telegraph

The average citizen feels that the diligence of Sloane in trying to protect the president by protecting his train from intruders called for the warmest commendation instead of a kick in the belly. According to the statement given out by Sloane from his bed before he received "strict orders" not to talk, he was kicked when Early, without showing his credentials or making any effort to identify himself, tried to force his way through the station gate the officer was told to guard.

Early's own version was that a squad of policemen tried to stop him and his party and during the ensuing "scramble" he "gave the knee" to Sloane.

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An impartial story was that the Negro policeman was "suffering from complications" due to "a recent hernia injury" and a police surgeon treated him "for contusions of the abdomen."

Whether Early "gave him the knee" or gave him the boot, it was obviously so violent as to send the victim to bed and the hernia complications may prove serious.

As we look back over the long list of presidential secretaries we find them, without exception, so far as we can re-call, gentlemen by instinct and tactful from expediency, if from nothing else. Let us hope that Marvin McIntyre is soon re-stored to robust health.

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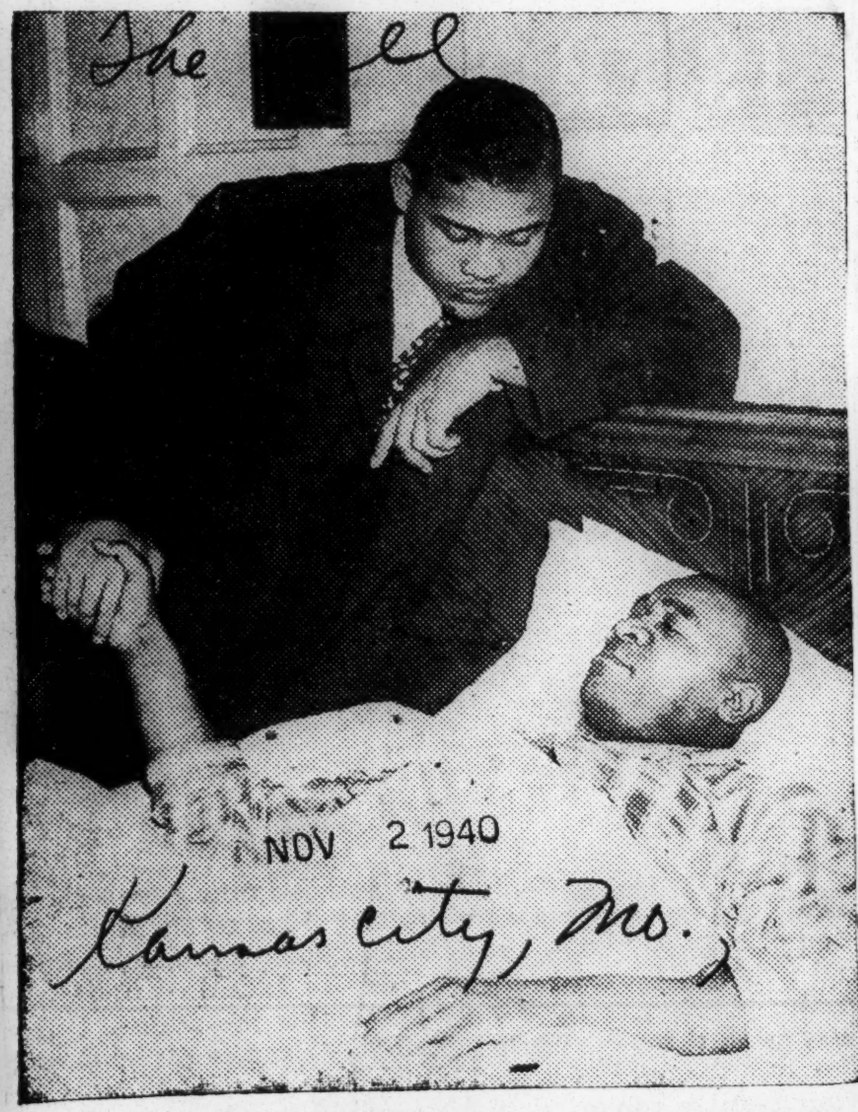
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN (EARLY- SLOAN INCIDENT)

Joe Sympathizes With Kicked Officer



JOE LOUIS, heavyweight champion, called upon Patrolman James Sloan at the officer's New York home to sympathize with him in his injury received when he was kicked by Stephen Early, White House secretary. Despite mistreatment from Secretary Early, however, Sloan told Louis that he still would vote for President Roosevelt. Louis was stumping for Wendell L. Willkie.—INS Photo

Letters

NOV 9 1940

'There Were Giants'

Editor The Telegraph:

During the World War I was a civilian employee [water pumper] under a veteran cavalry commander at Columbus, New Mexico. He had commanded Negro troops for years, and he warned me never to trifle with a Negro soldier while he was doing sentry duty.

"He will obey orders," he said, "even if he has to kill his own commander to do it. I will never forget an incident that occurred several years ago. After guards had been stationed for duty, I had occasion to go to another part of the camp. I soon encountered a sentry and was told that I couldn't pass.

"You know who I am," I protested, "why do you refuse to let me pass?"

"Yessir, I knows who you is," he replied. "You're Lieutenant Pearson—that's who you is—but I got orders to let nobody pass, and nobody ain't gonna pass."

"I knew he would shoot," he went on, "and I had to go and bring the sergeant who placed him there before he would let me by. I was young and impatient then and it fretted me at the time but, after all, he was right."

All of which puts me in mind of Secretary Early. This Negro policeman had received his orders and he did exactly right in obeying them. However, those lordly bureaucrats who hover around the Great White Throne tolerate no interference, brook no restraint. Like the chief himself, they have little, if any, regard for the law.

"The cure for the evils of democracy," said Harry Hopkins in a recent radio address," is more democracy." Bright boy, Harry! In other words, we'll tax and spend and elect, and if business doesn't pick up, we'll tax and spend and elect some more. Oh, these brainless bureaucrats! Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?

"The written constitution is my client and its preservation the only fee I ask." Compare that noble sentiment of Ben Hill with the maudlin drivel quoted above.

O' for a Hill in this hour of need!

CHARLES E. GIBSON.
Thomaston.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
November 2, 1940

Harlem Anticlimax

THERE is a frightful pother in the pro-WILLKIE newspapers about White House SECRETARY STEVE EARLY'S action in having "kneed," as they describe it, a Negro policeman in New York last Monday night. The episode made the front pages of both the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* yesterday, and one would suppose, from the noise, that the entire Negro vote in Harlem is about to bolt to WILLKIE on account of it.

It appears that MR. EARLY was trying to get aboard the White House special at the Pennsylvania Station, and to arrange for 35 newspaper men and others to do likewise. There was a lot of shoving and pushing, and since the police patrol on duty had instructions to let nobody through, it looked as though the group would miss the ROOSEVELT train. In the melee, somebody seems to have kicked PATROLMAN JAMES SLOAN, a Negro, in the groin. MR. EARLY says he didn't, but that if the officer thinks he is responsible for hurting him, he freely apologizes.

That's about all we know concerning the incident, except that the Republicans are trying to balloon it into a Great Issue. What does the injured patrolman say on the subject? With cameramen and reporters, the G. O. P. visited him at his Harlem home on Thursday, accompanied by JOE LOUIS, the heavyweight boxing champ, who lately came out for MR. WILLKIE. JOE was in the midst of a speech-making tour through Harlem for his man, when he stopped off to see PATROLMAN SLOAN, accompanied, as already noted, by all the pomp and panoply of the Republican ministry of propaganda.

JOE posed for countless photographs at the injured policeman's bedside. The flashlights were popping gayly, and the G. O. P. felt that it had practically nailed Harlem down for WENDELL, when a tactless reporter asked the policeman whom he expected to support in the campaign.

"I will vote for MR. ROOSEVELT," came the reply, as JOE LOUIS' face fell almost to the floor. The episode ought to rate top space in the *New Yorker's* "Anticlimax Department, Harlem Division."

Columbia, S. C. State
November 2, 1940

Believes Early Incident Should Not Be Political

Washington, Nov. 1—(AP)—Edgar G. Brown, president of the United Government Employes. organization of Negro federal workers, urged tonight that the Stephen Early-James Sloan incident be left out of politics lest it fan "the flames of prejudice" and endanger "peaceful racial relations."

"I for one believe in all sincerity that the New York authorities should be given full opportunity to make a thorough investigation before passing judgment," he said in a statement.

Brown expressed regret that Joe Louis, "because of his naivety, is being led into a deliberate campaign to attach political inferences to this exceedingly grave and regrettable incident." The heavyweight champion, who is campaigning for Wendell Willkie, referred to the Sloan case at a political meeting last night.

Sloan, a Negro police officer, suffered a groin injury last Monday night in an altercation that developed when police attempted to prevent Early and a group of newspaper men from boarding the president's train. Sloan said he was kicked.

Early said he kicked no one but "gave the knee" to one of a group of officers who shoved him after refusing to examine his credentials. In a statement last night he said he believed he had done nothing wrong but wished to apologize.

Brown's statement said today Early "has made it possible for those of us on guard here at the nation's capital in all matters affecting the welfare of colored citizens North and South to receive an audience and proper consideration at all times before the powers that be in season and out."

Stephen Early Wires Apology To Policeman; Says He Didn't Kick Him

The Daily Dispatch
Muskogee Okla.

Admits He Was In Scuffle With Several Policemen While Attempting To Catch a Train

Sloan Is Visited By Joe Louis

NOV 9 1940

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—An apology went Thursday night by wire from Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, to James Sloan, Harlem policeman, who was kicked in a scuffle at the President's train Monday night—but the secretary also said he didn't do it.

But Tuesday, Early, Virginia born and a kinsman of Jubal Early, noted Confederate general, had admitted he "gave the knee" to an officer in a dispute which arose when a police sergeant attempted to block him from descending a stairway to the President's special train. Early said two white policemen started shoving him around and that when a third officer, Sloan, joined in he brought his knee up against the latter's body.

In his statement released when he sent a telegram to Sloan, who is confined to his bed because of complications from a hernia operation last summer induced by the kick Monday night, Early denied using his knee. He said he was trying to obtain passage for himself and some 35 newspaper men and others to the train and showing his credentials did no good.

"During the discussion there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd," said the statement. "I am deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt while trying to carry out instructions he had received. I did not have any personal controversy with this man.

"I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident. I did not attack or kick any officer. But since one officer believes I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apologize to him particularly and to Commissioner Valentine of the New York police for having any part in the regettable affair."

This statement was released following talk that Early would be suspended by the White House until after the election. The incident was used as campaign propaganda in the closing days by Republicans. An investigation was ordered by Commissioner Valentine and Walter White, N. A. A. C. P. executive secretary, asked the grand jury to probe the case.

Sloan, 42, was commended for bravery in breaking up a holdup on Nov. 16, 1939, when he shot and captured two men.

Joe Louis, campaigning for Willkie, in New York, visited Sloan Thursday and learned the policeman intended to vote for Roosevelt.

Gestapo Vengeance

NOV 12 1940

New Masses

A SPIRIT of vindictiveness, a personal cruelty akin to the Nazi psychology or the mentality of a Southern lyncher, becomes more evident in the current persecutions of the Communist Party's leadership. The latest example is Attorney General Jackson's order to deport Mrs. Earl Browder on charges of "violating the immigration laws." Mrs. Browder has been a resident of this country for the past seven years; she is the wife of an American citizen. Suddenly, last August, the administration brought its charges against her, and on October 31 Mr. Jackson issued his deportation order, denying her application for a suspension. What is the purpose of this? What political aim, even, is served by separating a woman from her husband and three children—except a mean harassment of Browder for his leadership of forces that oppose the administration's war plans? Browder's own comment, we think, best characterizes this piece of inhumanity: "Mr. Robert H. Jackson seems to be as handy with his knee as Mr. Stephen Early."

In Pittsburgh virtually the entire Communist leadership of western Pennsylvania was included in the conviction of thirty men and women on charges of "conspiracy," "fraud" and "perjury" in connection with soliciting signatures to ballot petitions. The jury found them "guilty" on *all seventy-six counts* in the indictment! We need not repeat here the story which Simon W. Gerson told in his NM dispatch from Pittsburgh (October 29 issue) of terror-stricken witnesses, a prejudiced judge, forced testimony. It is, essentially, the same story that Bruce Minton told in last week's issue concerning the New York "hearings." In the Pennsylvania case the Communist Party was allowed to remain on the ballot, but most of its candidates were sentenced to prison. Perhaps this is the Pennsylvania authorities' idea of a good joke. If so, it will fail to amuse vast numbers of people besides the victims. Persecution, combined with transgression of constitutional rights, is a mighty grim matter to a democratic citizenry.

The truth is that this administration will not tolerate even mild criticism, let alone opposition. Last week it was revealed that letters sent to the White House disagreeing with some of the President's views are not only turned over to the Department of Justice for reply, but are filed in the Department's Criminal Division! It seems that J. Edgar Hoover could teach Herr Himmler a thing or two.

A Kick from Stephen Early

NOV 12 1940

New Masses

VIRGINIA-BORN Stephen Early, secretary and close friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt, fell back on an old Southern ruling class custom the other day: when a Negro failed to move out of his way fast enough Mr. Early kicked him in the groin. The Negro, who was confined to bed as a result of the injury, was Patrolman Sloan, one of the New York policemen guarding the President's train during FDR's campaign trip to New York. Of course Mr. Early apologized—forty-eight hours later, when the protests began to mount and the political damage to the administration became more threatening. But that kick will not be forgotten. It represented more than the overflowing of Mr. Early's mint-julep culture, more than the overseer traditions of "the party of the South." For Republican leaders—who have made capital of Early's blunder—as well as Democratic, kick the Negro people of America. They kick them through Jim Crow, exploitation, political and social hostility, or plain physical brutality. The refusal of Congressmen in both parties to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill, the presidential order segregating Negroes in the army highlight the attitude of the dominant class. Mr. Early is simply an undiplomatic representative of that class.

Albany, Ga., Herald
November 2, 1940

"POLITICS IS POLITICS."

Many things are said and done in a hot political campaign that would go unsaid and undone in ordinary times. During such a campaign, most politicians are thinking only of political expediency, and miss no opportunity of spreading stories, whether true or false, which they believe will catch votes for their respective candidates.

But there are times when campaign ammunition explodes in the very faces of those seeking to use it against their opponents. In this category falls the tale of the Negro policeman who was "kneed" by Stephen Early, White House secretary, during a scuffle near President Roosevelt's train Monday night.

Republicans grabbed at this story like a drowning man grasping at a straw, and sought to make political capital out of it. Their object, of course, was to get Negro votes—and Negro votes in some states may prove to be a balance of power in a close election. There was a great howdy-doo over the incident—much more than would have been the case had the policeman been a white man. If such had been the fact, the story would hardly have gotten on the front pages of Republican newspapers, for it would have been merely a news story, without special political significance. But the fact that the injured policeman was a Negro made a great difference, and the incident was magnified into almost a major political issue.

Pictures of the injured policeman in his bed, surrounded by his family, were printed all over the United States, and columns of "sob stuff"—were written—all calculated to arouse the resentment of Negroes and Negro sympathizers. One Willkie-favoring newspaper in the South took the matter up editorially, scoring Secretary Early, and ignoring entirely his explanation of the unfortunate incident.

The Republican campaign strategists even sent Joe Louis, the Negro heavyweight boxing champion, to see the injured policeman, and to advise him to vote for Willkie.

But the Negro policeman showed that all this political pressure was ineffective so far as he was concerned. In response to a question about his voting in the forthcoming election the patrolman responded:

"I am going to vote for Mr. Roosevelt regardless of what his secretary might have done."

Meanwhile, the Mayor of New York, having said that he considered an apology by Secretary Early as settling the affair, announced that he would continue to inquire into the matter, but that he would "eliminate all political pressure," which he thought was "rather unbecoming." He summed it all up when he added: "All the protests is politically inspired by people having no interest in the patrolman."

And so another political bomb exploded in the wrong political camp, and Joe Louis, with the boos of Negroes still ringing in his ears after he had asked them in a Harlem rally to vote for Willkie, departed in silence from the home of the "kneed" patrolman.

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REPUBLICAN (EARLY-SLOAN INCIDENT)

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
November 5, 1940

Pearson & Allen

CAROUSEL

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

WASHINGTON—This election will go down in history as one of the most bitter in the past 80 years. Only the campaigns which reelected Abraham Lincoln in 1864 and Woodrow Wilson in 1916 can compare with it for intense feeling.

Passions have flared, tempers have been close to the surface. There has also been a more vigorous and sometimes scorching scrutiny of the issues and the candidates than in any other recent election.

In fact, some diplomats who have spent recent years in Europe say that this election is comparable to those in France which saw the rise and fall of the Popular Front government.

Real test of this election no matter who wins, is going to be whether the electorate can forget the present partisanship and settle down to a reasonable degree of unity. That, in fact, will be the real test of democracy. If Willkie wins he is sure to face a hostile Senate. If Roosevelt wins he may have to cope with a Republican House of Representatives.

The next few months are likely to be a period of political cross-currents and cross-firing. If the American people can rise above it, then democracy will be safe. It will be a severe test.

Kicked Negro Cop

On rare occasions in this country, presidential elections have turned on the merest whim of fate, and this one may be in that category. Most freakish year was 1916 when Charles Evans Hughes went to bed thinking himself President of the United States, and woke up to find that because he had walked through a picket line in California, the state—and the election—had turned against him.

This year a freak incident might conceivably tip the balance in a close race to Wendell Willkie. It occurred last week when Steve Early, White House secretary in charge of press relations, tangled with a Negro policeman in New York.

Early was trying to get to the President's train, and was providing interference through the police lines for Mrs. Morgenthau, Miss LeHand and various members of the White House secretariat, when three policemen, two white and one colored, stopped him. He indulged in a shoving bout with all three, but the colored cop had been operated on for hernia and was injured.

Newspapermen on the train, some of whom have rowed vigorously with Steve, all agreed this time he was right. However, the details of the case were unimportant.

Word immediately was flashed through Harlem and the Negro districts of Chicago that Roosevelt's secretary had kicked a colored policeman. Francis Rivers, director of the colored division of the Republican National Committee, was the first to see the political importance of the situation. But close behind him was Johnny Hanes, ex-under secretary of the treasury, but still treasurer of the Hampton Institute for Negroes.

Johnny comes from North Carolina and the land of Jim Crow, but he got busy with some of the Hampton leaders to fan the flames in the big cities of the North where the colored vote sometimes holds the balance of power.

South Warned Roosevelt

Aside from its political repercussions, the Early incident illustrates two things. One is the efficiency of the Republican organization in this campaign and the inefficiency of the Democrats. The Republicans are not missing a trick. It was a matter literally of minutes before the Republicans had pounced upon the "kicked" policeman and were using it for all it was worth.

The Democrats, on the other hand, with a loose-knit, lumbering organization, have let opportunity after opportunity slip through their fingers. And if Roosevelt squeaks through it will be with no thanks to the Democratic committee.

The other deduction from the Early incident is the doubt raised in the minds of a lot of politicians as to whether it pays to woo the Negro vote except during one month before elections. They point to the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt resigned from the DAR in order to champion Marian Anderson, that Roosevelt has given more relief and jobs to the Negro than any previous President—all of which now may be forgotten over one short scuffle on a station platform.

So Southern Democratic leaders are saying, "I told you so."

NOTE—Featured by the Negro press was the fact that Steve Early is the grandson of Gen. Jacob Early, Confederate leader who nearly captured Washington during the Civil War. The colored press inferred that Steve still believed in the ideas of his grandfather.

Jimmy Cromwell

Unnoticed because of the intense spotlight played upon the presidential drama, is an intriguing side-show in New Jersey which has the elements of love, pathos and politics—all combined.

There, Jimmy Cromwell, former U. S. minister to Canada, who spoke out for aid to Britain when it was still unpopular to aid the British, is putting up the race of his life for the Senate. But more important is the race behind his race—a race of heart-throbs.

Cromwell is married to the richest girl in America, Doris Duke. Behind her are the Duke tobacco millions, the Duke Power Co., and many other interests. Also, Jimmy himself is by no means poverty-stricken.

Boss Hague of Jersey City, not unmindful of Jimmy's wealth, was not at all averse to having him on the ticket for U. S. Senator. Last year, visiting the Cromwells palatial estate at Somerville, N. J., the boss turned to Gov. Harry Moore and remarked in awed tones: "Boy, what a place for a clam-bake!"

It was confidently expected that Jimmy Cromwell would come through with a sizeable campaign contribution—say about $250,000. However, what Boss Hague did not know at that time was that the marital relations of Jimmy Cromwell and Doris Duke were a bit strained. Furthermore, some of the Duke interests in North Carolina would be delighted to see them even more strained. So behind the scenes, some of the Duke people are credited with encouraging Boss Hague to under-cut Jimmy.

For if Jimmy Cromwell wins the U. S. Senate seat, Doris will probably stick by him. But if he loses, all their mutual friends, including the Duke interests, figure that she won't.

Atlanta Ga. Journal
November 3, 1940

Crackerland In Washington

Great Speeches by F. D. R. And Hull Bring Praise

By RALPH SMITH

The Atlanta Journal Bureau,
Mayflower Hotel,
Washington, November 2.

"THE SPEECHES of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull Friday night—Hull's, especially, I say, with all deference and respect for Mr. Roosevelt—served a double purpose," said Congressman Joe Hendricks, of Florida, Saturday. "In addition to clarifying the great issues confronting America—both national and international—the speeches by contrast emphasized the paucity and puniness of Wendell Willkie's political oratory.

"What a relief to hear the statesmanship of Roosevelt and Hull on the radio after lending ear to Willkie, Dewey, Lewis and Louis—John L., the master miner, and Joe, the master mauler.

"What a combination that is—a utility tycoon, a prosecuting attorney, a labor agitator and a prize fighter! How the American people, in this hour of national peril, must shudder at the thought of such a combination taking charge of the Government."

Dorothy Thompson Applauded

Congressman Hendricks went on to pay tribute to the recent speech of Dorothy Thompson. He expressed especial approval of the picture she painted of Mr. Willkie in the guise of a medicine man—a quack doctor of the old school, selling his cure-all to the unsuspecting:

"Are you disturbed, my friends, with occasional spells of dizziness? If so, I hold here in my hand a little bottle that will relieve that difficulty, willy nilly—read the directions on the label, follow the instructions.

"Have you, my friend, occasional attacks of shortness of breath? If so, a bottle of this magic medicine will cure you almost overnight.

"And you, my man, you apparently are ailing—a sufferer perhaps from gas on the stomach. A bottle of my marvelous remedy will cure it instantly."

"Mr. Willkie," observed Hendricks, in conclusion, "has a cure for every economic ill known to man, and for some ills that are figments only of his own imagination."

"A Trash Sweeper, and Helpful"

The Florida congressman reverted to Secretary Hull's speech—his first political address of the campaign, if not his first political utterance in nearly eight years. He catalogued the address as a trash-sweeper, or, better, "an eye-opener."

"Logical, calm, convincing, untainted by the slightest evidence of feeling or venom and ringing as true and patriotic as any public utterance ever delivered in the United States, Secretary Hull's address was devastating to the accusation, implications, inferences and innuendoes of Mr. Willkie and his propagandists," said he.

"It is my considered belief that if enough people heard Mr. Hull's speech Mr. Willkie will be swept into political oblivion next Tuesday. My respect for the Secretary of State is such that I feel he is held in like esteem by the people of America. Those who

heard him cannot question the candor and truthfulness of his statements, and by this token the Republican candidate is shown in an unenviable light.

"Yes, I think Dorothy Thompson spoke a mouthful as regards the Republican candidate, but I rather doubt that she went far enough, because Mr. Willkie and others have been guilty of manufacturing issues—setting up straw men."

Republicans Establish "New Low"

Hendricks shot a shaft at the Republicans for appealing to racial prejudice. He cited the enlistment of Joe Louis, the prize fighter, in the G. O. P. flying squadron of orators, and spoke with resentment of the effort to crucify White House Secretary Steve Early in the hope of rallying a few colored votes in New York City.

"I hope my friends in Florida and Southern Democrats generally have followed the Early incident," said Hendricks. "Steve Early is a gentleman. He is the press secretary to the President. In New York, a few nights ago, in attempting to reach the presidential train, for the return trip to Washington, the reporters accompanying Mr. Roosevelt were blocked by a squad of New York policemen, one of them a Negro.

"Secretary Early sought to facilitate the passage to the special train. He tried to reason with the officers. They, in turn, roughed him. He sought to defend himself, and in the melee the Negro officer was injured. It seems Early kneed him, aggravating an old wound.

"The New York newspaper made a great to-do over the affair—Roosevelt's secretary 'kicking a colored policeman engaged in the performance of his duties.' District Attorney Tom Dewey, a Republican, telephoned from Idaho to order an investigation.

"The purpose of all this agitation—and it made the first page of all New York papers—was to arouse and prejudice the Negroes of Harlem against the President. Can you think of anything more despicable, anything more unpatriotic than this attempt of the press of New York to stir up racial prejudice?

"And to cap the climax, following the Early incident, the Republicans imported Joe Louis to address the Negroes of Harlem—stimulate if possible hostility toward Roosevelt by telling them, in effect, that the Democratic Party is unfair to the Negro race."

LaGuardia Outdraws Willkie

It has been often said, and as often questioned, that the mayoralty of New York is second only, in power and importance, to that of the presidency of the nation. The assertion may or may not be true, but none can challenge the statement that the present Mayor of New York outrates would-be President Wendell Willkie in the estimation of the people of Chicago. Both have visited Chicago recently and it is of record that the turnout for Mayor LaGuardia was twice the size of that which greeted tycoon Willkie.

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
November 1, 1940

INJURED OFFICER TO VOTE FOR F. D. R.

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.—(AP)—James Sloan, Negro patrolman who was injured at Pennsylvania station Monday night shortly before President Roosevelt's train left for Washington, said today he intended to vote for the President.

As Heavyweight Boxing Champion Joe Louis, who is campaigning for Wendell L. Willkie, and half a dozen Negro Republican officials gathered at Sloan's bedside, a newsman asked Sloan:

"Will you vote for Roosevelt?"

"I will," he replied.

MR. SLOAN TO MR. EARLY

DEC 3 1940
New York Daily Mirror

Policeman James M. Sloan who was jostled and injured in a mix-up at the Pennsylvania Station when Stephen Early, secretary to the President, was hurrying to reach the official train, has written to Mr. Early fully exonerating him in the affair. Because the policeman is a Negro and Mr. Early serves on the President's staff, the incident was seized on by partisans in the recent campaign and magnified into wholly unwarranted proportions. Policeman Sloan's letter, let us hope, will now permanently close the incident.

Early Absolved By Policeman in Jostling Incident

World Telegram
New York, N.Y.

'Nobody's Fault,' Officer Writes President's Aid

NOV 30 1940

James M. Sloan, Negro policeman, has expressed regrets to Stephen T. Early for the incident here a month ago when Patrolman Sloan declared he was injured trying to prevent the President's press secretary and 35 newspapermen from boarding a train in Pennsylvania Station. The patrolman wants to forgive and forget the affair.

Mr. Early was absolved of all blame for any kneeing, kicking or attacking the policeman, as reported at the time. In a letter written by Patrolman Sloan and made public in Washington by Mr. Early, the officer also absolved himself of responsibility for the highly publicized clash, declaring:

"The misunderstanding was not your fault nor was it ours."

The incident occurred Oct. 28, when the campaign was at white heat and quickly developed political aspects because of fears of its possible effect on Negro voters. Patrolman Sloan had recovered from an abdominal operation but a short time before. The "jostling," as he termed it in his letter, sent him back to his sick bed.

The letter, dated Nov. 22 and released with Patrolman Sloan's permission, reads in part:

"I regretted as much as you did the incident at the Pennsylvania Station when you were seeking to join your chief, the President of the United States, as it was your duty to do. On the other hand, the sergeant of the New York police, under whose direction I was performing my duty, had orders which left him and his men, among the latter me, no discretion.

"The misunderstanding was not your fault nor was it ours. In the jostling which ensued I am sure I would not have been hurt as I was out for the operation which I had undergone only a comparatively little while ago.

"I have, of course, heard a great deal more about you than I ever had before the incident. And all I have heard makes me know, first, that you would not have knowingly inflicted any injury upon me; and, second, that your manly apology, sent to me with your letter of Oct. 31, is just the sort of thing that those who know you would expect you to do."

APOLOGY NOT ACCEPTED BY N.Y. OFFICER

NOV 8 1940

Patrolman Sloan Says He Will Press Charges Against Early

1

SLOAN REFUSES EARLY'S APOLOGY

NEW YORK. — (ANP) — An apology from Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, has been finally received by James Sloan, Harlem policeman who was "given the knee" last Monday by the White House aide, but the patrolman said he "would not accept it."

It is reported that Sloan will file a civil suit against Early. The officer, who underwent a hernia operation last summer, has been confined to his home since Monday from complications resulting from the kneeing incident.

Kansas City

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—An apology went Thursday night by wire from Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, to James Sloan, Harlem policeman who was kicked in a scuffle at the President's train Monday night — but the secretary also said he didn't do anything wrong.

Tuesday Early, Virginia born and a kinsman of Jubal Early, noted Confederate general, had admitted he "gave the knee" to an officer in a dispute which arose when a police sergeant attempted to block him from descending a stairway to the President's special train. Early said two white policemen started shoving him around and that when a third officer, Sloan, joined in he brought his knee up against the later's body.

In his statement released when he sent a telegram to Sloan, who is confined to his bed because of complications from a hernia operation last summer induced by the kick Monday night, Early denied using his knee. He said he was trying to obtain passage for himself and some 35 newspaper men and others to the train and showing his credentials did no good.

The Call

"During the discussion there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd," said the statement. "I am deply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt while trying to carry out instructions he had received. I did not have any personal controversy with this man.

NOV 8 1940

"I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident. I did not attack or kick any officer. But since one officer believes I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apoligize to him particularly and to Commissioner Valentine of the New York police for having any part in the regrettable affair."

Kansas City

This statement was released following talk that Early would be suspended by the White House until after the election. The incident was used as campaign propaganda in the closing days by Republicans. An investigation was ordered by Commissioner Valentine and Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. executive secretary, asked the grand jury to probe the case.

Mo

Sloan, 42, was commended for bravery in breaking up a hold-up on November 16, 1939, when he shot and captured two men.

Joe Louis Visits

Joe Louis, campaigning for Willkie, in New York, visited Sloan Thursday and learned the policeman intended to vote for Roosevelt.

When President Roosevelt was campaigning in New York the police on guard had orders to "let nobody through." Secretary Early, without proper credentials, tried to get through to the presidential train, but being unknown, he was treated like the rest of the public.

He was thrust back by a white sergeant. When Early continued to try to get through, Officer Sloan went to the aid of the sergeant. Early "kneed" the colored officer.

Sloan, sent to bed by the injury from the White House secretary, was nervous and upset. He received reporters at his home, 220 West 110th street, but would not say much about the incident.

Used As G.O.P. Propaganda

The incident occurring in the midst of a presidential campaign, the Republicans used it as an "illustration of the New Deal's interest in the colored man," as stated by Lamar Perkins, former Harlem assemblyman and chief of the Negro division of the New York state G.O.P. committee.

"The only offense of Sloan," said Perkins, "was to carry out orders. Previously cited for valor, he kept his hands at his sides while kicked in the groin by a "New Deal big man."

Sloan is the father of five children.

Dewey Orders 'Kneeing' Inquiry

World Telegram New York, N.Y.

Full Data on Early Attack Demanded of Valentine

OCT 31 1940

A thorough investigation of the attack on Patrolman James Sloan, Negro, whom Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, admitted "kneeing," was ordered today by District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey.

At the same time it was learned that if sufficient evidence is obtained the case will be presented immediately to the grand jury, with a recommendation for an assault indictment.

A complete report of the police investigation of the attack—which Patrolman Sloan characterized as a "kick" rather than a "kneeing"—which occurred Monday night in Pennsylvania Station prior to the President's departure, has been asked by the District Attorney's office from Police Commissioner Valentine.

Mr. Dewey is in the West campaigning for Wendell L. Willkie. However, Acting District Attorney Milton Schilback said he had been instructed to issue this statement:

"I have been directed by Mr. Dewey to state that this office has requested Police Commissioner Valentine for a full report of the police investigation into the Patrolman Sloan matter."

Mr. Schilback refused to amplify the statement.

Another development in the case came today when Samuel F. Pryor, chairman of the Eastern division of the Republican National Committee, said he had been "reliably informed" that a plan had been suggested to President Roosevelt to suspend Mr. Early "until after election."

"I have refrained from commenting up to now on Stephen Early's attack on James Sloan, Negro policeman," Mr. Pryor said. "I have kept silence because, frankly, I am a politician and I felt that the display of racial antagonism on the part of the President's secretary was too deep and serious a matter to be made a subject of political discussion.

"But now I find that Edward J. Flynn, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is so alarmed over the latest evidence of New Deal impatience with the people, especially humble people, that he has asked the White House to make a political gesture in an attempt to stem the rising tide of indignation on the part of clergymen and educators throughout the country.

World

"The plan, I am reliably informed, is to have Mr. Roosevelt suspend Mr. Early as his secretary until after election. As a citizen I earnestly hope the President will agree to Mr. Flynn's suggestion."

Joe Louis Guarded.

Joe Louis, world's heavyweight champion, who will speak here tonight to urge Mr. Willkie's election, attracted more than customary attention when he arrived at La Guardia Field today, because he was immediately surrounded by a guard of airport police.

OCT 31 1940

Asked about the extra precautions, a publicity man attached to the Republican National Committee explained it was to prevent "a recurrence of the Early-Sloan incident." The champion also was met by a personal bodyguard, 210-pound Detective Charles A. Barts, a Negro, and former middleweight boxing champion of the Navy's Atlantic Fleet. He is one of the best known detectives in Harlem.

Asked what he thought of Mr. Early's "kneeing" of Patrolman Sloan, Louis said:

"It was a very ungentlemanly thing. The man was strictly there to guard the President, not to hurt him."

The champion said he was supporting Mr. Willkie "because he will give my people more jobs and better positions in the government."

Tuesday night Patrolman Sloan told World-Telegram reporters he would seek a warrant for assault as soon as he is able to leave his bed. Yesterday, however, he denied he had "told anybody about a warrant for anyone."

Numerous public protests have been made by both white and Negro leaders since the affair was made public.

Today Representative Bruce Barton, Republican candidate for Senator, suggested that Secretary Early try the same tactics on Joe Louis, with whom he is going to speak tonight on behalf of Wendell Willkie.

"If Steve Early wants to try any more of that knee exercise," Mr. Barton said, "I hope he will catch up with us some time during the night."

Gotham Police Report Asked On 'Kneeing' Of Officer By Early

Brooklyn Daily Eagle

OCT 31 1940

NEW YORK —(AP)— Dist. Atty. Thomas E. Dewey's office Thursday asked Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine for the Police Department's report on the admitted "kneeing" of an officer by Stephen Early, a secretary to President Roosevelt.

This was announced by Milton Schilback, acting district attorney in the absence of Dewey.

James Sloan, a Negro officer, was injured at Pennsylvania Station Monday night a short time before President Roosevelt's train left for Washington at the end of a day of campaigning by the president here.

A police card in the West Thirtieth Street Station reported that the policeman had "received his injuries with kicks by one Stephen Early."

Early, however, said at the White House the next day that he had been pushed by several policemen and had "given the knee" to one of them in attempting to fend them off.

Protests Mount At Early's Kick Of Negro Cop

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

OCT 31 1940

The attack by Stephen Early President Roosevelt's secretary, on Patrolman James Sloan, New York Negro policeman, was protested yesterday by public figures both Negro and white while the administration made every effort to hush the incident.

Early admitted that he "kneed" the Negro policeman while attempting to get to the President's train during the campaign visit to New York Monday.

Patrolman Sloan who said at first that he would have warrants sworn out against "someone" as soon as he was able to leave his bed, said yesterday that he never mentioned a warrant.

"I'm not talking to anyone about the case. This is my affair," Sloan said when asked whether his superior officers had discussed the matter with him.

New York police officials were hesitant to discuss the attack. Capt. Walter T. Harding, in command of the W. 123rd St. station to which Sloan is attached, would not say what progress had been made in the investigation of the alleged assault.

Well known educators were among those protesting the attack. Among them were John W. Hanes, trustee of Howard University and former undersecretary of the Treasury; Robert Ogden Purvis, vice-president of Hampton Institute, Lamar Perkins, former Assemblyman; Dr. Walter Gray Crump, trustee of Howard University; Francis E. Rivers, Alan Valentine, Rev. Norman Peale.

In Pittsburgh Joe Louis said:

"If Mr. Steve Early kicked that colored policeman in New York he pulled the foulest blow in boxing."

Sloan himself said that he had not been "kneed" by Early but that the latter had deliberately kicked him in the groin "with his foot."

EARLY TENDERS APOLOGY TO COP IN RECENT CLASH

NOV 2 1940

White House Secretary Denies He Kicked New York Officer

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Nov. 1.—Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, issued a statement Thursday night apologizing to a New York Negro police officer and the police commissioner there "for having had any part" in what he described as a "regrettable" altercation Monday night.

The presidential secretary prefaced his apology with the assertion that "I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident."

Early encountered a police detail in a lower level of the Pennsylvania Station in New York while attempting to gain permission for a group of White House employes and newspapermen to board the special presidential train bound from New York to Washington.

The next day James Sloan, a 42-year-old Negro patrolman, reported that he had been kicked in the abdomen. Early said in his statement that he did not "attack or kick any officer."

The text of Early's statement follows in part: "In certain Republican quarters political importance is being attached to an unfortunate altercation which took place between a detail of New York city policemen and myself on Monday night, last.

"As part of my official duty, I was endeavoring to obtain permission for a group of about 35 newspapermen and others to board the train on which they had to return to their places of duty in Washington. I showed my credentials. All of the people in the group also had official credentials to board the train. It was essential for them that they get on that train before it left. Unfortunately the police had received instructions to let nobody pass under any circumstances. I was doing my best to identify this group and to convince the police that it was imperative and proper for this party to pass throgh the police line before the train left.

"During the discussion there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd which had gathered there; and I am deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt while trying to carry out instructions which he had received. I did not have any personal controversy with this man; having all my discussion with the sergeant in command of the detail.

"I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident. I did not attack or kick any officer. But since one officer believes I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apologize to him particularly and to Commissioner Valentine for having had any part in this regrettable affair."

Injured Officer Backs Roosevelt

(The Associated Press)

New York, Nov. 1.—James Sloan, Negro patrolman who was injured at Pennsylvania station Monday night shortly before President Roosevelt's train left for Washington, said Thursday he intended to vote for the president.

As Heavyweight Boxing Champion Joe Louis, who is campaigning for Wendell L. Willkie and a half dozen Negro Republican officials gathered at Sloan's bedside, a newspaperman asked Sloan how he was going to vote.

"I'm a Democrat," the policeman said.

"Will you vote for Roosevelt?" he was asked.

"I will," he replied.

Stephen Early, FDR Aide, Gives Knee to Colored Policeman

Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.

New York Cop Attacked When He Attempts to Halt Secretary from Boarding Presidential Train

NEW YORK—Negro circles the country over are buzzing today as a result of the unwarranted attack upon a colored policeman by Stephen T. Early, White House Presidential secretary and a member of the famous Early family of Virginia, here Monday night.

The officer, James Sloan, 42, of the 32nd Precinct, was kicked in the groin and severly injured when he and a white fellow officer attempted to stop Early from boarding President Roosevelt's train because they did not recognize him.

The incident occurred shortly before the President's special train left for Washington.

When Sloan and the other officer sought to keep Early from entering the train, in Pennsylvania Station shortly before midnight Monday, according to eye witnesses, Early "kneed" the colored patrolman.

NOV 2 1940

At his home, 225 West 110th Street, on Tuesday, Sloan was suffering from the attack which had aggravated a recent hernia operation he had had performed in July.

Obviously under pressure from his superiors, to maintain a discreet silence or lose his job, Sloan would have nothing to say for publication.

"I have nothing to say," he maintained, "but I will say one thing: I am going to see a lawyer and a darned good one at that. I have been given strict orders not to speak about this case."

Sloan said a man, unknown to him and carrying no credentials, appeared at a gate on the lower level of Pennsylvania Station and after being halted, kicked him.

The policeman has been on duty for 12 years.

Early "Explains"

In Washington, on Tuesday, Mr. Early was asked about the incident and "explained" by saying he and secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau were stopped by a white sergeant and a group of policemen, including Sloan.

According to Early, they showed identification cards, but the sergeant refused to allow them to pass.

"I had only two hands," Early said. "I shoved the policeman on my right with my right hand and the one on my left with my left hand. I gave the knee to the one in front, who happened to be colored.

Judge James A. Cobb, former municipal judge of the District of Columbia, and member of the National Bar Association, composed of colored lawyers of the United States, in a statement Tuesday evening denounced as an "outrage" the assault upon a colored policeman in New York, Monday night, October 28, by Stephen Early, White House Presidential Secretary.

NOV 2 1940

"Mr. Early's ire, it seems was not aroused," Judge Cobb said, "until he found a colored man clothed with authority of law preserving order and protecting the President of the United States in comformity with instructions of his superiors. Instead of being abused he should have been thanked by Mr. Early."

Knee Was "Thrust"

In talking to newspapermen, Early emphasized that when a Negro policeman "joined in shoving him around, his knee was thrust against the policeman," according to the United Pres reports of the affair.

Newspapermen who accompanied Mr. Early gave an even more intimate version of the incident. They relate that when the President's secretary thrust his knee against the abdomen of the colored officer, or kicked him in the groin as some reports state, his victim cried:

"My God, don't do that, I've just had an operation."

Mr. Early is a member of the famous Early family of Virginia.

Judge Cobb inquired why, according to press reports, the colored patrolman has received "strict orders not to discuss the case."

Dewey Orders Inquiry in 'Kneeing'; Early Apologizes but Denies Attack

New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Prosecutor Asks Data on Injury to Policeman in Scuffle Here—President's Aide Tells of His Regret but Says He Kicked No One

NOV 1 1940

District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey yesterday ordered an investigation of the "kneeing" by Stephen E. Early, White House secretary, of Patrolman James Sloan, a Negro, last Monday night when Sloan and other policemen were guarding the train in the Pennsylvania Station on which President Roosevelt was about to return to Washington after his Madison Square Garden speech.

Mr. Dewey telephoned to Acting District Attorney Melton Schilback from Caldwell, Idaho, where he was to deliver a speech in the evening in support of the Willkie-McNary ticket, to begin the investigation. In announcing the District Attorney's order, Mr. Schilback said:

"I have been directed by Mr. Dewey to state that this office has requested Police Commissioner Valentine for a report of the Police Department investigation into the Patrolman Sloan matter."

Mr. Early later issued a statement at Washington explaining that as part of his official duty he was trying to get through the police lines with about thirty-five newspaper men and others who had official credentials when the incident occurred. Mr. Early said he did not have any personal controversy with Patrolman Sloan, having all his discussion with the sergeant in command, and that there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd.

He said he did not attack or kick any policeman, but since Sloan believes that he did hurt him, he apologized to Sloan and to Police Commissioner Valentine. At the same time he charged "Republican politicians" with "attempting to find political significance in this incident."

It was understood from a source in the District Attorney's office here that if the evidence uncovered by Assistant District Attorney Schilback warranted it, the matter would be taken before the grand jury. None of the three New York County grand juries is to convene, however, until after the election next Tuesday.

When Commissioner Valentine was informed of Mr. Schilback's announcement, he said in a written reply that Patrolman Sloan still was at his home "on sick report" and the department's own investigation by Captain Walter C. Harding of the East 123d Street station had not been completed.

He added, in answer to another written question, that it was not possible at this time for him to decide whether departmental disciplinary action would be ordered against any of the superior officers and other patrolmen guarding the Presidential train for not taking "proper police action" when Sloan, in a report he filed that night in the West Thirtieth Street Station, charged he "was kicked by one, Stephen Early, Secretary of President Roosevelt."

New York

Sloan, who is 42 years old and lives at 225 West 110th Street, said further in his report that Patrolmen William E. L. Heiden and James E. P. Flanagan, who also are attached to the West 135th Street station and were assigned with him to guard the President, were witnesses to Mr. Early's attack on him.

Times

Mr. Valentine denied a request for permission for the newspapers to photograph the report on a regulation card filed by Sloan. He explained such permission would be a violation of the department rules and could be granted only by a "competent court order." He said, however, that the desk lieutenant at the West Thirtieth Street station publicly would read the report, if such a request were made.

New York

Mr. Early's statement follows:

"In certain Republican quarters political importance is being attached to an unfortunate altercation which took place between a detail of New York policemen and myself on Monday, last.

"As part of my official duty I was endeavoring to obtain permission for a group of about thirty-five newspaper men and others to board the train on which they had to return to the places of duty in Washington. I showed my credentials. All of the people in the group also had official credentials to board the train. It was essential for them that they get on that train before it left. Unfortunately the police had received instructions to let nobody pass under any circumstances. I was doing my best to identify this group and to convince the police that it was imperative and proper for this party to pass through the police line before the train left.

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"During the discussion there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd which had gathered there; and I am deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt while trying to carry out instructions which he had received. I did not have any personal controversy with this man, having all my discussion with the sergeant in command of the detail.

"I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident. I did not attack or kick any officer. But since one officer believes that I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apologize to him particularly and to Commissioner Valentine for having had any part in this regrettable affair.

"I cannot understand why Republican politicians are attempting to find political significance in this incident.

"In all my experience in New York City, the Police Department has always shown the utmost cooperation and efficiency.

"When I telephoned Police Commissioner Valentine shortly after the incident I understood that he was making a full investigation of the facts. I am anxious to cooperate with him 100 per cent. In order to do that, I intend to devote all of my time necessary to cooperate with him until his inquiry is completed."

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN (EARLY-SLOAN INCIDENT)

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
November 1, 1940

Kneeing New York Cop Draws Fire on to Head of FDR Aide

Expressions of indignation from many sources, including noted educators and other public figures, followed the statement of New York Patrolman James Sloan, a Negro, that he had been kicked by Stephen Early (above), President Roosevelt's secretary. The incident occurred in Pennsylvania station, when Early and a party tried to force their way through a gate guarded by Sloan and other policemen to board the President's train after his recent New York tour. Sloan, confined to his bed, is pictured at right, with his daughters Helen, left, and Grace.

Sloan, however, still intends to vote for President Roosevelt. When Joe Louis and half a dozen Negro Republican officials gathered at his bedside a newsman inquired how he was going to vote. "I'm a Democrat," he replied. Asked if he would vote for Roosevelt, he answered: "I will."

Steve Early Apologizes but Denies Kneeing Cop

President's Secretary, in Letter to New York Police Commissioner, Says Altercation Being Made Political Issue.

By United Press

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1—Stephen T. Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, today had offered apologies to a New York City policeman who had charged he was injured by Early when Mr. Roosevelt's party left New York last Monday night.

The officer was James Sloan, a Negro, who was stationed at Pennsylvania Station.

Early also offered apologies to New York City Police Commissioner Valentine.

He specifically denied that he attacked or kicked any officer in the altercation, which he described as "a regrettable affair." He did not believe he did anything wrong in the incident, explaining that he was acting in his official capacity when the difficulty developed.

He prefaced a statement with the assertion that political importance is being attached to the altercation "in certain Republican quarters."

"I cannot understand," he added, "why Republican politicians are attempting to find political significance in this incident."

Dewey's Office May Probe 'Kneeing' of Cop

By Associated Press

NEW YORK, Nov. 1— District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey's office has asked Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine for the Police Department's report on the admitted "kneeing" of an officer by Stephen Early, a secretary to President Roosevelt.

This was announced by Milton Schilback, acting district attorney in the absence of Dewey.

James Sloane, 42, a Negro oficer, was injured at Pennsylvania station Monday night a short time before President Roosevelt's train left for Washington at the end of a day of campaigning by the President here.

A card filed in the West 30th Street Station reported that the policeman had "received his injuries with kicks by one Stephen Early."

Early, however, said at the White House the next day that he had been pushed by several policemen and had "given the knee" to one of them in attempting to fend them off.

Rep. Bruce Barton, Republican candidate for United States senator, and Joe Louis, world's heavyweight boxing champion, have been campaigning together nightly in Harlem.

One night in speaking of Louis, who has endorsed Wendell L. Willkie, Barton said at a rally in Manhattan center:

"I am going to campaign tomorrow night (Thursday) on the same platform with Joe Louis. If Steve Early wants to try any more knee exercise, I hope he will catch up with us."

Louis Banner Barred From Beale Street

By Associated Press

MEMPHIS, Nov. 1 — The city has decreed that a picture of Joe Louis, idol of Beale Street, can't adorn a Republican banner on the celebrated Negro thoroughfare.

In front of Negro Republican headquarters Louis' likeness was on a banner saying, "Our Own Joe Lewis is for Willkie."

Sticklers for accuracy, Republicans took it down to change "Lewis to "Louis."

When they tried to re-hang the banner next day they met with an official "no."

City Commissioner Robert S. Fredericks said he rejected the sign "because it carried the name of one who is not a candidate for any office."

Chattanooga, Tenn., Free Press
November 17, 1940

WRITERS CLAIM NEGRO OFFICER PUSHED EARLY

Roosevelt Secretary Innocent in Row, Say Witnesses

NEW YORK, Nov. 16 (UP).—Washington correspondents who were eye-witnesses of the incident in which White House Secretary Stephen Early and a Negro policeman were involved in Pennsylvania Station during the campaign for President agree that Early was the victim and not the aggressor, Editor and Publisher, trade weekly of the newspaper business, said today.

One of the correspondents quoted was Thomas F. Reynolds, United Press White House correspondent and president of the White House Correspondents Association.

Reynolds said that shortly before the affray he took up a position at the gate of President Roosevelt's train to identify accredited newspapermen. Two policemen present, a sergeant and a white patrolman, refused to pass the newspapermen and then refused even to look at their credentials. Reynolds motioned to Early, who approached Reynolds to help. The Negro policeman then appeared and the general shoving followed in which the policeman was supposed to have been kicked in the groin.

EARLY MAN-MANDLED

"Steve was man-handled by the Negro policeman and thrown forcibly back," said Reynolds. "If he had not landed in my arms he would have been knocked to the floor. There was no kicking, although the policeman undoubtedly was injured in the general scuffle.

"But it is noteworthy that when Early went upstairs to find a superior officer the Negro policeman followed—two steps at a time. Anyone injured in the manner he claims to have been doesn't run up a flight of stairs. He goes

down."

Doris Fleeson, of the New York Daily News, also defended Early and wrote in her column that the incident was a result of the "goose-step efficiency that the police seem to feel is essential on such occasions."

"Never dreaming that it would be anything more than a simple matter of routine," she wrote, "Early stepped up to the sergeant and showed not only his White House card but his secret service credentials. The sergeant refused to look or listen. The party, including the women, was shoved back. The rest , history—mostly political."

John C. Henry in the Washington Evening Star wrote:

"The sergeant, the white officer at his right and the colored officer at his left converged upon Steve and pushed him forcibly backward. They pushed me aside at the same time. One of the newspapermen directly behind Steve braced him, probably saving him from being knocked down.

NEGRO COMPLAINED

"As he went backward, Steve raised his hands and a knee. The colored officer immediately backed away, complained that he had been hit in the stomach and appealed to his sergeant. The latter, excited throughout the entire incident, did nothing."

The Editor and Publisher article says that in no version which came to the attention of the White House Correspondents Association was there a variance on an important detail.

"The consensus was—and is—that Secretary Ealry was victimized when he attempted to perform a service to the newspapers of the United States," the article concludes.

The patrolman who was hurt in the incident at the station was James Sloane, 42, who had been operated upon for hernia a few months ago. The incident occurred on the night of Oct. 28, after President Roosevelt's speech at Madison Square Garden.

Anderson, S. C., Mail
November 4, 1940

WHERE THE TROUBLE STARTED

Republican Party big-wigs, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other Negro organizations are attempting to make political capital out of an incident in New York last week when Presidential Secretary Stephen Early is alleged to have manhandled a Negro policeman on duty near President Roosevelt's private train in New York's Pennsylvania station.

We know nothing as to the justification for Mr. Early's attack, but we know that it would not have happened had the New York police department restricted its Negro officers to Harlem and other Negro areas within New York, rather than assigning them to duty at a great railway terminal where they daily come in contact with thousands of persons who, like Mr. Early, probably resent their presence.

Expresses Regret for Kicking Policeman and for Statement on Army

White House Secretary Tells N. A. A. C. P He Did Not Mean to Infer Negroes Approved Jim Crow Army Plan

NOV 8 1940

WASHINGTON. — Stephen Early, White House Press secretary, found it necessary to make two apologies to Negroes this week for actions and statements attributed to him.

He apologized to Patrolman James Sloan, New York police officer, for kicking him in the groin on October 28, and he expressed his "deep regrets" to Walter White N. A. A. C. P. secretary, for the White House statement in which it was inferred that President Roosevelt's jim-crow army policy was endorsed by White and other Negro leaders.

Early made his apology to White in a letter dated October 25, the same date on which President Roosevelt also sent a letter to the N. A. A. C. P. expressing regret "that there had been so much misinterpretation" of his announcement on the war department's policy regarding Negroes in the army.

Early expressed dismay over any part he may have played in permitting correspondents to interpret the President's Oct. 9 announcement on army segregation as having the endorsement of Walter White, A. Phillip Randolph and T. Arnold Hill.

Early's letter to Walter White follows:

"Since writing to you on October eighteenth, I have learned that certain newspapers have interpreted the White House statement of October ninth in a way that has caused embarrassment to you and your associates, Messrs. Randolph and Hill.

"My purpose in writing you at this time is to tell you as emphatically and as honestly as it is possible for any man to speak to another, that there was no disposition or intention on my part, when I made the statement to the press, to cause you or your colleagues any embarrassment whatsoever. If the words I u- interpreted by any newspaper writer in a way that embarrasses you or your associates, I am deeply regretful.

"As I told you in my letter of October eighteenth, the stenographer's report of my oral statement to the press, reads as follows:

"You will remember that on September 27th the President held a conference in his office with Walter White and I think two other Negro leaders. Present at that conference also were the Secretary of Navy and the Assistant Secretary of War. The subject discussed at the conference and responsible for the conference was Negro participation in national defense.'

"As a result of that conference the War Department has drafted a statement of policy with regard to Negroes in national defense. The statement of policy was submitted by Judge Patterson to the President. The President's approval causes it to become or to be made immediately effective by the War department. Here are the statements of policy.'

NOV 8 1940

"The meaning I intended to convey to the press- - the meaning that most of the newspapermen present understood and used accordingly- - -was that, in all probability, there would have been no 'statement of policy with regard to Negroes in national defense' had it not been for the conference you and your associates had with the President, the Secretary of the Navy and the Assistant Secretary of War on September 27.

"In other words, when I used the language 'as a result of that conference the War department has drafted a statement of policy, etc.' I did not mean or intend to convey the impression that the statement of policy had been approved by you and your associates but that it had come about because of the discussion that had been held. You will note that there is nothing in anything that I said that could be used to indicate your approval of the policy or that either Mr. Hill or Mr. Randolph had given it their approval.

"As evidence of the fact that this is written to you in the best of faith I want you to know that I have told the newspapermen to whom I spoke on October ninth how my statement to them has been misinterpreted by a part of the press. They also have been acquainted with the contents of this letter to you."

White House Aide Cleared in Cop-Kicking

DEC 5 1940

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The "kick" heard around the country at election time was re-echoed this week when Stephen Early, secretary of President Roosevelt, with whom James Sloan, Negro policeman, clashed in the Pennsylvania Station in October, was exonerated by Sloan of all blame in the affair.

In a letter made public on Monday, Sloan asserted that Early was innocent of the scuffle which ensued when he tried to obtain passage to the Presidential special train for a group of accredited newspaper men, and New York policemen, including Sloan, acting under orders, tried to halt them.

Early after the kicking incident sent a letter of apology to Sloan which was answered this week.

—A Colored Judge—

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN (EARLY-SLOAN INCIDENT)

"Kneed" Cop Won't Accept Early's Apology

NOV 9 1940

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Patrolman James Sloan has declined to accept the apology of Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, for the "regrettable affair" in which Sloan was kicked in the groin while on guard duty for the President's special train.

While Sloan declared that he would not let the incident deter him from his intention to vote for Roosevelt, reports are persistent that he may file suit against Early. Sloan, who is 42, underwent an operation for hernia, last summer, and was confined to his bed for a week following the kicking.

The American

Early's apology, wired to New York on Thursday, was directed to both Sloan and Police Commissioner Valentine. He expressed regret at having had "any part in the regrettable affair," but added, "I do not believe that I did anything wrong."

NOV 9 1940

Sloan was on duty at New York's Pennsylvania Station on Monday of last week when the incident occurred. Early, attempting to reach the train without identifying himself to the satisfaction of the white sergeant in charge of the guard detail and another white officer, became involved in what he termed "shoving," and said he "gave the knee" to the colored officer assisting in keeping the crowd back.

Baltimore, Md.

In addition to an investigation ordered by Commissioner Valentine, a grand jury investigation has been demanded by the NAACP.

'Kneed' Policeman Gives Interview With the Sanction of Valentine

Negro, in Bed, Says Only That Some Reports of Early Incident Were True and Others Untrue—More Protests Made

OCT 31 1940

James Sloan, the 42-year-old Negro patrolman who says he was kicked in the groin in the Pennsylvania Station Monday night by Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, received reporters at his bedside in his apartment at 220 West 110th Street yesterday but refused to discuss his side of the case.

Mr. Early previously had admitted in Washington that he "kneed" the patrolman when the latter attempted to bar Mr. Early from going through a gate to the Presidential train.

New York Times

Sloan admitted newspaper men to his apartment after Police Commissioner Valentine told reporters that the patrolman had his permission to be interviewed if he so desired. But the patrolman, who said he felt "very bad," excused himself from discussing the incident because, he said, the doctor had ordered him "to rest."

New York

He appeared nervous and upset, but received a stream of visitors, mostly sympathizers, during the day. He said that "some of the things that have been printed are untrue and some are true," but he would not elaborate beyond that.

Police Captain Walter T. Harding continued the investigation ordered Tuesday by Commissioner Valentine, but said it would be several days before he could make a report to the Commissioner. Meanwhile, protests against Mr. Early's conduct continued to be made by both white and Negro leaders.

Lamar Perkins, former Harlem Assemblyman and chief of the Colored Division of the Republican State Committee, described the affair as a "graphic illustration of the New Deal's interest in the colored man.

"The only offense of Sloan was to cary out orders," he said. "Previously cited for valor, he kept his hands at his sides while kicked in the groin by a 'New Deal big man.'"

Walter White, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that the association "demands that there be no delay in the police investigation" of the incident.

Joe Louis, the boxer, announced that he would visit Sloan at his apartment at 3 o'clock this afternoon, before embarking on a series of speeches in behalf of Wendell L. Willkie in Manhattan, Queens and Brooklyn.

Protest Sent to Roosevelt

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., Oct. 30 —Randel Toliver of this city, president of the Colored Democratic Clubs of Westchester County, sent the following telegram this afternoon to President Roosevelt: "We resent the attack by your secretary, Stephen Early, on Patrolman Jack Sloan of New York City, and we regret that the action will cost you many thousands of votes in the coming election."

Roosevelt's Secretary Kicks A Negro

NOV 1 1940

• Mr. Stephen Early, intimate political secretary of President Roosevelt, forgot for a moment the usual hypocrisies by which the Jim Crow men in Washington hide their contempt for the Negro people. Roosevelt's White House secretary saw a Negro policeman barring his way. He knew only one answer—brutality. Roosevelt's secretary kicked the Negro in the groin; his victim is now in the hospital.

Daily Worker

No doubt, Mr. Early is astonished at the outcry which has ensued. After all, what is to become of the good old customs of the Democratic Party of the South if a man cannot kick a Negro when he feels like it? Mr. Early must be especially bitter when he reads how his fellow-oppressors of the Negro people in the Republican Party are gleefully taking advantage of his "error." For Mr. Early knows very well that these Republican Party hypocrites oppress the Negro people as much as he does. Did not the Republican Party politicians in Congress cooperate gladly with Senator Barkley, Democratic leader, to knife the Anti-Lynch Bill?

New York Times

Was it not Mr. Early who announced to the Negro people that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had just decided that Jim Crowism must remain in the U. S. Army? And did not the Republican politicians approve of this as they have always done in the preceding Republican Party administrations under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover?

The shameful kick of Mr. Early is part and parcel of the entire filthy Jim Crow lynch system which neither Wall Street candidate, Roosevelt or Willkie dare to touch. Both parties rest on the lynch system. Early's hooligan action without attacking the social roots out of which it grows is merely to play with the plight of the Negro people.

Roosevelt's intimate political pal should be instantly fired, and arrested for his deed. That is the least that can be done. This newspaper makes such a demand right here and now. It knows that the American people will support it.

Kicking Policemen Around

NOV 9 1940

Stephen Early, White House secretary, didn't win any votes for his boss by kicking a New York policeman in the stomach last week.

The American

Mr. Early's apology to the policeman injured and to the New York police department closes the incident officially. However, we cannot help reminding him of White House traditions which most school children remember best.

Baltimore, Md.

President U. S. Grant complimented the colored policeman who stopped him for violating the speed laws.

President Abraham Lincoln praised the sentry who declined to pass him through the lines until he was identified.

FDR'S SECRETARY AS-
SAILED FOR KICKING
NEGRO COP

NEW YORK, Nov.--
(CNA)- A wave of bitter protest swept the nation this week over the kicking of a New York policeman by Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, while the officer was on duty guarding the President's train at Ponn Station. The victim of Early's exhibition of racial hatred, Patrolman James Sloan has announced his intention of seeking a warrant for the arrest of Early.

In Washington, the President's secretary admitted he had "kneed" a Negro policeman when he was stopped at stairs leading to the Roosevelt train. Patrolman Sloan at his home, 226 W. 110th St., where he is confined to bed, denied that he had been "kneed."

"He didn't kick me with his knee, as he claims - he kicked me deliberately with his foot, " Sloan said.

"If I did that to him, I would have been suspended and brought up on charges. I have the same privileges as him. I'm a citizen and I also vote. He didn't act as a citizen: he didn't act his part as an official.

"I received orders not to let anyone cross the line. This man could have done the same thing the President did, riding down in the elevator and going the usual way to the train. Instead, he comes through the crowd.

"He tried to cross the line and I stopped him. He told me he was secretary to the President. I told him I didn't care who he was - that I had orders not to let anyone pass.

"He kicked me deliberately in the groin, where I was operated on, and as I fell down I yelled to other police officers to grab him.

Before I yelled that, this man said to me.

"You better be glad that I didn't do more than I did."

Asked if had received any apologies from Washington, Sloan said:

"No, and I'm not going to accept any. I'm going to the extreme limit. The man meant what he did."

The patrolman, operated on in July for a hernia, has been on the force since Dec. 13, 1928. He has five children, ranging in age from 8 to 18, and has been cited for bravery on duty.

Those who scored the action of Early included some of the nation's best known educators and other public figures, Negro and white.

Robert Ogdon Purvis, vice-president of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., issued the following statement from that institution:

"At a time when national unity is of such very great importance it is most regrettable to have any racial animosity shown by any person in a position of public importance gegardless of his political office,"

In New York City, Dr. Walter Grey Crump, white, trustee of Howard University and vice-president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, declared he was "greatly shocked" by the unfortunate incident."

SOURCE: CRUSADER NEWS AGENCY

33 West 125th.
St. New York
City
November4, 1940
Cyril Briggs,
Editor

New York Policeman Sends Stephen Early Regrets For Incident

B'ham News
Birm Age-Herald
B'ham Ala.

'Misunderstanding Not Your Fault Nor Ours,' Sloan Writes F. D. R. Aid

DEC 1 1940

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Stephen T. Early, President Roosevelt's press secretary, made public Saturday a letter from James M. Sloan, New York Negro policeman, expressing regret for the "incident" in New York Oct. 28 in which Sloan complained he was hurt while trying to prevent Early and reporters from boarding the president's train in Pennsylvania Station.

"The misunderstanding was not your fault nor was it ours," Sloan wrote under date of Nov. 22. He accepted an apology Early offered Oct. 31 and said he wanted to "count the whole thing as an accident that happened void of all malice."

Early said he was making the letter public with Sloan's permission.

The secretary in a formal statement three days after the incident said he was endeavoring to obtain permission for a group of 35 newspaper men and others in the president's party to board the train, but that the police unfortunately had instructions to let nobody pass.

He added that there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd and he was "deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt" while carrying out instructions. He said he "did not attack or kick any officer."

Coming at the height of President Roosevelt's campaign for reelection, the affair quickly developed political aspects and some Democrats were reported at the time to fear that it might have for them an adverse affect on the Negro vote.

In his letter to Early, Sloan said he had purposely delayed answering the presidential secretary's note "so that any answer of mine might not be seized upon for purely political purposes."

Declaring he wanted to forget the affair, Sloan wrote Early:

"I regretted as much as you did the incident at the Pennsylvania Station when you were seeking to join your chief, the President of the United States, as it was your duty to do. On the other hand, the sergeant of the New York police, under whose direction I was performing my duty, had orders which left him and his men, among the latter me, no discretion.

"The misunderstanding was not your fault nor was it ours. In the jostling which ensued I am sure I would not have been hurt, as I was, but for the operation which I had undergone only a comparatively little while ago.

"I have of course heard a great deal more about you than I ever had before the incident. And all I have heard makes me know, first, that you would not have knowingly inflicted any injury upon me; and, second, that your manly apology, sent to me with your letter of Oct. 31, is just the sort of thing that those who know you would expect you to do."

When the incident occurred Sloan had recovered from an abdominal operation but a short time before.

COP KICKED BY FDR SECRETARY PRESSURED TO CLOSE 'INCIDENA'

NOV 14 1940

Daily Bystander

New York, (CNA) — Patrolman James Sloan, the Negro policeman who was kicked in the groin by Stephen T. Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, has been under tremendous pressure from higher-ups in the police department to close the incident, it was indicated here this week.

Sloan was kicked by the President's secretary while the officer was on duty guarding the President's train in Pennsylvania station, this city. Early had tried to reach the train by a forbidden route and was stopped by the patrolman. Enraged at being halted by a Negro policeman, Early kicked out viciously, hitting Sloan in the groin, where he had been recently operated upon.

While rejecting the efforts of Republicans to use the case to forward the candidacy of Wendell Willkie, the policeman had announced last week his intentions to seek a warrant for the arrest of Early.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN (EARLY-SLOAN INCIDENT)

"Kneeing" Victim Comforted

Afro American NOV 9 1940 Baltimore Md.

Patrolman James Sloan, 42, of the New York police force, whom Stephen Early, press secretary to President Roosevelt, admits "kneeing" during an altercation in Pennsylvania Station in New York Monday night, is shown in bed at his home being comforted by his children, Helen (left), 8, and Grace, 10. A grand jury investigation of his case has been demanded.

Francis E. Rivers, director of the Colored Division, Republican National Committee, said last week that Early's kicking of the officer was symbolic of the "treatment the colored man can expect from the New Deal if it remains in office."

Judge James A. Cobb, former municipal judge of the District of Columbia and member of the National Bar Association, in a statement last week, denounced the assault as an "outrage."

Newspapermen who accompanied Mr. Early reported Patrolman Sloan as saying: "My God don't do that, I've just had a operation."

EARLY APOLOGIZES TO NEGRO OFFICER

NOV 1 1940

Policeman, Scuffle Victim, To Vote For F. D. R., He Says

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31—(AP)—Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, issued a statement Thursday night, apologizing to a New York Negro police officer and the police commissioner there "for having had any part" in what he described as a "regretable" altercation Monday night.

Birmingham Herald

The presidential secretary prefaced his apology with the assertion that "I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident."

Early encountered a police detail in Pennsylvania Station in New York while attempting to gain permission for a group of White House employes and newspapermen to board the special presidential train bound from New York to Washington.

Birmingham, Ala.

NEW YORK, Oct. 31—(AP)—James Sloan, Negro patrolman who was injured at Pennsylvania Station Monday night shortly before President Roosevelt's train left for Washington, said Thursday he intended to vote for the president.

NEGRO REFUSES APOLOGY FROM STEPHEN EARLY

Chicago Defender Chicago, Ill.

New York, Nov. 2 [Special].—James Sloan, the New York Negro policeman "given the knee" by Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's press secretary, said today he will not accept the apology of the White House aid.

NOV 5 1940

The patrolman, who has been confined to bed since the attack last Monday, said he had received a letter of apology from Early. Altho Sloan would not amplify his decision, there have been reports that a civil suit will be filed in his behalf.

Despite his injuries, which he said were complicated by a recent hernia operation, Sloan has maintained he will vote for Roosevelt.

New York Policeman Sends Stephen Early Regrets For Incident

Birmingham News Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala.

'Misunderstanding Not Your Fault Nor Ours,' Sloan Writes F. D. R. Aid

DEC 1 1940

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He added that there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd and he was "deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt" while carrying out instructions. He said he "did not attack or kick any officer."

Coming at the height of President Roosevelt's campaign for reelection, the affair quickly developed political aspects and some Democrats were reported at the time to fear that it might have for them an adverse affect on the Negro vote.

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"I have of course heard a great deal more about you than I ever had before the incident. And all I have heard makes me know, first, that you would not have knowingly inflicted any injury upon me; and, second, that your manly apology, sent to me with your letter of Oct. 31, is just the sort of thing that those who know you would expect you to do."

When the incident occurred Sloan had recovered from an abdominal operation but a short time before.

'I Didn't Kick Any Cop,' Early Says; Then He Apologizes and Asks Investigation

NOV 7 1940

Developments in the attack on a New York Negro policeman, who has accused Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, of kicking him in the groin, today had arrived at a perplexing state of paradox.

World

In one breath Mr. Early emphatically denied last night that he attacked the policeman; in the next he publicly apologized to the officer.

Telegram

Mr. Early in his version of the affair, contained in a statement made in Washington, not only denied the accusation and apologized to the patrolman—James Sloan—but begged Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine's pardon and offered, at the sacrifice of his own personal time, to "co-operate with him until his inquiry is completed."

New York

Tuesday, when confronted with Patrolman Sloan's charges, Mr. Early admitted he had "kneed" a policeman after he had been "shoved around." The scene of the alleged attack was the Pennsylvania Station, Monday night, before the President's departure.

While public and official notice was widely taken of Mr. Early's apology, no direct message of regret has yet reached Patrolman Sloan's bedside.

"I haven't received any apology," he said today.

Asked if he would accept it when and if he did, he replied:

"I'm not going to talk about that."

N. Y.

Chief Police Surgeon Charles J. Dillon visited the patrolman today, he said, and advised him to remain in bed for a few more days.

In reply to a question as to how he felt, Patrolman Sloan said he still has a pain "where I was kicked."

World

When Mayor La Guardia returned to City Hall today, after a speaking tour in the Mid-West on behalf of President Roosevelt, he expressed the sentiment that Mr. Early's inclusive apology should settle the affair.

"A gentleman can't do more than apologize," the Mayor said.

He was asked by reporters if he thought the attack on Patrolman Sloan was "brutal."

He had no comment to deliver on this question, other than to say:

"I'm going to check into it and see if there was any brutality. But in making my check I'm going to eliminate all this political pressure which, I think, is very unbecoming."

Telegram

Operation Unfortunate.

By way of parenthesis, at this point the Mayor mentioned that it was "unfortunate" that Patrolman Sloan had undergone an operation for hernia prior to the attack.

"I'll examine the apology," he said. "It seems to me it should settle it. Of course, all this protest was politically inspired by persons who had no interest in the patrolman. A gentleman can't do more than apologize."

Then, as if in defense of Patrolman Sloan's loyalty to duty as a guardian of the President's safety, Mayor La Guardia said:

"Now, look what would have happened if someone had gotten through those lines."

'It Is Regrettable.'

The Mayor didn't say what might have happened, but indicated he believed it would have been something dire.

"The patrolman's orders were not to let anyone through," he continued. "But Mr. Early had to catch that train. It amounted to an irresistible force running into an immovable object. It is regrettable, but I am very glad Mr. Early apologized."

Mr. Early's apology followed on the heels of an announcement here that District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey had ordered a complete investigation into the attack. Mr. Dewey, who was in Idaho campaigning for Wendell L. Willkie, considered the case emergent enough to telephone his orders to Acting Dictrict Attorney Milton Schilback. The Police Commissioner has been asked for a full report on the results of his investigation.

New York

Did Not Attack.

In Washington, Mr. Early expressed himself as wholly incapable of comprehending "why Republicans are attempting to find political significance in this incident." Then he explained:

"As part of my official duty, I was endeavoring to obtain permission for a group of about 35 newspaper men and others to board the train, on which they had to return to their places of duty in Washington.

N. Y.

"I showed my credentials. I was doing my best to identify the group and convince the police that it was imperative and proper for them to pass through the police line.

NOV 7 1940

"During the discussion there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd which had gathered. I am deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt while trying to carry out instructions. I did not have any personal controversy with this man; I had all my discussion with the sergeant in charge.

Showed Credentials.

"I do not believe I did anything wrong. I did not attack or kick any officer. But, since one officer believes that I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apologize to him particularly and to Commissioner Valentine for having had any part in this regrettable affair. I am anxious to co-operate with him 100 per cent. In order to do that I intend to devote all of my time necessary to co-operate with him until his inquiry is completed."

Patrolman Sloan was visited yesterday by Joe Louis at the Sloane family apartment, 225 W. 110th St. The Brown Bomber was in town to stump for Wendel L. Willkie. The two men shook hands while news cameras recorded the event.

"What are your politics?" Patrolman Sloan was asked during the meeting.

"I'm a Democrat," he replied.

APOLOGY IS WIRED BY EARLY

President Roosevelt's Secretary Says He Didn't kick Harlem Policeman at Pennsy Station.

NOV 9 1940

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7 — (ANP) — An apology went Thursday night by wire from Stephen Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, to James Sloan, Harlem policeman, who was kicked in a scuffle at the President's train Monday night—but the secretary also said he didn't do it.

Courier

But Tuesday, Early, Virginia born and a kinsman of Jubal Early, noted Confederate general, had admitted he "gave the knee" to an officer in a dispute which arose when a police sergeant attempted to block him from descending a stairway to the President's special train. Early said two white policemen started shoving him around and that when a third officer, Sloan, joined in he brought his knee up against the latter's body.

Pittsburgh Pa.

In his statement released when he sent a telegram to Sloan, who is confined to his bed because of complications from a hernia operation last summer induced by the kick Monday night, Early denied using his knee. He said he was trying to obtain passage for himself and some 35 newspaper men and others to the train and showing his credentials did no good.

"During the discussion there was a great deal of jostling and shoving in the crowd," said the statement. 'I am deeply sorry that a policeman appears to have been hurt while trying to carry out instructions he had received. I did not have any personal controversy with this man.

"I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident. I did not attack or kick any officer. But since one officer believes I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apologize to him particularly and to Commissioner Valentine of the New York police for having any part in the regrettable affair."

This statement was released following talk that Early would be suspended by the White House until after the election. The incident was used as campaign propaganda in the closing days by Republicans. An investigation was ordered by Commissioner Valentine.

Sloan, 42, was commended for bravery in breaking up a holdup on Nov. 16, 1939, when he shot and captured two men.

Joe Louis, campaigning for Willkie, in New York, visited Sloan Thursday and learned the policeman intended to vote for Roosevelt.

MR. EARLY "REGRETS"

NOV 9 1940

Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary, will go down in history for two things: issuing the now famous White House smear of Negro leaders to cover up another surrender to the Negro-hating South, and kicking a New York Negro policeman in the groin because that officer was carrying out his orders to guard the President.

Pittsburgh

Grandson of Confederate General Jubal Early, Roosevelt's secretary ran true to form. First admitting that he "kneed" the New York policeman, he expresses "regrets" in a letter to the New York Police Commission (not to the man whom he had injured), but declares "I do not believe that I did anything wrong in this incident. I did not attack or kick any officer. But since one officer believes I was responsible for hurting him . . ."

Here speaks the voice of the South. "Even if we did wrong we're right anyhow." When he was scared, Early admitted his attack. When he got over his fright and regained his composure, he boldly asserts that he did nothing wrong, and practically states that the officer, confined to his bed as a result of the brutal attack, may be mistaken about it all.

Pittsburgh Pa.

For unmitigated gall Steve Early certainly wins the prize. At any rate, we may be sure that he has won the approval of the unreconstructed South.

A fine man, this, to have at the President's elbow.

POLITICAL - 1940
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN (EARLY-SLOAN INCIDENT)

GROUP LAUDS EARLY, ASKS HIM TO STAY WITH F. D. R.

NOV 23 1940

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21.—Stephen T. Early, secretary to President Roosevelt, who was involved in the "kneeing" incident with a colored New York policeman just before the national election, was asked to remain in that office by a delegation which called at the White House on Monday.

The action was proposed at a meeting of colored leaders during a three-day assembly at the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church to adopt a national unity program for the race and launch a campaign for $100,000 to set up a Negro lobby in Washington. Courier

The delegation expressed the "confidence and profound appreciation for the eight years of proficient and courteous exercise of the secretary's good office" of representatives of the colored people and the Negro press.

It has been reported that Mr. Early was contemplating resignation as a result of the New York incident and subsequent criticism. The delegation was led by Edgar G. Brown, president of the United Government Employees.

During the three-day meeting, the leaders pledged "unreserved confidence in and support of President Roosevelt, the chosen leader of the American people, regardless of race, creed or color."

10-POINT PROGRAM

Outlining a 10-point program for "national unity and racial good will," the group proposed the following: Pittsburgh

Appointment by the President of a Negro as one of the six secretaries at the White House, "with a passion for anonymity."

Selection of accredited colored newspaper correspondents to be admitted to White House press conferences.

Passing of legislation by Congress to compel private industry and unions to lift the color bar against employment of colored workers.

Authorization of a $5,000,000,000 relief and construction program, designed to give employment to men and women regardless of race, creed, or color.

ASK PILOTS' SCHOOL

The group also called for the establishment of an air-training base in the Virgin Islands, to be used for colored pilots.

The meeting was called by the National Negro Council, the United Government Employees, the A. M. E. Church, and the National Baptist Convention. Those who joined with Mr. Brown in sponsoring the assembly include: Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., and the Rev. C. T. Murray, pastor of the host church, a trustee of the National Baptist Convention, and president of the District Baptist Convention.

Early Apologizes; Sloan Accepts

DEC 14 1940

Several weeks ago, White House Secretary Early wrote a letter of apology to New York Patrolman James M. Sloan, whom he had "kneed" while trying to get through police lines in Pennsylvania Station, New York, to join a Presidential party.

Last week, Sloan wrote Early accepting his apology for a misunderstanding that was "not your fault or ours." Afro-American

Sloan said it was Early's duty to join his chief, but orders which left him no discretion compelled him to let no one through the lines.

An irresistible urge met an irrevocable order and a clash was inevitable. Baltimore Md.

The solution is a happy one. Early apologizes; Sloan accepts.

Gen. Hugh S. Johnson Regrets He Was Unfair to Secretary Steve Early

NOV 30 1940

By HUGH S. JOHNSON

WASHINGTON, D. C.—I have in my mail, with persuasive documentation, the following from a friend: Macon

"I hope you won't be offended by a friendly suggestion—and it is wholly friendly—that you might want to make some acknowledgement that Steve Early really wasn't to blame in the New York melee. You were very rough on him." Telegraph

This refers to the incident at the Pennsylvania station in New York City during the campaign, when a colored cop was reported in the news to have attempted to stop Presidential Secretary Steve Early from crossing a police line and received an injury in the groin which Mr. Early himself reported as "I gave him the knee."

Like many of us in his generation, Steve is getting on in both years and poundage and, even taking him at his published word about the kneeing, I always wondered about just how much damage any one of us ex-gladiators could do to a well-conditioned New York cop. Since then, several responsible newsmen witnesses have reported Mr. Early as more sinned against than sinning. That is enough for me. I didn't think I was "very rough" on Steve. I wouldn't do that intentionally. If I was, this is to correct it.

Mr. Early is a faithful and loyal servant of his boss. It sometimes takes him to positions which do not comport with some of his own philosophy, as I understand it. That is unavoidable in complete faith and loyalty to a single leader. On the rebound it has given me a wound or two from Mr. Early that he would not otherwise have given, but I can understand that too.

The kickbacks on the news stories as they were first reported could be very serious to Mr. Early. To the extent that they were wrong, and that now seems considerable, it would be a result wholly undesirable. Mr. Early has made some errors, such as his Monroe Doctrine for Hitler and Japan, but any man in his continuous spotlight is bound to make such errors.

I have no apologies to make for my criticism of most of the White House jannissariat, but never in my mind have I included Mr. Early among those who recklessly plan our future from positions of official irresponsibility but close personal relation with an overburdened president.

Steve is one of the fairest and most fearless of the president's associates and, at least among those I know personally, the most dependable. His removal would be a minor calamity. There are too few Steve Early's in Washington.

There is nothing now to indicate any such result, but the racial and religious sensitiveness that has been generated in this country by some aspects of the recent campaign passes all understanding.

NOV 30 1940

Eye-witness accounts of such people as Thomas F. Reynolds of the United Press, Raymond Brandt of the St. Louis Post Dispatch and several others indicate, in contradiction of earlier reports, that Mr. Early acted only in a reflex of self-defense. They indicate also that the incident is of far more significance in publicizing the "where-the-hell-ye-think-you're-going" attitude of some of our police than of any bullheadedness of civil officials.

I know of few visitors, including myself, to either the continent or Canada—and I might add Mexico—who have not been impressed with a difference in copperesque courtesy in those alien lands to our own disadvantage. Especially in England and Canade, it seems to be possible to get a far greater respect than we know for law and even traffic regulations, with far less rough stuff and fewer bawlings-out.

Whether this evil flows from our reluctance to respect authority from an ingrained insolence of office, is impossible to prove. But it is just as bad in our armed forces, where respect for authority is the first lesson. There is no cop more overbearing than a practiced M. P. NOV 30 1940

For any unintended unfairness to Mr. Early which now appears clear, I am sorry.

Injured Officer Accepts Stephen Early's Apology

DEC 7 1940

WASHINGTON. — Officer James M. Sloan of the New York police department, said in a letter to Stephen T. Early, White House secretary, that it was nobody's fault that he was injured in a scuffle between him and Early during the presidential campaign.

The letter, made public by Early on November 30, stated that Mr. Sloan had purposely delayed answering the letter of apology written by Mr. Early because he did not wish any statement of his to be used for political purposes.

He said, "As you as a Christian gentleman have apologized for the injury I received during the scuffle, I want to, as a Christian gentleman, accept your apology."

Sloan told Early that he believed they had both been performing their duties, and that "in the jostling which ensued I am sure I would not have been hurt as I was, but for the operation which I had undergone only a comparatively little while ago."

Early's statement before the election was that he "did not attack or kick any officer . . . but since one officer believes I was responsible for hurting him, I wish to apologize."

An Affront To the Race

DEC 7 1940

The New York policeman, who was the victim of the "knee" incident in New York near the end of the Presidential campaign has absolved Stephen T. Early, Presidential secretary, of blame.

The incident occurred on October 28. Early's apology was released first to the press on October 31. And then one whole month passed before the policeman accepted that apology and in a rather lengthy letter undertook to clear Early of all blame.

Patrolman Sloan wrote:

> "I have purposely delayed answering your letter of October 31 last so that any answer of mine might not be seized upon for purely political purposes."

If the writer had reference to the campaign, he has not adequately accounted for the delay of more than three weeks which transpired between the election and the apology. On the other hand, if the writer had in mind other political implications, he and Early must know that the election has not removed them. The attack upon three officers of the New York police force is a matter of record. Newspapers carried stories of it which varied fundamentlaly from the narrative which Early embodied in his apology. An investigation was ordered and made. If the Flynn-LaGuardia forces suppress the findings that very act will be regarded as significant.

At heart Sloan may not have wished to accept the apology. His letter may not have been a voluntary gesture. Stronger men have bowed under less pressure than could have been placed upon him, a Negro employee of Democrat-controlled New York.

The significant failure of his letter of absolution, is his failure to make clear the "misunderstanding" to which he attributes the "kneeing."

It is obvious that the officer understood his duty and performed it. Of Early he wrote:

> ". . . . . you were seeking to join your chief, the President of the United States, as it was your duty to do."

Stephen Early could not have misunderstood the authority of the officers assigned to guard his chief.

What then was the "misunderstanding"?

For himself as an individual, Patrolman Sloan may absolve Early. But self-respecting Negroes have come to consider such an incident as the campaign "kneeing" an affront to the race. It was nothing less. On that point there may be enforced silence in some quarters, but even those so silenced have no honest misunderstanding about the "kneeing."

He Who Got "Kicked"

DEC 21 1940

Patrolman James Sloan (right), New York policeman, who was kneed by Steve Early, White House secretary, during the recent Presidential campaign, is shown shaking hands with Patrolman Ed. Scott, who is attached to the Thirteenth Precinct of the Metropolitan Police. Officer Sloan refused to confirm or deny reports that his visit to Washington was concerned with a possible White House appointment for him.

RACIAL EQUALITY DEFINITE NEED, SAY SOCIALISTS

Wash. Tribune
8-3-40
Washington, D.C.

COLUMBUS, Ohio. — It is the duty of the Federal government to prove the principle of racial equality in practice, the Socialist Party told members of the judiciary committee of the National Bar Association, the national organization of Negro lawyers which is meeting in convention here August 1, 2, and 3.

Writing on behalf of the Socialist candidates for President and Vice President, Norman Thomas and Maynard C. Krueger, Travers Clement, the national secretary of the Socialist Party, pledged the Socialists to "the fullest freedom of the Negro to practice in the courts of the United States, to sit on the bench of these courts as a peer with other judges, and to assume duties as federal district attorney or assistant United States Attorney-General."

No Discrimination

"Neither color, creed nor religious belief should bar any citizen of the United States from the assumption of any office, including that of the President of United States, his cabinet, our Supreme Court or otherwise," the Socialists declared.

Reciting the Socialist Party record as opposed to discrimination against Negroes since its foundation in 1900, Mr. Clement wrote Raymond Pace Alexander, Esq. of Philadelphia, chairman of the National Bar Association's judiciary committee, that the Socialists especially favored "the appointment of qualified Negroes to positions or responsibility such as federal judges or United States attorneys in areas where Negroes form a substantial part of the population, viz., the Southern States."

organization of Negro lawyers which is meeting here (Columbus) August 1, 2 and 3. *** Ohio

"Neither color, creed nor religious belief should bar any citizen of the United States from the assumption of any office, including that of the President of the United States, his cabinet, our Supreme Court or otherwise," the Socialists declared.

SOCIALISTS PLEDGE NO DISCRIMINATION!

The Union
8-3-40

Columbus, O.—It is the duty of the Federal government to prove the principle of racial equality in practice, the Socialist Party told members of the Judiciary Committee of the National Bar Association, the national

Using The Ballot

Now that the City Commission election is well past, with the city generally well pleased with the result and also with the way Cooper Green has taken hold of his new duties as commission president, it should not be considered captiously critical to point out that Mr. Green was chosen in an election in which only 5.7 per cent of Birmingham's population participated. The official vote was 17,721, and Birmingham's estimated population is 304,884.

3-7-40

There are other figures worth looking at, however. In 1930, 61 per cent of Birmingham's population were 21 years of age or over, and were either native-born Americans or naturalized aliens. Assuming that that percentage still holds, Birmingham today has 186,000 potential voters. Of that number, slightly less than 9 per cent took part in the recent election.

Birmingham Ala.

But there are other figures. Thirty-eight per cent of Birmingham's population in 1930 were Negroes. If the proportion holds today and one subtracted the Negroes from the city's potential adult voters, there would be left 115,000 white adults in Birmingham who could qualify as voters. Still only 15 per cent of that figure had a hand in choosing the president of the City Commission.

Still other figures may be studied. The Board of Registrars estimates that Birmingham has between 38,000 and 40,000 qualified voters. (It is difficult to get the exact number because some precincts lie both within and without the city limits.) Taking 39,000 as the figure, it may be seen that only 21 per cent of Birmingham's adult, non-alien population are qualified to vote, and only 34 per cent of its adult white, non-alien population are prepared to exercise their citizenship.

One other fact: Only 45 per cent of those qualified to vote did so in the City Commission election.

To recapitulate, this important matter in our city government was determined by 5.7 per cent of the total population, 9 per cent of the adult population, 15 per cent of the white adult population, nd 45 per cent of the qualified voters.

These figures, we submit are no credit to our system of representative government.

And let us say again that these figures constitute no reflection upon the outcome of the election. Had Birmingham's entire population taken part in that election, we believe the result would have been the same.

It would not be amiss, however, to consider additional measures by which a larger percentage of the population might be induced to take an active part in their government. The present indifference to the duties of citizenship constitutes a menace of the first order.

THAT POLLTAX QUESTION

Editor, The Advertiser:

About 50 years ago I heard Sam Jones (not the Louisiana Sam) say that every time the Republicans acted the rascal the Democrats acted the fool. We made a great hullabaloo about the Fall-Doheny oil scandal, and now just look over in Louisiana and see what has happened and you will discover the Democrats have jumped the Republicans and in order to make sure they are sticking to the rascal and fool acting, a Democrat is asking that Washington take over some more of States rights and tell us Alabamians who can vote, and what restrictions we have placed on ignorance be nullified. Any person that will not pay a dollar and fifty cents to the school fund for the privilege of doing his duty on election day, is a mighty poor citizen, and I don't mean in dollars either, if he has any education the chances are that he got it from taxes paid by the then generation and if he is any citizen worth a flip he will be willing to pay to help the present rising generation get some book 'larnin".

Advertiser 3-10-40

Montgomery Ala.

We had some of as good brains in the last Constitutional Convention as there are in the State, or the United States, and they put the restrictions on voting to eliminate the voter whom some one else could control. I myself hauled in enough votes in one election to carry my man in, as I voted, you might say, 29 times carried 28 voters that had their tickets marked just as I told them, and my man went in by only 17 votes. But what surprises me, of all things is the State Superintendent of Education being "agin" the poll tax. I checked the poll tax books the last year of compulsory poll tax against several years after the Constitution was ratified and found we were getting more tax than before ratification. I found several hundred assessed a poll that could not be found by the collector, as they were a floating population and scattered about so that the G-men and Dick Tracy could not locate them, but the assessor and collector had lost a lot of time making the assessments and collections, or rather trying to, and many that were found had nothing to make the tax out of. I thought when we had a Democratic President and Congress that we would have some old fashioned democracy, but it seems I am mistaken, as home rule and States rights are getting to be a thing of the past. The old Populist platform was "rotation in office" and they took the position that continuation in office bred rascality and political crookedness, and if public office was a good thing, pass it around, and if a bad thing do not impose on any one but one term, and that was one plank I believed in. When an official knows he can't succeed himself he will most likely have his office in ship shape and ready for inspection when his time is up. It might be a good thing if no officer could hold office and be a candidate at the same time. In some cases it would look hard to turn a good man out but if he knows when he goes in that he must get out at the end of the term he will not be playing politics, and in most public office jobs he can save enough to have a start and should be willing to step out and let some other fellow have some pie. Too much power leads to dictatorship and the longer one stays in power the more he will exercise as a rule, and there is always as good fish in the sea as has been caught, so pass the pie and pay polltax or quit calling yourselves good American citizens.

Geneva, Ala. W. C. CAMPBELL.

Poll Tax Rapped In Congress

Southern News Almanac 3-16-40

Fight Smokes Out Enemies of Southern People

Birmingham News

The bill in Congress which would let people vote FREE in Federal elections has the old-line politicians in the South upset.

They don't want people to be able to vote without paying a poll tax. Because they know that if there were no poll taxes, a lot more people would vote. And if omre people voted in the poll-tax states, these old-line politicians would not be re-elected to office.

So, this week a great many office-holders came out against the bill in Congress which says that a State does not have the right to put on a tax on an election for a federal office. This would mean that millions of people in the South would be able to vote for the first time for President, vice-president, Senators and Congressmen.

The bill in Congress is aimed especially at doing away with crooked elections and breaking up the political machines that have never given a hoot about the real wishes of the people. Those who are backing this bill were wondering this week if these were the real reasons that the old-line politicians are so hot in their opposition.

In spite of this opposition, a Congressional committee in Washington was planning to go ahead with its hearings on the bill.

MAVERICK FIRST WITNESS

The first witness before the committee was Maury Maverick, who is a former Congressman and is now the mayor of San Antonio, Texas.

Maverick said that eight states in the South now require poll tax receipt of everybody who tries to vote. These eight states, he said, are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

In these eight states, Maverick said, there are at least 2,000,000 people who can not vote because they do not have enough money to pay poll taxes. He said that $1.50 to a Southern sharecropper is equal to $300 or $400 to a Congressman, who is paid $10,000 a year.

Maverick pointed out that political machines in these eight poll-tax states often buy up thousands of poll tax receipts and force voters to vote the "right" way on election day. Also, he said, votes are cast in this way for people who have been dead for years.

The House committee is holding hearings on a bill which was written by the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and which was introduced in Congress by Congressman Lee E. Geyer (Democrat of California.)

Geyer's bill would make it un-lawful for any state to put a tax on an election in which federal officials are voted upon. The bill says that this is one way to help stop crooked elections.

Congressman Francis Walter (Democrat of Pennsylvania) is chairman of the sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee, which is holding the hearings. Chairman Walter has insisted that witnesses testify as to whether or not Congress has the right, under the Constitution, to keep a state from levying a poll tax.

Maverick answered that question by saying that it was "absolutely constitutional" for Congress to ban poll taxes. He added that "a lot of things are constitutional now that weren't constitutional 12 months ago."

LOT OF SQUAWKS

Maverick's testimony brought a lot of squawks from the old-line politicians who want to keep the poll tax. Governor Frank Dixon, of Alabama, said, "This is too strong for me." Several Congressmen from the South said that any move of this sort should come from the states and not from the federal government.

Senator John Bankhead (Democrat of Alabama) said: "I should be greatly disturbed if I thought there was any likelihood of the Southern people following Maverick on so important a subject as the franchise. He does not, in any respect, reflect the best tradition or the sound judgment of the Southern people on this fundamental question."

Governor Prentice Cooper of Tennessess did not answer a demand that he call a special session of the Legislature to get rid of the poll tax. The demand was made by the League of Women Voters, by Paul D. Ragon, secretary of the Tennessee League for Progressive Democracy, and by other organizations. Cooper ran on a platform which included a plank pledging him to work for repeal of the poll tax.

Although practically ignored by most daily newspapers in the South, the fight caused other bitter remarks from the politicians. Some of them said that the money raised by the poll tax helps support the schools. They did not point out that it pays only a small per cent of the cost of the schools. Others said that it was an invasion of

states' rights.

But it remained for the Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser to get to the real meat of the question. That newspaper said that "the chief concern was over what type" of people would be found voting if there was no poll tax.

In other words, the leaders in the South want only a selected few to be able to vote.

That is exactly what is happening today. In the eight poll-tax states, only about 24 per cent of the people are able to vote. In the rest of the country, 72 per cent of the people go to the polls on election day.

Another favorite argument of the politicians in favor of keeping the poll tax was that Negroes would be able to vote. One official went so far as to say that it was a mistake even to let Negroes vote in the AAA elections on farm problems.

Maverick in his testimony said that there probably would not be a heavy increase in Negro voting. Because of the educational requirements, he said, "the effect on the Negro vote would be negligible."

The next witness before the House committee was to be Crampton Harris, Birmingham (Alabama) lawyer who is known as an authority on the Constitution. Harris, who is a former law partner of U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, will testify that there is no real democracy in the South, as long as only one person out of every 10 of voting age can vote— as is the case in South Carolina.

Changes Noted In Alabama's Primary Laws

Advertiser

Use Of Voting Machines And Secrecy Of Ballot Among New Items

3/28

Attention was called yesterday by the attorney general's office to a number of changes in Alabama's primary election laws which will be in effect for the first time in the May 7 Democratic primary. But none of the new acts or amendments to old statutes applies to absentee voting, although several attempts were made by members of the Legislature to repeal or modify the provisions of the act.

Silas Garrett, III, assistant attorney general, reviewed the changes in the election laws. For the first time in the history of a Statewide primary, voting machines will be in operation in Mobile County. Under an amendment to the State constitution of last July and subsequent legislation, Mobile was the first of the 67 counties to install voting machines.

The Gwin act reduces the time between the first and second primaries from six to four weeks, which moves the run-off date up to June 4.

One of the most important changes in the election laws is the DeVane act providing for a secret ballot. To guarantee each voter the right to vote a secret ballot, the Legislature has required that the number be written in a square to be printed at the bottom of the ballot, and then sealed over securely with a sticker by the election officials. For removing or tampering with the sticker by anyone, the law provides stiff punishment. The offense is a felony.

Mr. Garrett explained that the secret ballot act by DeVane did not apply to absentee ballots. In a recent opinion, Atty.-Gen. Thomas S. Lawson said: "It is my opinion that the act...does not apply to absentee ballots."

The Clayton act, also adopted in 1939, gives to the county Democratic Executive Committee more authority in the appointment of election officers. Heretofore the appointing board, composed of the probate judge, circuit clerk, and sheriff, had broader latitude in the naming of the managers, clerks and returning officers for primary elections. But under the Clayton act, the appointing board must select the officers from the list submitted to it by the county committee or a subcommittee thereof. Section 13 of the act provides, however, that each candidate for nomination may at least 25 days prior to the primary, present to the county executive committee of his party a list of election officers desired by him for one or more of the districts, wards or precincts. But, it was pointed out, there is nothing binding on the committee to present these names to the appointing board. The law says, the committee may do so "as far as practicable."

"As I construe section 13, as amended, supra," said the attorney general's ruling, "if the list of election officers submitted to the appointing board by the county executive committee of the party contains the names of sufficient persons who are legally eligible, then the appointing board must select and appoint the officers to conduct the primary election from such list."

Another change in the primary election laws provides that in the event the chairman of the county executive committee is a candidate in the primary, the secretary of the committee shall receive the absentee ballots.

THE POLL TAX AND THE SCHOOLS

To the Editor The News:

In an editorial from The Centerville Press, which you reprinted in The Birmingham News on Sunday, it is noted that The Centerville Press offers to fight with the only weapon poll taxers have—the money goes to the schools!

If the money is necessary for the schools, why not force everyone to pay poll tax and let it have nothing to do with voting? The poll tax is a head tax, and it need have nothing to do with voting.

News 3/22

And The Centerville Press says further: "We have always felt that a person interested in his government should be sufficiently interested to pay for the privilege of voting."

My dear sir, voting is not a privilege, but a right. There is a vast difference between the two words. "Privilege" is peculiar to particular individuals or bodies. "Right" is independent of human laws and regulations.

Liberty is an inalienable right which belongs to man as a rational and responsible agent. Liberty is not a privilege, for it cannot be exclusively granted to one being nor unconditionally be taken away from another.

Liberty and the right to vote are one and the same thing. Men fight, suffer and die for liberty and right. And privilege they buy with money.

JOHN BUNYAN ATKINS.

Fort Payne, Ala.

UNFAIR POLL TAX

Payment of the poll tax as a requirement for voting is unfair, undemocratic and vicious. Thousands of good Alabama citizens would like to see the poll tax repealed, and in 1938 Alabama voters elected a governor who was pledged to repeal the cumulative features of the law. The Dixon Legislature met and enacted a great deal of legislation, but Alabama still has the poll tax.

News

Every argument for retention of the Alabama law has been adequately met. Claim that the Negro vote is involved is merely an attempt at rabble rousing. Many Negroes in Lee County, by virtue of army service or some other exemption, are not required to pay the poll tax. They do not vote. Others pay the tax, having fallen for the argument that it benefits the schools, but do not attempt to vote.

3/23/40

Claim that the poll tax keeps the ignorant from the polls is just as empty. It is the understanding of this publication that Alabama has a literacy test that takes care of this problem. The truth is that the poll tax so discourages voting that many of the best educated have no voice in government. Right here at Auburn a number of college professors do not vote simply because they consider payment of $6 to $20 in back poll taxes too high a price to pay. This publication has been told that half of the P.-T. A. members in Alabama do not vote, largely because of the poll tax requirement. Thousands of hard-working, intelligent Alabama citizens are so hard pushed when Feb. 1 rolls 'round that they skip the poll tax. After this happens a few times the back tax is too high for them to pay.

As for the argument that the poll tax must be retained because it benefits the schools, that, too, is a mere subterfuge. Albert Collins, state superintendent of education, was the only officeholder interviewed last week who stated flatly that he was in favor of poll tax repeal. Bill Gunter, dictator of Montgomery, claimed to be against repeal because the money goes to education. This publication will let its readers decide whether Bill Gunter or Albert Collins is better qualified to say which course would be of greater benefit to education.

The Alabama Congress of Parents and Teachers, too, long ago went on record as being in favor of poll tax revision. Certainly here is an organization that has the good of education at heart.

As for the other argument, that the poll tax requirement prevents corruption in politics, that brings a good laugh. Today votes are bought and sold in Alabama. If one man can control the votes of a group of citizens, he can also see that those citizens qualify to vote. Since the voting population is small, he does not have to control many to get what he wants. It is those who at present control votes in Alabama that are most anxious to keep the poll tax.

This publication regrets that the poll tax question ever had to be brought up in Washington, but feels that Maury Maverick has rendered a service by turning the national spotlight on the situation. Certainly, Luther Patrick is right. If Southern politicians, including Gov. Frank Dixon, had carried out their campaign pledges and revised the laws long ago, suggestion of federal legislation would not be necessary.—Lee County Bulletin (Auburn).

CHARGE BOARD WITH PLOTTING AGAINST RACE

Conviction Means Term In Penitentiary And Fine

By AUGUSTA JACKSON STRONG

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 1—A suit charging conspiracy and violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was filed in Alabama courts this week against the Jefferson County Board Registrars, by Atty. Arthur D. Shores, fighting young Birmingham lawyer.

Defendants

The suit was entered in the name of four defendants properly qualified to become voters in the state of Alabama, who had been arbitrarily turned away by the Registrar's Board when they sought to become certified.

The charges entered by Attorney Shores in his petition to the court are more serious than any that have hitherto confronted the Board in its series of conflicts during the last year, with Alabama's Race citizens who have been seeking to vote.

Charges

According to Federal laws it is a federal offense for which a penitentiary term and fine are imposed for any one to be convicted of conspiring to deprive citizens of their right to vote.

Charges Plot

The present case is based upon just such action by the entire Board of Registrars as to indicate that it is a preconceived plan of the voting officials to keep Race citizens from the polls. Attorney Shores charges state in part:

"The said board of registrars has unlawfully combined, confederated and conspired together, and have formulated and devised various schemes and plots whereby they have prevented and still prevent the Negro residents of Jefferson county, including your petitioner from being registered."

The petitioner further states that as a result of said conspiracy, it has become the general, habitual and systematic practice of the said Board of Registrars, to refuse to register Negro residents and citizens of Jefferson county, Ala. . . . and to deprive them of their rights of suffrage solely on account of race, color and previous condition of servitude."

Court Silent

Further charges made in the petition include the practice of the Board of conducting examination of Race applicants behind closed doors admitted no outsiders, and the practice of asking the applicants questions having no bearing upon his qualifications as a voter.

While previous attempts have been made to bring these practices of the board before the courts by Attorney Shores, in previous instances the board has granted the registration certificates to the defendants involved rather than face a jury.

Since the legal aspects of the present cases involve a federal offense, it is not likely that the same procedure will be followed.

So far court attaches have been silent on the petitions filed by Attorney Shores, and local white newspapers likewise have made no mention of the pending trials.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
April 15, 1940

NEGRO BALLOT RIGHTS URGED

Black And White Session Hears Lynch Law Okeh At Chattanooga

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., April 14—(AP)—Speakers before the Council of Young Southerners appealed Sunday for extension of full voting rights to Negroes in the South and for abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

Social and economic problems, primarily those affecting youth, were discussed for two and a half-hours without formal action on any issue. Approximately 500 members of the Negro and white races sat together in the Municipal Auditorium for the meeting, which preceded the three-day session of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, of Houston, Tex., chairman of the council, lashed out in the opening address against the poll tax requirement and race discrimination. He also denounced the Dies congressional committee on un-American activities, extension of police powers to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and those groups which would lead the United States into the European war.

Dobbs suggested the federal anti-lynching bill as a step in the right direction and asked that "out voices be heard also in support of this much-needed measure."

In his attack on the Dies committee, Dobbs described Representative Starnes, of Alabama, as the chairman's "cohort" and said "let those men show their concern for real Americanism by throwing some of their vocal efforts behind the growing movement to eliminate the un-American poll tax."

J. Edgar Hoover was pictured by the speaker as the organizer of the "big-scale political spy system" operated during the World War which "was used to break up and destroy the American labor movement of that day."

James E. Jackson, of Richmond, Va., representative of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which is an affiliate of the council, said elimination of the poll tax would not mean full democracy in the South unless "lily white primaries" also were abolished. The two restrictions on the Negro, he said, prohibit 95 per cent of the race from voting.

Mike Ross, of Greensboro, N. C., representing the League for Progressive Democracy, told the council that in his state "we aim to put an end to the 'lily white Democratic primary'," since it is an oppression on both races.

Appearing for the Indian National Congress, Ragni Patel, of Bombay, appealed to the council to keep the United States out of the European war and asserted that in India "there is little distinction between the methods of Herr Hitler and the methods of Herr Chamberlain." He added that the fight by British colonies for freedom "is the best fight for peace in the modern world."

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
April 11, 1940

TAX ON BALLOT RIGHT ATTACKED

Crampton Harris Before House Group Holding Poll Levy Hearing

WASHINGTON, April 10—(AP)—Crampton Harris, of Birmingham, Ala., chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, asserted Wednesday that a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in a federal election was a state tax on a privilege derived from the federal government, and hence was unconstitutional.

Testifying before a House judiciary subcommittee in support of the bill (HR 7534) to prohibit collection of poll taxes in connection with such elections, Harris said a frequently-cited Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the Georgia poll tax was not controlling.

While the decision held that the state poll tax was consistent with the federal constitution, he argued, at the time of the decision Congress had never spoken on the question and nothing in the decision prohibited Congress from exercising its right to enact such legislation as the bill under consideration.

He challenged a statement of Justice Butler in the Georgia case decision that the privilege of voting was not derived from the federal government, but was conferred by the states.

"The power to vote in a federal election is a federal power, Mr. Justice Butler to the contrary notwithstanding," Harris said, citing previous Supreme Court decisions which he said sustained his contention.

Even though the constitution permits the states to impose the same qualifications on voters in federal elections as are imposed on voters in state elections, he contended, the right to vote nevertheless derives from the federal government.

He conceded the states had the right to establish reasonable "qualifications" for voters, but contended that a poll tax was a tax and not a "qualification."

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, of Atlanta, public relations representative for the CIO in the South, told the committee the poll tax "operates to permanently disfranchise vast numbers of people, unless their voting power is illegally restored for political purposes through manipulation of poll tax requirements and the voters' register."

The bill was also endorsed by Representative O'Day (D., N. Y.), Gerald Harris, representing the Alabama Farmers' Union; Martin Popper, New York, representing the Constitutional Liberties Committee of the National Lawyers Guild, and Arthur Shores, Birmingham, Ala., Negro lawyer representing the Negro Youth Conference and the Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
April 8, 1940

OFF THE BENCH

By Judge Walter B. Jones

GEYER ANTI-POLL TAX BILL

Congressman Lee E. Geyer, a Democrat of Gardena, Calif., representing the 17th Congressional district of his State, at the request of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, has introduced into Congress a bill to abolish poll taxes in all Federal elections. Over national radio networks, and in the pages of The Congressional Record, the California congressman is making a vigorous effort to get support for his bill, and to prevent the States of the Union from levying poll tax as a pre-requisite to voting at Federal elections.

Walter B. Jones

Congressman Geyer is following in the footsteps of Representative Keller, of Illinois, who himself, without the aid of the Supreme Court of the United States, has declared poll taxes unconstitutional. Representative Keller doesn't like the way some of our Southern senators and representatives are voting in Congress, and in order to bring them into line and make them vote as Representative Keller and his Republican friends want them to vote, the Illinois congressman threatens the South with a law by Congress prescribing the qualifications for voting in Federal elections.

Based On Wrong Assumption

The Geyer anti-poll tax bill is based on a hundred and one false assumptions.

The first of these is that Congress has something to do with the qualifications of voters in the States. It might interest the California congressman, who is so intent upon lecturing the South, to know that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one. The privilege to vote in a State is within the jurisdiction of the State itself, to be exercised as the State may direct, and upon such terms as it may seem proper. Sovereignty resides in the people. Only those of the people are sovereign who exercise the power of sovereignty—who are clothed with the franchise of voting. In the United States sovereignty resides in the voters of the State. The United States has never made a voter, because the Federal government does not have the power now, and never has had such power in all the history of our country, to give any one the right to vote. This is a power that belongs only to the people of the States.

Power Of Congress Is Limited

The power of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject of voting at State elections rests only upon certain amendments to the United States Constitution. Congress can only exercise any power over elections in the States when a qualified voter is denied the right to vote because of sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and it is to this extent only that the powers of the States is limited. All the Fifteenth Amendment did was to nullify provisions in a State Constitution which restricts the right to vote to members of the White race.

So far as the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is concerned, that provision prohibiting the abridgment of the privileges and immunities of United States citizens, has nothing to do with voting. The right to vote is not a privilege or immunity of a citizen of the United States. Directly, this amendment to the Constitution of the United States didn't make a single new voter.

U. S. Constitution Does Not Give Right To Vote

Under our system of constitutional government in the United States, the Federal Constitution neither confers nor guarantees the right to vote. This is a matter that is left to be fixed and regulated by the several States of the Union. So long as the States of the Union do not abridge the rights of citizens to vote because of their sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the States can fix any qualifications for voting they please, and the courts have held that it is competent to require the payment of a poll tax before voting.

The effort of Representatives Geyer and Keller is but another in the long series of attempts to reduce the sovereign States of this country to the status of provinces. Our American form of government, with its division of the powers of government between the United States, and the States of the Union, has never appealed to a lot of people. They don't want the people of the States, or the local communities to have any rights at all. They demand, each day, more and more bureaucracy, more and more people in Washington bossing and governing and controlling the people of the States. These people don't fool any one. We know that the first step in the destruction of the democratic form of government is to take as many rights away from the States as can be taken, and then to place the power taken from the people in the hands of a lot of simlin-headed folks at Washington. Then will come a bureaucrat more resourceful and powerful than the rest of his fellows, and it will be easy for him to make himself a Hitler, a Stalin, or a small potato like Mussolini.

Those Favoring The Geyer Bill

It is interesting to note those who favor the Geyer bill. First of all must be mentioned the so-called "Southern Conference for Human Welfare." It meets in Chattanooga, April 14-16, to discuss Democracy in the South, and some of its leading spirits are Joe Gelders, secretary of the Civil Rights Committee, some radical C. I. O.'s, and members of the Negro National Conference.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of our good President, and a distinguished woman in her own right, regrettably has given this conference her blessing. She is quoted as saying in her daily newspaper column, "My Day": "It seems to me that this conference is most important to the South, because it will do much in changing social conditions and in improving economic conditions, if the plans which they make can be carried through." And one of their plans is to do away with the poll tax in the South.

The S. C. H. W. some months ago started a test case in the Federal court at Nashville to try out the validity of a State poll tax in a Federal election. The conference contends that the poll tax as a State requirement for voting in Federal elections is unconstitutional. All of the mail from the

conference goes out under a big blue stamp with the lettering: "Abolish Poll Taxes. Free America First."

Others In Favor Of Poll Tax Abolition

There are also some prominent people who are in favor of doing away with the poll tax. Among them are Col. Harry M. Ayers, of Anniston, a leading editor in Alabama, and now a candidate for delegate from the State-at-large to the next Democratic National Convention.

Gov. Rivers, of Georgia, who uses the State military in peace time to flout the courts of his State, is quoted as being in favor of abolishing all poll taxes. The recently inaugurated governor of Mississippi is opposed to poll taxes.

Eight States Require Poll Taxes

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee and Virginia are the eight States that require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. In some of these States the tax is cumulative, and in others you only pay in the years you wish to vote.

Other Wrong Assumptions

Aside from the false assumption that Congress has the constitutional power to abolish all poll taxes required by the States, when the voter is voting at an election for Federal officers, the Geyer-C. I. O bill is based on other illegal premises. Some of the arguments made in support of the Geyer bill are absurd.

For instance, Geyer claims that if his bill is passed there will be no more corruption in elections. The passage of his bill, he claims, will automatically bring purity to elections and stop vote buying. Well, laws like his in 40 States in the Union haven't made elections clean and sweet. The Alabama elections, and in the other seven Southern States that have the poll tax requirement, are a hundred times cleaner than the elections in parts of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana where there are no poll tax requirements. If you wish to stop vote buying, you can do it just by sending to the penitentiary a few of the vote buyers and a number of the sellers. The sellers of votes are just as bad as the buyers. You can't have vote buying unless some one wants to sell a vote. There are more votes bought and more moneyed corruption in States without the poll tax requirement than there are in the eight States that ask the citizen to pay a small sum yearly to vote, a sum that goes to public education.

Getting Everybody To The Polls

Another specious argument in favor of the Geyer Bill is that its passage will give us more and better voters, that it will result in more intelligent and more patriotic people going to the polls to vote. What reason is there to believe that the abolishment of poll taxes will raise the level of intelligence of the electorate? None. A few more people may go to the polls, but that doesn't necessarily mean that the new voters will be more intelligent and virtuous than the voters who have been going to the polls all these years after they have paid their poll taxes.

Some one has suggested that it should be a criminal offense, punishable with jail and hard labor sentences, for a citizen to fail to go to the polls and vote. Well, if a fellow has to be whipped and scourged to the polls with threats of jail or the rock pile, if he won't vote unless the sheriff or the police handcuff and take him to the polls, then his country and his people will be a damned sight better off if he stays away from the polls. The votes of a man of that type won't do the country any good.

We must remember this: casting a ballot at public elections is a privilege conferred by the State. It is not a right that belongs to every one. The State may confer the privilege of voting on such terms as it sees fit. And what is the wrong in the State asking, as a requirement of the privilege of voting, of having part in State affairs, that the would-be voter pay a small sum each year for the benefit of public education, the sending of children to public schools that in the future they may become good citizens and intelligent.

More than 180,000 Alabamians paid poll taxes last year. They paid a total sum of $467,000. This money goes exclusively to the support of the public schools of the State. No State law compels a person to pay the poll tax. No State law permits any fee to be collected for the payment of the tax. It is a crime to pay the poll tax of another in order to influence his vote.

The poll tax requirement is a reasonable one. It was necessary in Alabama in 1901. It is necessary today, more so. All the State asks of the citizen, man or woman, who wants to vote is the payment of less than one-half of one cent a day towards the education of the future citizens of the State, and if you get down to brass tacks there isn't a citizen in the State so poor, so poverty stricken, that he can't pay, if he wants to, if he is at heart truly interested in good government, the sum of one-half a cent a day to vote. This requirement is reasonable. It ought to remain law.

STATE POLL TAX IS DEFENDED BY JUDGE JONES HERE

Speaks Before Annual Banquet of Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society

Speaking before the annual banquet of Phi Kappa Phi here Friday night, Judge Walter B. Jones of Montgomery, staunchly defended the poll tax and expressed his unqualified opposition to the Geyer anti-poll tax bill now pending in Congress.

Under his subject of "Good Government, It's Worth, and Its Price," Judge Jones discussed the duty of the citizen to vote and presented argument that the ballot is a privilege and not a right.

"The right to vote is not a natural right, and never has been. It is a political privilege, and it is not a necessary attribute of citizenship. It is a privilege conferred, limited, or withheld at the pleasure of the people acting in their soverign capacity," Judge Jones said.

In concluding his remarks about the poll tax he pointed out: "It would be a great mistake, at this time, for the eight Southern States that still have poll tax requirements to do away with them. When the time comes to consider that question it is a matter for the States and not for the CIO, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and other radical organizations to pass upon."

Judge Jones' speech was the subject of widespread comment in Auburn where there is widespread anti-poll tax sentiment.

More than 100 undergraduates, graduate, faculty, and visiting members were present at the initiation and banquet.

Dr. Ralph Doner, retiring president, spoke briefly then turned Phi Kappa Phi affairs over to Dr. Charles Davis, incoming president.

The "Secret" Ballot

Numbering of ballots in Alabama's primaries and general elections for many years has been the target for justified complaints by citizens who had reason to believe that their votes were not as "secret" as the law guarantees.

When the legislature passed a new law requiring that black patches be placed over the numbers on the ballots it looked as if at last we were going to have a real secret vote in this state. But in many instances, it is reported, election officials hand a ballot with a number marked on the square beneath the candidates names and place a black square over the number after the voter has marked his ticket. It requires only a quick glance on the part of a curious election official to see how the voter marked his ballot while the official pastes the black label over the number.

It is true, of course, that most election officials do not attempt to examine ballots. But the point is that they *could* if they wished.

The law is not plain on whether or not the slip of black paper should be pasted over the number before the ballot is handed to the voter, or whether it should be pasted on after the ballot has been marked. Most election officials, assuming that the intention of the law is to insure a secret vote, have been pasting the black paper over the number before giving the blank ballot to the voter. But others have insisted that the number be covered *after* the voter has marked his ticket.

The ballot should be numbered and the number should be covered before it is handed to the voter. The law should be written more clearly on this point.

THE GREATEST VICE IN ALABAMA

There are several old vices prevalent in many parts of Alabama—gambling, drunkenness, prostitution and stealing.

But the greatest single vice in Alabama, the greatest menace to our social and political order, is vote-selling. The extended palm holds a dagger that is aimed at the very heart of our democracy. Since the May primary the newspapers of the state have reported as faithfully as they could upon the progress of this creeping paralysis that is attacking the body politic. Evil reports from every section of the state have been published. The reports are true. Every practicing politician in Alabama, every alert newspaper, every sophisticated fireside sitter knows that the reports are true.

It is indeed a serious matter. In many counties in Alabama The Advertiser believes it to be true that in any comparatively close race between candidates for office the purchaseable vote in these counties constitutes the balance of power. When we say purchaseable we mean to speak not about disfranchised Negroes and naturalized aliens, but about our "pure" Anglo-Saxons, many of them descendants of men who fought in the American Revolution. Neither do we mean to leave the impression that we are speaking about ordinary political bribing.

We mean to say that the balance of power in the counties aforesaid can be bought with money on the barrelhead.

There are literally thousands of "pure" white Anglo-Saxons in Alabama—most of whom look disdainfully upon disfranchised Negroes and naturalized aliens—who would sell their votes as quickly and as cheaply as some Japanese parents would rent their daughters to traveling salesmen, and with no more compunction of conscience.

Thus there are literally thousands of Cromwellian Anglo-Saxons in Alabama who at every election degrade themselves shamelessly and quite as shamelessly betray their country and its democratic institutions.

These wormy, ill-begotten, badly reared native rats are gnawing at the very foundations of the citadel! They are the easy, ready prey of ambitious and unscrupulous men.

What shall decent people do to stop it? Sometimes we fear they will not do anything until it is too late. But always one can appeal to the public conscience in the hope that responsible officials and members of our juries will become aroused like the Minute Men of the Revolution.

It would plainly be unfair to the vote-selling citizen, the American equivalent of the low-down Japanese father who rents his daughter for a price, not to have a word to say about his seducer.

That word is this: Any man who will buy an office will sell it—for one value or another!—Montgomery Advertiser.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Birmingham Ala News
April 3, 1940

Entire Country Has Interest In South's Fight Over Poll Tax

Tremendous Power In Congress Is Wielded By Representatives Of Eight States Involved

BY ERNEST LINDLEY

Liberal Southerners are seeking the aid of the federal government in freeing eight Southern states from the poll taxes which effectively disenfranchise, or facilitate the complete control of, several million citizens.

Practically, the exercise of federal power seems necessary because repeal of the poll taxes by the states is difficult to the verge of impossibility. Every state which was able to get rid of the poll tax by simple legislative action already has done so. In the eight remaining states, with the possible exception of Tennessee, where the sanction is cloudy, the poll tax has been frozen into the state constitution. The power to prevent constitutional amendments lies with the politicians and interests whose security rests upon a restricted franchise. Two years ago, in Arkansas, about 8 per cent of the citicens of voting age were able to block an amendment abolishing the poll tax.

Legally, the appeal to federal power is based on the broad ground that the soverignty of the federal government is impaired by a state tax upon a federal franchise.

Attack On Two Fronts

The attack has been launched on two fronts. One is in Congress, through the Geyer bill, on which hearings are now being held. This bill would prohibit the levying of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting or registering to vote in federal elections. The other is through the Pirtle case, soon to be argued in the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Pirtle—Henry Pirtle—is a white man from a Tennessee mountain county. Being otherwise qualfied he has requested a judgment declaring that he was entitled to vote for a member of Congress, despite the fact that he had not paid his poll tax. Two years ago the Supreme Court upheld the poll tax in the somewhat similar Breedlove case. But since then the composition of the court has changed, and the Pirtle case is based less on Pirtle's right to vote than on the right of the federal government to have the benefit of his vote in a federal election.

Both lines of attack have been launched by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, backed by such nationally respected Southerners as Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, Tex., and Barry Bingham, publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal. Basic rights are involved, penetrating far below the surface of the constitution.

The race question is involved, although probably more emotionally than as a practical matter. Excepting Mississippi and South Carolina, more white voters than Negroes are effectively disenfranchised by the poll tax, according to reputable analysts. South Carolina, incidentally, is the only one of the eight states which does not make the poll tax a prerequisite to voting in the primaries, where the real contests in the Democratic South usually occur.

But the Negroes in South Carolina are prevented from voting in other ways. On the other hand, in Tennessee, where other methods of restraining the Negroes are not used, the poll tax does not seem to be a barrier to widespread exercise of the franchise by Negroes. In Memphis the Negro vote is largely controlled by "Boss" Crump, and is commonly regarded as an important factor in preserving his power.

Alabama Makes It Tough

Most of the present poll taxes were enacted during the period of Populist unrest. While the emotions surrounding race supremacy were mobilized to bring about their adoption, discerning Southern observers have asserted that one of the main purposes, if not the primary one, was to preserve political control in the hands of the conservative, property-owning classes.

Anyway, the poll tax keeps the vote from white men as well as Negroes. In some states it is cumulative. In Alabama if you want to cast your vote at the age of 45, you have to pay the tax for 24 years at $1.50 a year before you are eligible. For citizens of low income such a sum is prohibitive. Considering the abysmal poverty of parts of the Old South, the tax is almost prohibitive even where it is not cumulative.

It is not prohibitive, of course, for candidates with well-heeled backers. It is more or less common knowledge that in some states and sections votes are mustered and controled by paying poll taxes for citizens who could not or would not pay them from their own pockets.

The whole country has an interest in this effort to abolish poll taxes in federal elections, because of the immense authority wielded by the senators and representatives from the poll tax states. These eight states provide the chairmen of five of the 12 most important committees in the House, and five of the 11 comparable committees in the Senate.

Not all the senators and representatives from the poll tax states are reactionaries, by any means. Alabama, for example, has probably the most oppressive poll tax. But one of its senators is liberal and the other is no farther to the right than the middle-of-the-road. In a one-party South, continuity in office, and the rise, by seniority, to influence in Congress probably would remain more frequent than in other parts of the country, even if poll taxes were abolished. But the broadening of the franchise should have a leavening effect. To fail to broaden it, while professing adherence to the principles of democracy, is pure hypocrisy.

Jones Flays Anti-Poll Tax Bill At Auburn

Declares The Ballot Is A Privilege And Not A Right

AUBURN, ALA., April 12.—Judge Walter B. Jones, of Montgomery, told an audience of Phi Kappa Phi Fraternity banqueters here tonight that the Geyer anti-poll tax bill, pending in Congress, was "clearly unconstitutional." Advertiser 4-13-40

And even were it constitutional Judge Jones declared that he would be opposed to the abolition of the tax.

"It would be a great mistake at this time," asserted Judge Jones, "for the eight Southern States that still have poll tax requirements to do away with them. Montgomery, Ala.

"When the time comes to consider that question it is a matter for the States and not for the C. I. O., the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and other radical organizations to pass upon."

The bill upon which Judge Jones discoursed would abolish the payment of poll tax as a requisite for voting in a congressional or a presidential election. State elections would not be affected.

Judge Jones went on to say to the collegians:

"Remember this, too, that the ballot is a privilege, it is not a right. The right to vote is not a natural right, and never has been. It is a political privilege, and it is not a necessary attribute of citizenship. It is a privilege conferred, limited, or withheld at the pleasure of the people acting in their sovereign capacity.

"There is now pending in Congress the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill, which seeks to make it unlawful for the States of the Union to require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections, and strong pressure is being brought to bear for the passage of the bill. The bill is clearly unconstitutional because the right to vote in the United States is not conferred or guaranteed by the federal constitution.

It is left to be fixed and regulated by the several states, subject to the limitation that you can't deny a citizen the right to vote because of sex, race, color or previous condition of servitude. The United States Constitution leaves it to the States, even in federal elections, to determine the qualifications of voters.

Eight Southern States, for very wise and salutary reasons, require the payment of a small poll tax, ranging from $1.50 to $3 as a prerequisite to the right to vote."

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
April 11, 1940

Harris Assails State Poll Tax

Birmingham Lawyer Says Justice Butler Erred In Decision

WASHINGTON, April 11—(AP)—Crampton Harris, of Birmingham, Ala., chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, asserted today that a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in a federal election was a state tax on a privilege derived from the federal government, and hence was unconstitutional.

Testifying before a House judiciary subcommittee in support of the bill (HR 7534) to prohibit collection of poll taxes in connection with such elections, Harris said a frequently cited Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the Georgia poll tax was not controlling.

While the decision held that the state poll tax was consistent with the federal Constitution, he argued, at the time of the decision Congress had never spoken on the question and nothing in the decision prohibited Congress from exercising its right to enact such legislation as the bill under consideration.

He challenged a statement of Justice Butler in the Georgia case decision that the privilege of voting was not derived from the federal government but was conferred by the states.

"The power to vote in a federal election is a federal power, Mr. Justice Butler to the contrary notwithstanding," Harris said, citing previous Supreme Court decisions which he said sustained his contention.

Even though the Constitution permits the states to impose the same qualifications on voters in federal elections as are imposed on voters in state elections, he contended, the right to vote nevertheless derives from the federal government.

He conceded the states had the right to establish reasonable "qualifications" for voters, but contended that a poll tax was a tax and not a "qualification."

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, of Atlanta, public relations representative for the CIO in the South told the committee the poll tax "operates to permanently disfranchise vast numbers of people,, unless their voting power is illegally restored for political purposes through manipulation of poll tax requirements and the voters' register."

The bill was also endorsed by Representative O'Day (D-NY), Gerald Harris, representing the Alabama Farmers' Union; Martin Popper. New York. representing the Constitutional Liberties Committee of the National Lawyers Guild; and Arthur Shores, Birmingham, Ala., negro lawyer representing the Negro Youth Conference and the Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Fayette, Ala., Alabamian
April 18, 1940

THE GEYER POLL TAX BILL

Congressman Lee E. Geyer, who calls himself a Democrat from California, has introduced a bill in the house to abolish the poll tax in states in which it now exists as a requirement for voting.

Mr. Geyer states in his own words that, 'the fight against the poll tax is a fight to bring to the eight Southern states which still retain this provision a truly representative democratic form of government— that is, government by the majority, rather than by the minority.'

Well, Mr. Geyer, we have been living in Alabama quite a few years and never before did we realize that we were not in a democratic state. But then too we remember that for a number of years a bunch of politicians have been trying to find out what is wrong with the South. If you would let us alone to live in peace and throw out your prejudice and jealousies we would be much happier. We refer not only to the poll tax bill but to the anti-lynch law and the unfair freight rates between the North and the South.

If I lived in a state and represented a state that even went so far as to vote on the Ham and Egg plan as California did recently and also a state noted for other such ridiculous ideas I would quietly sit back and watch a more progressive section continue to make progress. You forget Mr. Geyer that we didn't ask you to help us correct our socalled undemocratic governments and that we haven't attempted to run your government.

We learn that the main backer of your bill is the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which you say represents a wide range of opinion. Yes they hold a wide range of opinion and some of these opinions run on the communistic side.

The less we hear of this conference here the happier we will be. And then you say Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, is also backing your bill. Just another case of where the less is heard the better off we are. On further we find that such other organizations as the CIO, the A. F. of L., the National Negro Congress, Labor's non-Partisan League and many other such groups are backing it. We think you had better get a few Democratic organizations to back you before you go any further in trying to bring Democracy to eight southern states.

But this is just the feeble outcry of a country editor who thinks the right to vote is sacred and if one is not willing to pay a little for that right he should not call himself a citizen. We suggest that Mr. Geyer return to California and raise oranges and work for the Ham and Egg movement so he can retire soon thereby removing himself from any chance to further meddle in another person's affairs.

And here is one person who would like to see the yankees and the westerners let the south alone and let us develop as we wish. We have the greatest possibilities of any people on earth and your jealousies and prejudices are only hindering rather than aiding us. We want the poll tax and think it is correct, otherwise we would go to the polls and remove it. So wont you please lay off and let us alone?

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
June 28, 1940

Who Fights The Poll Tax?

ONE of the planks proposed for the Republican national convention, although not included in the final platform, was a direct fight on the poll tax in the South. That proposition was to call for reapportionment of representation in the U. S. House of Representatives with reduction in all poll-tax states "in proportion to the number of citizens of the United States above the age of 21 whose right to vote is denied or abridged."

Who proposed that plank? The Colored Voters League of America, says a propaganda release from that league itself. This propaganda says that such reapportionment, based on 1936 election returns, would reduce representation for Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia, Tennessee and South Carolina from 78 to 21. On a basis of 1938 returns, they said, the eight states would have only 13 representatives.

How fair would that representation be, we ask you? How fair is it to base the number of persons allegedly "denied" the "right" to vote, on election returns? In Tuscaloosa County there are over 10,000 qualified voters, yet 1,500 of them did not vote in the biggest primary ballot we ever cast. Our votes on general elections, which propagandists usually use in fighting the poll tax, are habitually just fractions of the primary totals.

But back to the first question. Who fights the poll tax and why? The answer is the Colored Voters League of America, other similar organizations, and some folks who ought to know better but still play right into the hands of these leagues and their cohorts.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
August 16, 1940

Meddling Again

Congressman Lee Geyer, of California is offering the South, at least, an interesting diversion from the war and the failure of the Senate to pass a compulsory military training bill. Senator Geyer has laid a petition on the Speaker's desk asking that the anti-poll tax bill be brought to the floor.

Not only is the Californian unashamed of trying to take Congress away from important business, but he gleefully sends Southern newspapers a "press release" advising them of what he has done. Like the anti-lynching bill that regularly comes up for consideration, the anti-poll tax bill is aimed at the South.

Always eager to meddle where their assistance isn't needed nor requested, Congressmen of the Geyer stripe will go to any extreme to win notoriety or a few more votes.

Southern States which retain poll tax laws know better than Northern and Western demagogues how to handle their own problems. There is a definite reason for retention of poll taxes as a requisite to voting, and there is no indication as yet that these States are going to peacefully submit to the busybodies.

If there are two organizations which have been discredited forever so far as the South is concerned, it is the two most prominently identified with Congressman Geyer in his current scheme. They are the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—both radical outfits depending on Communist and fellow travelers for their guidance.

"FREE ELECTIONS" AND THE POLL TAX

By NANCE BLAKE

Crusader News Agency
NOV 7 1940

Birmingham, Ala. — The right to vote is an important and hard-won right of the American people, guaranteed in our Constitution, but Bob Mason of Alabama can point out that elections are not free for him. To vote on November 5, for instance, he would have had to pay a poll tax of $1.50, plus $12 for eight years' back poll taxes. The tax will go on adding up until he's 45 years old. From then on, he won't have to pay to vote, provided all his back taxes have been turned in. Free elections?

There are eight Southern poll tax states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The tax varies in each state from $1 to $2 a year and is often cumulative. In Georgia, it goes on adding up until the voter is 60. In most states you must pay the tax in advance and show your receipt when you go to cast your ballot.

Bob Mason hasn't ever voted. A sharecropper who makes 10 cents a day cannot afford to vote in Alabama. Neither can his wife nor family. For the Masons, the price of the ballot means the difference between Bob Jr. going to school or not, for it will buy a pair of shoes.

Candidates Pay Taxes For 3,000 People

Southern News Almanac

3-16-40

Birmingham News Ala

Research Records Dept. Tuskegee Inst.

Doub. Usual Number To Vote; Some Had Taxes Paid Two Times; Same Thing True In Other States

BY GEORGE LONDA

CULLMAN, Ala.—Cullman County in Alabama has gone on a poll tax paying spree that has caused the better citizens of this county to warn that the people will wake up with a hangover of bad democracy.

It is figured that more than 3,000 persons in this county have had their poll taxes paid for them by candidates taking part in a bitter race for probate judge.

In a normal year only 3,000 persons vote altogether in this county. The largest number ever to vote was 6,500. This was in 1934. This year, with poll taxes paid by candidates for office, about 8,500 will vote.

It has gotten to the point where friends call out to each other from opposite sides of the street, "Who paid your poll tax today?"

The three men running for office are Judge Homer F. Mitchell, a Republican who now holds the office; H. H. Kinney, solicitor, and W. F. Gladney, member of the county school board. These last two are Democrats.

Thousands of dollars have been paid out either by candidates or their friends to buy poll tax receipts for those eligible to vote in this county.

It is no secret what is happening here. Men freely talk about having their poll taxes paid for them. They talk about it on street corners, in restaurants, in barber shops, even in the courthouse itself. They tell who paid for their poll taxes, and how much back tax was paid for them.

Alabama has a cumulative poll tax. That means, you have to pay $1.50 a year. If you miss any years, you have to pay for those years that you missed when you do want to vote.

Persons who never before have voted are going to vote in this coming election — because someone else is paying all their back poll taxes for them. Back poll taxes amounting in each case to $36 have been paid for 15 persons here. That is a lifetime of poll taxes, from the age of 21 to 45.

Never before has the office of Tax Collector Birdo Windsor been so busy collecting poll taxes. On February 1, the last day that poll taxes could be paid, about $9,000 was taken in. This, mind you, was in ONE DAY. In all of last year only $5,544 was taken in.

The whole amount paid for poll taxes this year was $24,576. The mose ever taken in before was $9,000. This was for the 1934 election.

In a number of cases poll taxes were paid in behalf of two of the candidates. The "lucky" persons who had their poll taxes paid twice, then went to the tax collector's office and got a "refund" on one of the payments.

The tax collector's records show that 35 persons received "refunds".

Persons working for the different candidates brought in crowds of citizens at a time to the tax collector's office. Then, as the tax collector's assistants told how much each person owed, the man who brought them in would pay the money for them.

The Reverend Ralph H. Saunders, who is pastor of the First Christian Church in Cullman, told me that he saw a list of names that filled about 20 sheets of paper which one man sent to the tax collector's office. The Reverend Mr. Saunders said that this one man paid the poll taxes for all the persons whose names were on those sheets of paper. The tax collector then sent a single receipt for the whole amount to this man, the minister said.

The Reverend Mr. Saunders was so disturbed by what was going on that he wrote a piece in one of the local papers about it. He demanded that something be done.

Judge W. W. Callahan in his charge to the last Grand Jury told the jurors to look into this situation. The Grand Jury waited until the Reverend Mr. Saunders left town for a visit in South Alabama, then summoned him. Naturally, he didn't show up. Then the Grand Jury summoned another minister, but this minister could not give them any facts on the situation.

The Grand Jury did not summon the tax collector or any of the candidates, men who could have given them information if anybody could. Instead, the Grand Jury just dropped the whole matter and did not mention the poll tax scandale in its report.

It is known that several members of the Grand Jury had their poll taxes paid for them.

The Reverend Mr. Saunders said that if he had been given a chance to testify, he would have given the Grand Jury the names of those persons who had their poll taxes paid for them. He said that then the Grand Jury would have had a chance to ask these persons themselves under oath.

How bad the situation in Cullman County is was shown in an item in one of the local papers. This item said that certain citizen had paid his own poll tax. The newspaper jokingly said that this citizen was trying to be different from everybody else.

Gladney, who is one of the candidates for probate judge, said that the whole tax-paying scandal started like this: The county school board started a "good citizenship" campaign and advised all teachers to pay their poll taxes and vote.

Since Gladney is a member of the school board, the other two candidates thought that Gladney was making the teachers pay their poll taxes so they would vote for him. Therefore, the tax-paying began in behalf of the other candidates.

Gladney said that this business "snow-balled" until it got out of control, and thousands of dollars were spent in this way.

Those who have had their poll taxes paid for them treat the matter as a joke. But the more thinking citizens of this town are pointing out how this situation is a mockery and a threat to true democracy.

These thinking citizens also point out that while this situation is so notorious in Cullman County, such conditions also are true in other sections where poll taxes are

Candidates Pay Taxes For 3,000 People

Tuskegee Inst.
Records & Research Dept.

Double Usual Number To Vote; Some Had Taxes Paid Two Times; Same Thing True In Other States

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It has gotten to the point where friends call out to each other from opposite sides of the street, "Who paid your poll tax today?" said.

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These thinking citizens also point out that while this situation is so notorious in Cullman County, such conditions also are true in other sections where poll taxes are

required before a person can vote.

Only by doing away with the poll tax altogether, they say, can such scandals be prevented.

Suit For Right To Vote Filed In Birmingham

Journal and Guide

Charges Made In Behalf of Nine Citizens

3-16-40

BIRMINGHAM —(ANP)— The Jefferson County board of registrars this week faced the second stage in the attempts by Birmingham Negroes to gain the right to vote, when Atty. Arthur D. Shores filed charges in court against the board for violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments.

Norfolk, Va.

The court petition, filed in the name of nine local citizens, all qualified to become registered voters who were not certified by the board, charges that it has become a practice in the county to discriminate against all colored applicants, and that this continued practice constitutes a "conspiracy," a crime punishable by a fine and imprisonment.

FIRST CASE UNHEARD

Local voting officials have continually been accused by Negroes in the city of refusing to register them. The first time that the practice was challenged in court occurred last summer when Mr Shores, working with the NAACP filed petitions in the name of five local school teachers whom the board of registrars had ruled were unqualified to vote. The case, however, was not allowed to come to a trial, for the certificates were hastily put into the mails by the registrars as soon as it became known that the teachers had filed suit against them.

The present case against the board represents the first time that an actual conspiracy to prevent colored from voting has ever been charged against public officials in the history of Alabama.

Proof of the charges may be based upon the treatment received by all colored applicants summoned to appear before the board during the registration period ending January 31.

Negroes were sent notices to report before a closed session of the three man board, and were questioned on their knowledge of the constitution, the Alabama code certain legal questions, their ownership of property and other matters unrelated to their qualifications as voters.

No protests were listened to, although legally an applicant to vote is supposed to prove only his ability to read and write any designated section of the constitution. Those applicants who pointed out that the procedure was contrary to law were told to either come back at another registration period or to go to court about it.

Mr. Shores has as yet received no notice of when the cases will come to trial. A victory against the discrimination practiced by the Jefferson County board will mean that the 125,000 Negroes of the county for the first time will have a fair chance to participate in the various elections.

Birmingham Negroes File Charges Against County Officials In Vote Battle

Peition Recites That 13th and 14th Amendments To U. S. Constitution Violated

Complain of Unfair and Oppressive Tactics

BIRMINGHAM.—(ANP)—The Jefferson County Board of Registrars this week faced the second stage in the attempts on the part of Birmingham Negroes to gain the right to vote, when Atty. Arthur D. Shores filed charges in court against the board of violation of the 14th and 15th amendments. The court petition, filed in the name of nine local citizens, all qualified to become registered voters who were not certified by the board, charges that it has become a practice in the county to discriminate against all Negro applicants, and that this continued practiie constitutes a "conspiracy," a crime punishable by a fine and imprisonment.

Pittsburgh Courier

3-21-40

Birmingham voting officials have continually been accused by Negroes in the city of refusing to register them. The first time that the practice was challenged in court occurred last summer when Atty. Shores, working with the N. A. A. C. P., filed petitions in the name of five local school teachers whom the board of registrars had ruled were unqualified to vote. The case, however, was not allowed to come to a trial, for the certificates were hastily put into the mails by the registrars as soon as it became known that the teachers had filed suit against them.

The present case pending against the board represents the first time that an actual conspiracy to prevent Negroes from voting has ever been charged against public officials in the history of Alabama. Proof of the charges will undoubtedly be based upon the treatment received by all Negro applicants summoned to appear before the board during the registration period ending Jan. 31. Negroes were sent notices to report before a closed session of the three-man board, and were questioned on their knowledge of the

the Jefferson County Board of Registrars will mean that the 125,000 Negroes of the county for the first time will have a fair chance to participate in city, state, and national elections.

NINE ALABAMA CITIZENS SUE FOR BALLOT

Call

Birmingham Residents Say County Discriminates By 'Conspiracy'

3-8-40

BIRMINGHAM.—(ANP) —The Jefferson county board of registrars this week faced the second stage in the attempt on the part of Birmingham Negroes to gain the right to vote, when Attorney Arthur D. Shores filed charges in court against the board for violation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendmens.

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Kansas City Mo.

Charge Conspiracy

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Undergo Questioning

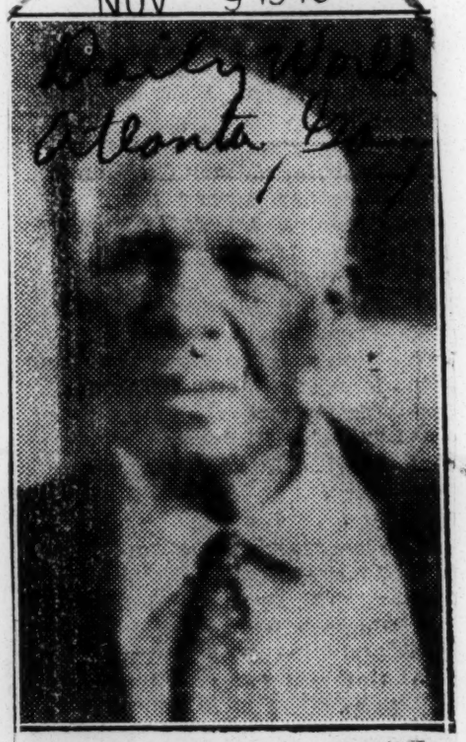
Negroes were sent notices to report before a closed session of the three-man board, and were questioned on their knowledge of the constitution, the Alabama code, certain legal questions, their ownership of property and other matters unrelated to their qualifications as voters. No protests were listened to, although legally an applicant to vote is supposed to prove only his ability to read and write any designated section of the constitution. Those applicants who pointed out that the procedure was contrary to law were told to either come back at another registration period or to go to court about it.

Attorney Shores has as yet received no notice of when the cases will come to trial. Meanwhile civic organizations in Birmingham are anxiously awaiting the outcome.

Votes 59th Time

NOV 9 1940

Daily Worker Atlanta, Ga.



BIRMINGHAM, Ala. —(SNS)— [illegible] who is 82 years of age voted Tuesday in his 60th national election. Mr. Fuller has been a citizen of Birmingham since 1906, and is proud of his enviable vote record.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Go To Court Seeking Ala. Franchise Right

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—Four colored citizens turned their pleas for the right to become registered voters to the courts of the state Wednesday. Then it was learned that through their Attorney Arthur D. Shores, petitions had been filed in Circuit Court demanding the board of registers to show cause why the petitioners should be denied their constitutional right.

Petitions were filed for Dave William Boswell, Rufus Crosby Edgar L. Howard and Leslie B. Hutchinson. It was announced at the same time that additional petitions would be filed for others this week.

Atty. Shores, fast becoming one of the most brilliant young lawyers of the nation, won fame last fall in similar cases when the board of registrars registered all persons who applied following announcement of similar suits in the state courts.

The petition sets out that petitioner further states that during such registration period the said board of registers has unlawfully combined, confederated and schemes and plots whereby they conspired together and have formulated and devised various have prevented and still prevent the Negroes of Jefferson county, including your petitioner from being registered; and as result of conspiracy, it has become the general habitual and systematic practice of the said Board of Registers, including these respondents and their predecessors in office, to refuse to register Negro residents and citizens of Jefferson County, Alabama including your petitioner, and to deprive them of their rights of suffrage solely on account of race color and previous conditions of servitude."

"That as a part a parcel of the said conspiracy of the aforesaid Board of Registrars..set in motion tricks..and have used every subterfuge to prevent the registration of Negroes and to deprive them of their fundamental constitutional right of suffrage. Said Board has conducted examination of Negro applicants behind closed doors said examination consisting of extraneous and irrevelant questions. That satisfactory answers did not satisfy the Board. That such refusal is contrary to the provisions of the constitution of the State of Alabama and violates the rights of your petitioner under the Constitution of the State of Alabama and under the Constitution of the United States and the 14th and 15th amendments.

The petition asks that the qualifications of the Negroes be determined by jury.

Arthur Shores Represents Petitioners

Let Poll Tax Alone, Insist Alabamians

Congressional Move To Override State Laws Incurs Sharp Protest

Finds One Backer

Dr. A. H. Collins Opposed To Levy On Principle; Dozen Others Are For It

Random interviews last night with 13 public leaders on proposed Federal abolition of the poll tax requirement in presidential and congressional elections elicited 12 statements of resolute opposition.

The favorable statement was that of Dr. Albert H. Collins, State superintendent of education. Dr. Collins said simply that he was opposed to all poll tax requirements.

Schools, incidentally, are the beneficiary of Alabama's $1.50 annual poll tax.

From the others came sharp censures of any attempt by the Federal Government to regulate State elections. With others the chief concern was over wha type Alabamian would be found voting in the absence of poll tax requirements.

And some there were who didn't know which apprehension was the more disturbing to them. The expressions of the 12 abounded in such adjectives as "intolerable," "indefensible."

Delegation Opposed

WASHINGTON, March 6.—(AP)—Senator Bankhead (D), Alabama, said: "I should be greatly disturbed if I thought there was any likelihood of the Southern people following the leadership of Maury Maverick on so important a subject as the franchise.

"He does not in any respect reflect the best tradition or the sound judgment of the Southern people on this fundamental question."

Representative Grant (D), Alabama, asserted "any move of this kind should come from the State itself and not from Congress."

Representative Patrick (D), Alabama, said: "If we dissolve a state right here and a state right there, finally we'll dissolve into a great national pot."

He added, however, if the Geyer bill passed it would be caused by poll tax laws which, like Alabama's, were "too severe."

Representative Sparkman (D), Alabama, said he opposed the original Hatch act and would oppose the Geyer amendment.

"All of them infringe on states' rights," he said. "Suffrage matters are up to the State, not the Federal Government."

State Senator Emmett Hildreth, of Greene County, who is campaigning for Congress against Pete Jarman, thought that the enfranchisement of his district's negro population would be a "tremendous advantage" to him. But he was unequivocally opposed nonetheless.

Prior to the constitutional convention of 1901 every citizen was required to pay a poll tax like any other tax. The convention, however, discarded the compulsory provisions and made it optional.

Alabama—one of the eight States with poll taxes—is the only State with an absolute cumulative feature. Voters must pay from the age of 21 to 45 years. If one has not voted for 10 years he must pay $15 in back taxes to resume his voting.

There have been many attempts to abolish or modify the poll tax in recent Alabama Legislatures. All such attempts have been crushed with little ceremony.

Gov. Dixon endorsed an amendment to permit delinquent citizens to requalify by paying $3. His amendment was killed with as little difficulty as its predecessors.

The interviews follow:

FRANK M. DIXON
Governor Of Alabama

Purely and simply an attempt to dominate the franchise in the States. It is a matter in which the Federal Government has no proper concern.

It's a subterfuge with the manifest purpose of setting aside the poll tax entirely. As you know, I advocated to the Legislature a modification of the cumulative feature fearing just such as this. But this is too strong for me.

EMMETT HILDRETH
Candidate For Congress In The Sixth District

It doesn't make sense—why make voters pay to vote in State elections, but not when they're voting for a Congressman or a President? The negroes are six to one in my county and it would help me tremendously because the white element would naturally influence the negroes. But I'm absolutely opposed. A very dangerous innovation.

COOPER GREEN
Mayor of Birmingham
(Between acts of "Gone With the Wind" at a Birmingham Theater)

I shouldn't care to make any unqualified statement about this as I am not familiar with the provisions. But as you know, when I was in the Legislature back in 1931 and 1932, I introduced a bill to abolish the cumulative feature of the poll tax, but to retain the tax. You know we have many good people who fell behind in the depression and I'd like to see them catch up. But I'm in favor of retaining our present registration laws so as not to relinquish control. I believe this is undesirable because of the confusion it would create—paying to vote in one election, voting without a poll tax in another.

WILLIAM A. GUNTER
Mayor of Montgomery

I'm in favor of the poll tax. The money goes to schools. The tax eliminates an ignorant and vicious vote. If a man doesn't care enough to pay his poll tax he's got no business voting. This would almost insure that every election would be unfair—a large element would be coming in with a purchasable vote. The people of this State are unanimous in wanting to retain the poll tax.

J. MILLER BONNER
Gov. Dixon's Legal Adviser

The principle is absolutely indefensible and intolerable. If Washington can't leave us to conduct our own elections, what is it going to leave us? We had enough trouble with them after 1865.

T. S. (BUSTER) LAWSON
Attorney General

My offhand opinion is that such a law would be unquestionably unconstitutional. Furthermore, I'm opposed to the centralization of power in Washington. I'm opposed to Congress interfering in this purely State matter.

LUCIEN P. BURNS
Mayor of Selma

I'm absolutely and unalterably opposed to letting the bars down because it would militate against good government. It would enfranchise an irresponsible element.

A. L. HASTY
Probate Judge, Marengo County

This takes me by surprise. But we can handle them down here. They'll vote with us, I'm not afraid of that. We're all Democratic anyway. But just the same we don't want that.

HAYSE TUCKER
State Senator from Tuscaloosa

I voted in the Legislature to retain our poll tax law. This would be a usurpation of State's rights. Very bad. It's just another attempt to centralize control in Washington.

DR. ALBERT H. COLLINS
State Superintendent of Education

I'm in favor of doing away with poll taxes altogther.

AUBREY DOMINICK
State Representative from Tuscaloosa

During the last session I voted to

etain the present poll tax. And I am now of the same opinion.

EUGENE CARTER
Circuit Judge, Montgomery County

The law should be retained as is. I don't think there should be any difference in the requirements for voting in a State and a congressional race. Too, Alabama needs the poll tax as a restriction. Any particular group in mind? No, I just don't think the law ought to be disturbed.

IRBY POPE
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3-7-40

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POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
May 24, 1940

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"Of nature red in tooth and claw . . ."

* * *

Without regard to its legal and political implications the United States Supreme Court's decision upholding the 1937 bituminous coal act contributes much to the basic American (and capitalistic) principle of competition. With the public right to preserve this indispensable competition by laws against private price-fixing and against production and marketing controls long ago established, there is now indicated a public right to go in for price-fixing and other economic controls by society itself in cases where competition is not the productive thing it should be but a destructive expression of "nature, red in tooth and claw."

* * *

Because of special conditions and a longtime sickness in the American coal industry the competition existing there was one resulting in monetary loss and economic waste. Because coal is one of America's most precious natural resources, such loss and waste are especially contra to public interest. The Supreme Court's 8 to 1 decision is such common sense, therefore, that it is likely to be approved by all parties in the coal industry as well as by the public in general.

* * *

"It is not best to swap horses while crossing the river. . . ." When Abraham Lincoln wrote this in his reply to the National Union League on June 9, 1864, the river was almost crossed. Appomattox was only a few months away. But the stream which America may have to cross, whether it be war or peace for us, is only just being approached. Senator Vandenberg, the isolationist, has paraphrased Lincoln against Roosevelt by saying that we "ought to swap horses now and not have to cross the stream." He means that without President Roosevelt there would be less danger of our getting into the war. In England and France there have been dramatic swaps of horses right in the middle of the stream, with Churchill succeeding Chamberlain as Hitler struck the Lowlands, and Weygand succeeding Gamelin as the Germans came into France with blitzkrieg. If the Allies survive the present battle history will credit the midstream swap, the substitution of men of attack for men of hesitation and defense.

* * *

In a day of lightning war, lightning change, and history that moves at lightning pace, there is need of being willing to change commanders quickly when occasion calls. If Lincoln were living he would probably say that in crossing the stream the important thing is not whether you change horses but whether you have a streamlined horse between the shafts, one better fitted than any other for carrying on. We believe he would say that Roosevelt is such a streamliner.

* * *

Events abroad are drawing Americans so much together now that consensus of opinion is easy to identify. The consensus on Franklin Delano Roosevelt, we believe, is that while there is danger of his intense pro-Ally sympathies taking us into war, there could be no other leader to compare with him if war should come.

* * *

Mr. Charlton Durant, of Manning, S. C., wants to know if our desire to see poll taxes abolished means that we favor universal suffrage. The answer is no. We believe that government by dumbbells is worse than government by dictators and leads eventually to dictatorship in worst degree. We favor government by educated men only. And we know that a poll tax is no way to assure this. The possession of a dollar and a half for a poll tax does not indicate qualification in intelligence and responsibility for the great function of suffrage. Neither does the lack of a dollar and a half indicate a lack of these things. Sense, not dollars, should be the requisite for voting in the South.

* * *

As for the Negro question, we are sincerely of the opinion that it has nothing to do with the case. Whatever limitations need to be made or are determined to be made upon Negro voting can be accomplished as well by way of the educational test as by the poll tax one, as plentiful experience shows. The poll tax does not maintain "white supremacy" in the South. It maintains the supremacy of some white men over others.

Law Takes a Hand

Alleged election irregularities are now under the kind of scrutiny that should demonstrate that ballot manipulating can and will be punished in Louisiana.

SEP 27 1940

On the basis of evidence uncovered by United States Attorney Rene Viosca, the federal grand jury has indicted five commissioners who served in the Precinct Two of the Eleventh Ward in the primary of September 10. On the showing made that the tally sheets were altered to return a larger majority for Hale Boggs for Congress than he actually got, the jury charged the commissioners with mail fraud and a violation of the federal civil rights statute. Whether the commissioners are innocent or guilty must, of course, be determined in court.

Assistant Attorney-General Niels Hertz is looking into the St. Bernard parish election handling. At the Delacroix Island box, he says, 207 ballots were counted whereas only 137 persons entered the polling booth on election day. He has recommended that charges be filed against the five commissioners, and will investigate suspicious appearing returns from other boxes.

By far the broadest move against apparent election mishandling was made by Attorney-General Stanley and District Attorney Cocke of New Orleans Wednesday shortly after the indictments were returned by the federal grand jury. They petitioned the district court for an open hearing and a recount of the vote cast in that Second Precinct box in the Eleventh Ward in the September primary, and a similar investigation of six other boxes in the February primary. The probe may turn out to include many other boxes. It may include all elections held so far this year.

It must be presumed that the full vigor of the prosecutor's office will be placed behind the investigation. Election tricksters are a hard lot to convince. If they were not, the warnings issued before the various elections would have been sufficient to keep all precincts free of suspicious appearing returns.

While the authority of the federal courts to proceed against election trickery in general elections is clear, it is not certain that they can do so in the primaries. The supreme court was divided on a test case several years ago when it held that primaries were the state's business. Since then the Seventeenth Amendment providing for the election of senators by popular vote has been adopted and there has been some legislation aimed at the preservation of civil liberties. But if ability of federal authorities to deal with the trickery is in any doubt nothing stands in the way of the state courts and enforcement authorities.

SEP 27 1940

Election thieves steal to win; and if they don't need the votes to win they steal to make a good showing in their precincts. But the law makes no distinction between the purposes of the thievery. Whatever its purpose it must be broken up. The public knows as well as the election box professionals that even 5 per cent of the votes in each of New Orleans' 261 precincts counts up to an enormous total and has a double effect when shifted from one candidate to his opponent. The result could have a decisive effect on both city and state elections.

Citizens are justified in feeling outraged at any crookery that robs them of the American birthright to express their will at the polls. Most of them will be greatly pleased if the agencies now at work against it can put across the idea that ballot stealing by any means for any purpose will be challenged and punished.

Election Reform

Many persons will be surprised to learn that there is no federal law against fraud in an election in which candidates for federal offices are running. There are laws on the federal statutes and an amendment to the constitution which make it possible to prosecute persons who conspire to injure any citizen in the exercise of his rights. These laws have been used to prosecute ballot-box frauds. But there is no specific federal law making it a federal offense to cheat in an election.

SEP 22 1940

Birm Age-Herald

The states, of course, do have laws adequate for the punishment of ballot thieves and other corrupt election-day practitioners. But there also is a need for a federal law which would make it easier to punish election crooks.

Birm, Ala.

The American Bar Association has asked Congress to pass a law which would make it possible for the government to prosecute directly in election frauds.

Senator Hatch, author of the famous Hatch act, has introduced a bill in the Senate which some observers say would meet this need. It is to be hoped that the Hatch election bill will receive the careful study of the members of Congress.

Sometimes it requires the strong arm of Uncle Sam to uncover and prosecute election frauds. The federal government should be vested with the power to punish crookedness at the polls in elections involving federal offices.

Abbeville, Ala., Herald
August 15, 1940

THE GREATEST VICE IN ALABAMA

"There are several old vices prevalent in many parts of Alabama—gambling, drunkenness, prostitution and stealing.

But the greatest single vice in Alabama, the greatest menace to our social and political order, is vote-selling. The extended palm holds a dagger that is aimed at the very heart of our democracy. Since the May primary the newspapers of the state have reported as faithfully as they could upon the progress of this creeping paralysis that is attacking the body politic. Evil reports from every section of the state have been published. The reports are true. Every practicing politician in Alabama, every alert newspaper, every sophisticated fireside sitter knows that the reports are true.

It is indeed a serious matter. In many counties in Alabama The Advertiser believes it to be true that in any comparatively close race between candidates for office the purchasable vote in these counties constitutes the balance of power. When we say purchaseable we mean to speak, not about disfranchised negroes and naturalized aliens, but about our "pure" Anglo-Saxons, many of them descendants of men who fought in the American Revolution. Neither do we mean to leave impression that we are speaking about ordinary political trading.

We mean to say that the balance of power in the counties aforesaid can be bought with money on the barrel head!

There are literally thousands of "pure" white Anglo-Saxons in Alabama—most of whom look disdainfully upon disfranchised negroes and naturalized aliens—who would sell their votes as quickly, and as cheaply as some Japanese parents would rent their daughters to traveling salemen, and with no more compuction of conscience.

Thus there are literally thousands of Cromwellian Anglo-Saxons in Alabama who at every election degrade themselves shamelessly and quite as shamlessly betray their country and its democratic institutions.

These wormy, ill-begotten, badly reared native rats are gnawing at the very foundations of the citadel! They are the easy, ready prey of ambitious and unscrupulous men.

What shall decent people do to stop it? Sometimes we fear they will not do anything until it is too late. But always one can appeal to the public conscience in the hope that responsible officials and members of our juries will become aroused like he Minute Men of the Revolution.

It would lainly be unfair to the vote-selling citizen, the Amrican equivalent of the low-down Japanese father who rents his daughter for a price, not to have a word to say about his seducer.

That word is this: **Any man who will buy an office will sell it—for one value or another!"**

It was thought to be an outrage when unscrupulous demagogues bought the votes of the ignorant, newly-freed African slaves, but recent election practices would make the old-time negro vote buyers blush. Some recently won elections have been about as democratic as Hitler's occupation of Holland and Belgium. The criminal, through distorted ideals wants money and so he finds his victim and gets it fair or foul. The unscrupulous politician wants his office and so he seeks out his victims (the man who pawns his vote and soul for a price) and so he gets his office fair or foul.

Alabamans Go to Court Seeking Rights at Polls

Amsterdam News
New York, N.Y.

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OCT 19 1940

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Alabamans Go To Court Seeking Right To Vote

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. OCT 19 1940

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Bringing the case into court marks a victory for Mr. Shores, who, with the backing of the local N. A. A. C. P. branch and the southern state conference of N. A. A. C. P. branches, has waged a long fight to have the courts determine the qualifications upon which the fitness of applicants for registration may be judged.

Commenting on the case, Shores said: "This will be the first time we have had to try any of these cases. Heretofore, after petitions were filed, the petitioners received their certificates of registration through the mail. Hence it appears that we may actually get a chance to have our petitioners' qualifications determined by a jury. This we should like to have done."

Birmingham Man Has Missed Only One Time In Sixty Voting Years

Jack Fuller, 84, Has Enviable Record in Voting

NOV 11 1940

By ARTHUR P. STOKES

Daily Worker

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. —(SNS)— Perhaps no voter who voted in Tuesdays' election could boast of a better record at the voting booth than one of Birmingham's oldest Negro citizens.

You have to be rather an old timer, a gray haired old timer at that, to remember when Jack Fuller voted for the first time, 60 years ago. That was the year when President Garfield was elected over Mr. James G. Blaine and political folk were hearing the terms "halfbred" and "stalwarth."

Regularly, yes, almost religiously Mr. Fuller makes his way to the election booths, each and every year; and "I was there to vote this year," he told me, and then continued, "I haven't missed but once in 60 years and that was when Hoover and Al Smith were up in '28."

Atlanta Ga.

Yes, Jack Fuller was born in slavery. And, he has been quite active during all of his many years. He seemed proud of the fact that he had been a carpenter for 50 years. And besides, in 1888 he had helped to build "that big bridge over the Ohio river," from Covington, Kentucky, to Cincinnati, Ohio.

NOT SO ACTIVE NOW

Mr. Fuller isn't as active as he use to be. His hair is all gray now; and you have to shout when you talk to him; even when he cups a hand about his ear. He sits most of the day now in an old fashion rocking chair. You see, a man sees lots of changes in 84 years of life. "I voted," he said, "because I thought it was my duty as a citizen."

I pulled a chair up closer to the octogenarian. We were talking in the shadows of a dingy room on the second floor of the Old Folks Home. "How old are you" I shouted: "I was born in 1865" he replied. And that was five years before the first shots were fired at Fort Sumpter.

"Where were you born" I then asked. He cupped an ear then replied "Walker County, Alabama." He went on to say, "but then I moved to Tallapoosa county and there's where I first voted."

Mr. Fuller then straightened himself up in his chair. He leaned forward to tell me the story. You see, there's not much to look forward to at 84. It's all looking backwards, but looking backwards is really very pleasant when you have voted for sixty years. The octogenarian then spoke of the permanent voting certificate he got in Tallapoosa county before the turn of the century.

PAYS TAX YEARLY

Asked to tell about voting in the "olden days" Mr. Fuller said, "I got my first papers in Tallapoosa county." Then raising his voice a little and clearing his throat, he said, "I moved my family to Birmingham in 1906." I paid my poll tax and I pay it every year."

Asked about the voting places in Birmingham in the early days, he replied, "In them days we voted on the streets." He continued, "the first place was between 1st and 3rd street, but it got so crowded and traffic was blocked so they had to set up voting booths."

It was almost time to go now and I still had to ask this voter of many years the "all important question." I leaned a little forward and asked "are you a Democrat or Republican?" He didn't seem to to hear. I raised my voice "Did you vote for President Roosevelt or Mr Willkie?" He straightened himself up half his seaved length. "I ought" roared "I'm still a Republican and I voted for Wendell Willkie." Then with an exchange of smiles I said goodbye to one whose exercise of the franchise deserves a gold star to fan you boy," he said. He then

York Junior High, York, Ala.

Birmingham, Ala. News
November 11, 1940

THE POLL TAX

The fact that actual draft registration in Alabama was tens of thousands short of the anticipated turnout leads to some interesting conclusions. One might be that publicity for Oct. 16 was insufficient. A second would maintain that Alabama patriotism is off. Still a third might assert that the estimates on which predictions were based were in error.

Our own conclusion is that the fault should be laid to the poll tax. Curiously, the degree of shortage in registration turnout was almost in direct proportion to the ratio of colored population to white in the county. To us who have taken the ballot as a matter of course, a trip to the polling place to register held no mystery. To the ignorant Negro, always "advised" not to vote, a dfferentiation between voting and draft registration is difficult. If he knew his history, he might even justify his non-registration by the tenets of the American Revolution. "Taxation without representation" might easily be cited by "advised" non-voters as a corollary of "conscription without a voice."

The above may unintentionally give the impression of attempting to justify draft-dodging. Nothing could be further from our intent. We confidently expect to be called, and will go gladly. We merely take this opportunity to cite a shortcoming of our state that we believe to be fundamentally wrong. Free men require a free vote, and in Alabama it costs $1.50.—The Teacola (Jacksonville).

Poll Tax Scandal Shows Need For Repeal Action

DEC 26 1940

Southern News Almanac Birmingham, Ala.

Comment on the Poll Tax scandal in Hamilton County, Tenn., comes from Mrs. J. C. Cox, 1008 Fairview Ave., Chattanooga, Tenn. The scandal involved the counterfeiting of poll tax receipts during the last election.

Mrs. Cox says: "That the time has come, when it is expedient to abolish the payment of poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, is demonstrated by the current poll tax scandal in Chattanooga and Hamilton County in Tennessee."

In Hamilton County, Mrs. Cox says, "less than three per cent of the funds required to operate the schools are derived from poll tax receipts."

Jasper, Ala., Eagle
October 24, 1940

Has Been Voting For Sixty Years

(By Eldridge Correspondent)

D. W. Gilbert, widely known as "Uncle" Dave, living three miles north of here on the Byler Road, when interviewed there one day recently said he had not missed voting for a president in 60 years. During that time he has not missed voting in but two elections, of any kind, he said, and they were unimportant ones. He has been a life-long Republican and never cast but one vote that he ever regretted. On one occasion Mr. Gilbert's was the only Republican vote cast in this precinct. Twitted concerning the matter, he replied, "Well, I read somewhere in the Bible that five righteous men could have saved a city once."

Now everything is different about this voting business. Mr. Gilbert does not want to vote for Willkie and will not vote for Roosevelt. He was all at sea. Then somebody gave him a copy of the Communist Party Platform. He had someone read it to him. He thought it sounded all right. He was sent a form already filled out ready for him to sign giving his permission for his name to be put on November ballot as an elector for the Communist Party. "I studied the matter over for a whole day and night, then signed it," Mr. Gilbert said. "I thought I might learn something about it if I got into it." So that is why the Nov. 5th ballot lists one D. W. Gilbert, Eldridge, as a Communist elector.

Because his eyesight is so dim that he could not see to read himself, he has not been able to learn what is beneath the surface in Communism and for the same reason he could not see the picture of their candidate for vice-president nor acquaint himself with the fact that said candidate received his education at Fisk University for Negroes.

How Alabama Voted

NOV 16 1940

The official election returns for Alabama reveal that the Republicans made virtually no headway in the state this year, although they probably spent more money here than they have done since 1928. The majority by which the Democrats carried the state this year was very little different on a percentage basis from the majorities in 1932 and 1936, although numerically it was 5,000 greater than it was in 1936.

Bham News

The 1940 figures of 250,726 for Roosevelt and 42,184 for Willkie give the president 85.5 per cent of the total major party vote. In 1936, Roosevelt received 87 per cent, meaning that the Republican candidate picked up this time an additional 1.5 per cent. The 1932 percentage of 85.7 for Roosevelt was practically the same as his percentage this year.

Bham, Ala.

Incidentally, the total vote of 294,219 cast on Nov. 5 was the largest ever recorded in a presidential election in Alabama. It bettered the 1936 total by nearly 20,000, indicating some progress in the effort to get Alabamians more aroused over national elections.

Birmingham Ala. Age-Herald
November 8, 1940

A Negro voter at Louisville, Ky., appealing from a precinct officer's ruling that he couldn't cast a ballot, presented Circuit Judge Churchill Humphrey with his registration duplicate marked "moved and dead." The jurist lost no time in holding him "alive and moving" and entitled to vote.

* * *

"Machine" politics at Des Moines, Iowa, took its toll in Iowa's election booths Tuesday.

A Cedar Rapids woman entered a voting machine, pulled the master lever without indicating her choices, came out sobbing that she had lost her vote. Sympathetic election officials allowed her to try again.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
December 20, 1940

Professors Will Attend Meetings

Many University Faculty Members To Appear At Parleys

Christmas holidays are not vacation days for faculty members of the University of Alabama. Many of the Capstone professors are scheduled to appear on programs and attend national conventions and conferences to be held throughout the country during the next two weeks.

The following five faculty members of the Department of Political Science will appear on the program of the 36th annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago on December 27: Dr. Roscoe C. Martin, head of the department; Dr. Charles W. Smith, Dr. Eric Voegelin, Dr. Weldon Cooper and Dr. Walter H. Bennett.

As an authority on governmental reorganization, Dr. Martin will evaluate the improvements made in the Alabama state government during the past few years, in a round table discussion of recent state administrative reorganizations. A paper on "The Negro in Alabama Politics" will be presented by Dr. Smith at a round table discussion of political parties and elections.

Dr. Voegelin, speaking before the international relations section, will discuss questions which will arise in the alternative cases of a British or German victory in the present war. Dr. Cooper will address the meeting on "Interstate Relations in the South," and Dr. Bennett will serve as secretary to the sectional meeting on political theory.

Four members of the mathematics department will present papers at the 47th annual convention of the American Mathematical Society in Baton Rouge, La., on December 30. On the program are Prof. T. L. Wade, Dr. R. H. Bruck, Dr. C. R. Cassity and Dr. Russell Cowan.

Dr. F. M. Jones and Dr. C. P. Seitz, faculty members of the psychology department, and Dr. C. M. Pomerat, chairman of the department of biology, will spend their Christmas holidays at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which convenes in Philadelphia on December 27.

Dr. Seitz will serve as representative of the Alabama chapter of Sigma Xi, honorary scientific fraternity, at the meeting. Dr. Pomerat will present a paper before the conclave concerning his recent research work at the U. S. Marine laboratories at Pensacola.

The following members of the faculty of the School of Commerce and Business Administration will attend the Southern Economic Association convention in New Orleans on December 27 and 28: Dean Lee Bidgood, Paul E. Alyea, J. Cullen Barton, Forest C. Blood, James Holladay, Russell Johnson, Donald F. Mulvihill and Burton R. Morley.

John Bickley will meet with the Teachers of Insurance convention and J. Raymond Ylitalo with the National Marketing Association convention, both meetings to be held in Chicago during the holidays.

John Mackenzie Cory, director of libraries, will attend the midwinter meeting of the American Library Association which is to be held in Chicago on December 27. Two other members of the library staff, Ethelyn Markley, catalogue librarian, and Hugh Behymer, research bibliographer, will also attend.

Prof. Randolph Fort, acting head of the Journalism Department, will fly to New York during the holidays to attend the annual convention of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism.

Dr. Mildred A. Engelbrecht, assistant professor of bacteriology, will spend part of the holidays attending the three-day session of the Society of American Bacteriologists in St. Louis.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

THE POLL TAX

To the Editor The News:

Accept my hearty thanks for your editorial on the poll tax, for the Scriptures declare: "Continual dripping will wear away a stone." Since it goes for our public schools it is very important; and since it is an Alabama law it should be rigidly obeyed. But my conviction is that the non-payment by citizens is due to the unbusinesslike method used for collection, which as now conducted cuts its own throat.

You state: "If not paid by Feb. 1 a voter cannot vote." How grossly absurd, when 21st birthdays, the voting age, come all the year around! Now why not apply some common sense to catch every voter reaching 21? The alert business world makes its collections after every pay day. Why? Because men and women have the cash, before it seeps away into other things. Why not adopt this plan when voters become 21? Let them go forthwith to the tax office and register and pay the $1.50 on reaching their proud age of manhood and womanhood to take part in our great republic's body politic.

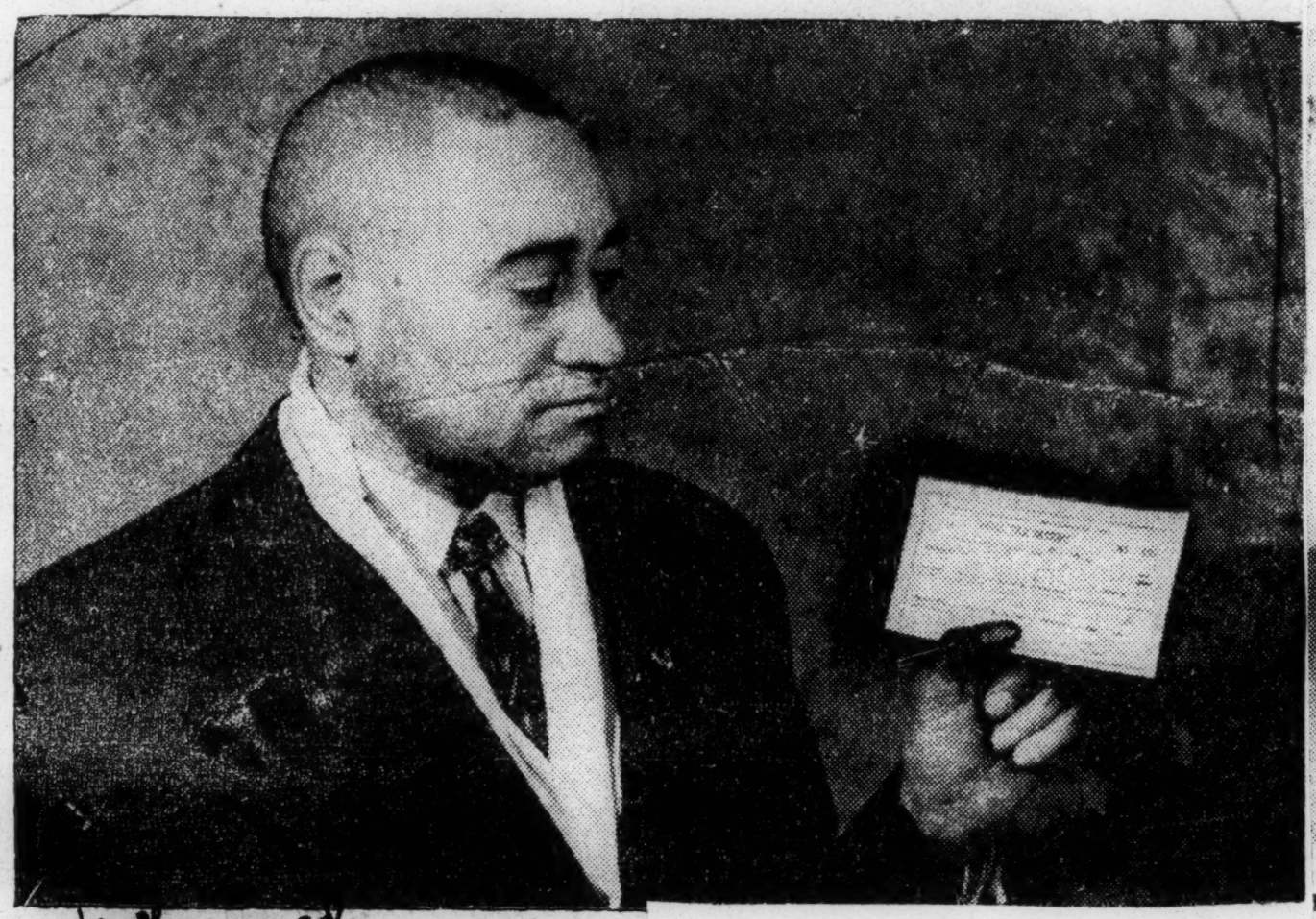
We have 67 counties and tax offices, and why not allow everyone attaining 21 to register and pay the tax? And any voter in the county to do the same when he has the $1.50? Then they will have no excuse for not voting. The tax collectors are paid to collect taxes, and why not the poll tax, too? A very logical sequence. We cannot, in the homely adage, "teach old dogs new tricks." Nay, but let us reach and hold the young ones and train them, and not pay out the extra expense for registrars and then meet failure as it now is.

I do not favor abolishing the poll tax, nor abolishing delinquences, because women spent more than $1.50 a year on cosmetics and beauty parlors, and men on tobaccos and other selfish indugences daily. And I think they deserve to have a "bolshevik" president's or governor's chair.

In these times of horrible wars in the Eastern continent, we of Alabama should be patriotic enough to pay $1.50 and act our part to save our democracy, its religious liberty, free speech and free press. And you readers seriously think on these things! LIDA BESTOR ROBERTSON.

Bessemer .Ala.

Desire To Vote Costs Alabaman $36



After several attempts to register and following the payment of $36.00 to the State of Alabama last Saturday, Arthur Glover Means, of 120 15th Ave., North Birmingham, is a qualified voter with all the rights of any other citizen. Mr. Means, a member of the Birmingham branch of the NAACP, passed the board of registers last August. He was forced to pay one dollar and [illegible] every year, of his age past his twenty-fir[illegible] up to his fifty-fifth birthday. Colored [illegible]e reported paying their poll taxes [illegible] large [illegible]s before the February first deadline. Mr. Means [illegible]s pictured with poll tax receipt in his hand. He is a now "full fledged American citizen" —Photo by Britton Bros.

Law Instructor

DANIEL W. BOWLES

Business manager of the State Industrial Home for Negro Girls, Tipton, Mo., has been added to the staff of Lincoln university school of law at Jefferson City, Mo. The law school this week entered its second year. A graduate of Howard university, Bowles practiced law in St. Louis, Mo., for more than 20 years.

Movement Spreads In South for Banning Poll Taxes

By Rob F. Hall

(Special to the Sunday Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Feb. 24.—This story should really begin about 1900 when the Southern Bourbons, after smashing the democracy of the Reconstruction South, held a series of constitutional conventions in the Southern States and adopted constitutions to give a legal status to what they had already achieved in fact through unbridled terror and shameless demagogy.

These constitutions established the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, added property and literacy qualifications and included the notorious "grandfather clauses." Thus they restricted the right to vote almost entirely to the ruling class whites, as was their purpose. They deliberately erected bars against the Negro people as a whole, and against that most numerous class of whites, the workers and small farmers, who had already threatened the landlord and corporation oligarchy in the Populist movement, which had swept through the South.

It is more to the point, however, to start our story with events in 1935. Despite the fact that the poll tax and the disfranchisement of the Negro people constituted the most flagrant and brazen flaunting of the Constitution, especially the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, the United States Supreme Court had repeatedly given its blessings to the status quo in the South. In a majority of the Southern states, the poll tax was taken quite for granted.

I recall a meting of the District Committee of the Communist Party at the time (it took place secretly in the loft of a little Negro church near Birmingham), which resolved that the struggle against the poll tax and for the right to vote for the Negro people should be our major task in the coming period. I doubt whether any of the delegates left the meeting actually skeptical, but certainly, if ever a task seemed difficut, it was that one.

Today, after five short years, the abolition of the poll tax, at least as it applies to federal elections, is within reach. The poll tax is page one news. It is commanding the attention of every significant organization of the people in the South and of many throughout the country. John L. Lewis has dramatized the issue in his address before the American Youth Congress, branding the poll taxes as "cowardly" and "iniquitous."

Even in Mississippi, where reaction is so deeply entrenched that a bourbon state senator can get away with a resolution removing all mention of the right to vote from school books used by Negroes and providing for separate warehouses for books used by Negro children—even there the recently inaugurated governor, Paul Johnson, felt compelled to call for the repeal of the poll tax, saying, "Why should we disfranchise a man because he is poor?"

SOUTHERN LABOR AROUSED

The poll tax has become the issue it is in these five years because it is in this period that Southern labor begun to rouse itself, to become conscious, and to organize. This is the period which ushered in the CIO. reaching into the hitherto unorganized basic industries of the South as well as into the rural districts among the farm laborers and sharecroppers.

Because labor gave the leadership to the fight against the poll tax, it has been able to rouse broad sections of the people in the South in this fight. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Council of Young Southerners, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the League of Women Voters, and many other organizations, expressed in their decisions the demands of the people. Many representatives of the Roosevelt administration in the South took up the demand and the administration gave it tacit support.

But in this period, following the President's swing to the right, the labor movement can put no reliance in the administration's confidential assurances that it would support the abolition of the poll tax. It was this justified caution that was expressed in the remarks of Lewis, demanding that the President "instruct" the Department of Justice to take action in the federal courts **"to attack and strike down those damnable provisions inflicted upon the citizenship of those Southern states in these iniquitous poll taxes."**

In fact, there is in Congress a bill, introduced by Rep. Geyer of California, known as HR 7534, which would abolish the poll taxes in federal elections. This bill was introduced at the request of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, almost eight months ago. But at this date, no public statement supporting this bill has come from President Roosevelt, and there is no record that Mr. Roosevelt nor any other administration leader has taken serious steps to mobilize for the enactment of this bill. In fact, there is a tendency on the part of Southern "New Dealers" to seek a postponement of consideration of this measure "until after 1940."

COURT CASE PENDING

Meanwhile, the fight goes forward on another front. Last fall, in Grundy County, Tenn., Henry Pirtle, a registered voter who had not paid his poll taxes, attempted to cast his vote in the special election to choose a Congressman to fill the unexpired term of the late Sam McReynolds. The Board of Elections refused to accept his vote and Mr. Pirtle, through the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference, carried his case to the Federal District Court at Nashville. Receiving an unfavorable decision there, the Civil Rights Committee has appealed the case and it will shortly be heard before the Federal Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. From there it will go to our "brand spanking new Supreme Court" for decision.

The enactment of the Geyer bill would be a great step forward in the extension of democracy in the South. It would give the Southern people the weapon they have been seeking to rid themselves of such reactionary demagogs as Martin Dies and Joe Starnes. One has only to realize that Dies was elected by 11,842 votes out of a population of 304,000 in his Congressional district (four per cent of the people) to see what a little democracy in the South would mean. Joe Starnes, from the Goodyear Rubber Company town of Gadsden, Ala., received the vote of six per cent of the people in his district. He as well as Dies, Cox of Georgia and Rankin of Mississippi, among others, know that the lifting of the poll tax would be their doom.

ALABAMA'S POSITION

Alabama would prefer to solve its polltax problems without benefit of federal clergy. The polltax assessment is a state policy. Only the state should sit in judgment upon it. To hell with the federal punks that would once more assume the responsibility of reconstructing this state!

"RIGHT TO VOTE" DEMONSTRATIONS

Six Million Whites, Four Million Blacks Disfranchised!

OCT 24 1940

Birmingham, Ala. —(CNA)— Huge "Right to Vote" demonstrations that will involve some 10,000 Southern young people are being organized by the Right to Vote Campaign of the Southern Negro Youth Congress to coincide with the presidential elections on November 5, it was announced this week by Dr. James E. Jackson, Jr., of Virginia, director of the campaign. The demonstrations will dramatize the disfranchisement of four million Negroes and six million whites in the South.

Scores of young white Southerners have volunteered to participate in the demonstrations against Poll Tax, etc. by carrying colorful signs in front of the polls! Chief centers of the demonstrations will be Birmingham, Nashville, Richmond and New Orleans.

Alabama Registration Law To Be Tested

SEP 28 1940

BIRMINGHAM—(ANP) — A test of Alabama's registration law is involved in nine jury cases set for hearing here October 14.

Nine petitioners, represented by Atty. A. D. Shores, fast-rising Birmingham barrister, having been refused registration as electors by the board of registrars, have asked the courts to determine their qualifications.

Alabama law gives to a refused applicant the right of jury hearing to determine his fitness, provided he appeals the board's decision within 30 days after rejection.

Several organizations here have been waging a hard fight to break down discrimination in registration laws as this is the method used to limit Negro suffrage, Negroes being otherwise permitted to vote freely in the Democratic primary.

Members of the board of registrars against whom this action is being brought are Chairman Rufus Bethea, Herman A. Whisnett and Sterling A. Foster, father-in-law of U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black.

This is the first time that a case of this kind has been carried to the courts. Its outcome is being eagerly watched for the effect it will have in bettering the application of voting laws in this state.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Ft. Payne, Ala., Journal
September 18, 1940

IT ALL DFPENDS

(By E. M. Baker)

Yes, it all depends and nowhere is this more evident than in the matter of a third term for the President of the United States. The origin of the so-called third term tradition is attributed to Washington and Jefferson. This notwithstanding the fact that Washington carefully set out in his Farewell Address his reasons for not offering for a third term none of which had the slightest reference to a third term and the further fact that he stated that he could see no propriety in limiting the tenure in office of the President.

True that Jefferson favored limiting a President to one term. He also favored a limited term for Senators and Congressmen and also for the Judiciary. Jefferson's idea wes placed before the Constitutional Convention and rejected. When Jefferson was older and had gained greater knowledge through experience he changed his mind about many of his early views, even the one about the President being elected for more than one term. Near the end of his second term he hesitated about not accepting a third term and stated that there were circumstances that could arise that would cause him to accept a third term.

But what I started to write about in support of my subject that it all depends, is that at various times when a third term for a President has been considered, Democrats and Republicans have been on opposite sides depending on whether the one being considered for a third term was a Democrat or a Republican.

In 1912 Therodore Roosevelt was a candidate for a third term as President of the United States. He received more than 4,000,000 votes for a third term. This was more than a half million more votes than was cast for the regular Republican candidate.. The progressive wing of the Republican Party in 1912 was for Roosevelt and a third term. Newspapers which ardently supported Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 are now viciously assailing Franklin D. Roosevelt because he is running for a third term. Why? The reason is not the third term. They are using the third term argument because it sounds better than their real reasons would sound. It all depends. If the Republican candidate this year was running for a third term 99.99 per cent of the normal republican vote would be supporting him and the democrats would be shouting about the sacredness of the third term tradition.. This third term talk is shadow boxing. The real reason for being for Roosevelt or Willkie is found in something else.

During the second term of Mr. Coolidge there was much agitation about a third term for Mr. Coolidge. During this discussion Mr. Hoover who was later nominated and elected president said, "I am for Mr. Coolidge, who, I am sure, will be our President for four more years." Mr. Hughes, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, said, "I am for President Coolidge first, last and all time, and I believe that he will be renominated and reelected." In 1928 before Mr. Coolidge made his famous " I do not choose to run" statement a resolution was introduced in the United States Senate vigorously denouncing a third term for any man for President. Most of the Democrats, a number of whom are still in the Senate and now supporting President Roosevelt, voted for this resolution. The republicans, some of whom are still in the Senate and who are now talking about the sacred tradition against a third term voted against this resolution. Why? Just because it all depends.

Coming closer home we find a rather amusing example of the fact that it all depends. While Mr. Willkie was resting in Colorado he made public a telegram from Mable Jones West pledging him her support. At that time I read the Republican platform and this West telegram made me think of an incident that happened a few weeks previous. I received a circular signed Mabel Jones West in reference to the announcement that Mitchell, Negro Congressman from Chicago, was to speak at Howard College. I quote from this circular: "No greater affront could be offered to the people of Alabama. The Alabama Council of Democratic Clubs on behalf of the womanhood of the South deplores and condemns this attempted new attack on the South. We call upon the white men of the South to see to it that our Southern ideals and traditions are respected and that all such insidious attempts to destroy White Supremacy be repudiated and denounced as unwarranted meddling." (I do not know what this poor girl will do now since Mr. Willkie states that he does not want the support of any one who harbers any race prejudice). Lay this circular with its clarion call for white supremacy along side the Republican platform in which we find this statement. "To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and persuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen?" And what do we have? A person so interested in white supremacy that they object to a Negro speaking at one of our colleges and then announcing for the Republican candidate running on a platform declaring for universal Negro suffrage, a thing that white men and women do not have except in one state in the union.

What do you suppose has become of Mrs. West's burning desire for the preservation of white supremacy? Well, it all depends.

But the latest and most conclusive proof that it all depends is found in Mr. Willkie's acceptance speech. In the beginning of that speech Mr. Willkie said, "The ceremony of an acceptance speech is a tradition of our pioneer past—before the days of rapid communication. You all know that I accepted at Philadelphia the nomination of the Republican Party for President of the United States. But I take pride in the traditions and not in change for the mere sake of overthrowing precedents." Later on in his speech he challenged the President of the United States to a joint debate. He had forgotten his tradition then. During the while history of our country no President of the United States ever engaged in a joint debate. David Lawrence tried to save Mr. Willkie's face by saying in his column that Lincoln debated in a crucial period, hoping that some people would think that Lincoln while he was President or a candidate for President. Lincoln and Douglass were candidates for the Senate when they engaged in joint debate. One of the most sacred traditions of this country is that when a man is elected to the office of President of the United States he must conduct himself in such a way as to lend dignity to that high office and that a candidate for that office must keep himself above personal mud slinging politics.

Well, it all adds up to this—Mr. iWlkie glorifies tradition when he thinks he will gain votes by so doing. He insists upon disregarding tradition when he thinks it will gain him votes. Yes, it all depends.

SOUTH VOTE CRUSADE HITS BIRMINGHAM

St. Louis Argus
St. Louis, Mo.
SEP 27 1940

Case Of Refusal To Register Negro In Court

BIRMINGHAM, (ANP) — A test of Alabama's registration law is involved in nine jury cases set for hearing here Oct. 14.

Nine petitioners, represented by Atty. A. D. Shores, fast-rising Birmingham Negro barrister, having been refused registration as electors by the board of registrars, have asked the courts to determine their qualifications. Alabama law gives to a refused applicant the right of jury hearing to determine his fitness, provided he appeals the board's decision within 30 days after rejection.

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This is the first time that a case of this kind has been carried to the courts. Its outcome is being eagerly watched for the affect it will have in bettering the application of voting laws in this state.

Birmingham Negro barrister, having been refused registration as electors by the board of registrars, have asked the courts to determine their qualifications. Alabama law gives to a refused applicant the right of jury hearing to determine his fitness, provided he appeals the board's decision within 30 days after rejection.

Several organizations here have been waging a hard fight to break down discrimination in registration laws as this is the method used to limit Negro suffrage, Negroes being otherwise permitted to vote freely in the Democratic primary.

Members of the board of registrars against whom this action is being brought are Chairman Rufus Betnea, Herman A. Whisnett and Sterling A. Foster, father-in-law of U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black.

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ALABAMA VOTE LAW WILL BE TESTED SOON

The Call
Kansas City
Missouri

Nine Jury Cases on Registration Set for October 14

SEP 27 1940

BIRMINGHAM.—(ANP)—A test of Alabama's registration law is involved in nine jury cases set for hearing here October 14.

Nine petitioners, represented by Attorney A. D. Shores, fast-rising

Gadsden, Ala., Times
August 30, 1940

No Time For Party Fights

THE State Democratic Committee of Georgia acted wisely at its recent meeting in refusing to put the curse on those Democrats who might be led to vote for Willkie in the 1940 campaign. The future of the Democratic party in the South being what it is, there seems to be no occasion for going out of the way to punish somebody who happens to stray off under the extraordinary circumstances presented when an ex-Democrat is running for president on the Republican ticket and an ex-Republican is running for vice-president on the Democratic ticket.

The essential thing today is for the Democratic organizations in the South to conserve their strength, looking to the future when something approaching the conditions of the reconstruction era may be restored.

A tremendous effort is being made to break down existing conditions and restore full political power to the negro, the spear-head of this drive being the war that is being waged for the abolishment of the poll tax requirement.

Forty years ago Alabama solved the problems of white supremacy by adopting the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting and the system has worked perfectly in this state, as in other Southern states where it has been adopted. Now the same forces that are behind the so-called anti-lynch bill are behind the movement to abolish the poll tax and throw the polls open to everybody.

Imagine what this would mean in South Alabama counties where the white people are outnumbered anywhere from two to one to five to one. It would mean many colored legislative representatives from such counties and the same would hold true in other quarters where the colored vote would outweigh the white. Colored officials would become commonplace in many counties in the South. Thus the conditions of the reconstruction period would be restored and white supremacy in the South would become a thing of the past.

And don't imagine that this danger is remote. That misnamed Human Welfare Council, which met in Birmingham a couple of years ago and insisted upon doing away with segregation laws, is making a tremendous fight to have the poll tax abolished and the big negro politicians in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and elsewhere are lending all the assistance they can.

This is the situation and with a life-and-death fight to retain white supremacy just around the corner, it is no time for Democrats to fall to fighting among themselves over the possibility of a few voters wandering off to Willkie. Their defection will make no difference in the result of the national election while they may be needed urgently when the fight to overthrow white supremacy gets fully under way, with all the influence that powerful elements in the North can throw behind it.

The Georgia committee has acted wisely, with an eye to the far future, with its menacing possibilities.

Democrats have too much at stake to begin fighting among themselves, especially in the light of the fact that Willkie has little chance in Alabama, Georgia or any other typically Southern state.

Soldiers And Voters

OCT 20 1940

Registration day in Alabama brought out 331,845 young men between the ages of 21 and 36. Late registrants should increase that total to at least 400,000 and maybe 425,000. Even the lowest of these figures is greater than the number of voters who have participated in any Alabama election.

B'ham News

Alabama veterans of the World War do not have to pay a poll tax. They may have been in service only a month, and may never have gotten nearer the firing line than Camp Pike, but still the state saw fit to exempt them from poll tax payments for the rest of their lives. Members of the Alabama National Guard are also exempt, although not so are Alabamians who enlist in the regular armed branches of the government.

What, however, of the young men who now face a year's military service in the country's preparedness program? They are not exempt now, of course, but may we expect a movement to relieve them of this duty of citizenship? Will we say of them, as the state said of World War veterans back in 1919, that they proved their citizenship by military service? For this year of required absence from their accustomed pursuits will the state relieve them, too, of poll tax payments?

B'ham News

In view of the motives that led the state to suspend the poll tax requirement for World War veterans, it is easy to foresee a demand that those who serve in this new conscripted army shall receive a like favor. The circumstances are similar enough to give some support to the demand.

If general military service continues, and all who, willingly or unwillingly, go into service expect later to be relieved of the poll tax requirement as a prerequisite for voting, then eventually we will face a situation where one-half of all potential voters, male and female, will not have to pay a poll tax. Support for the poll tax will be weakened, and the belief will spread that Alabama ought to follow the lead of 40 other states and abolish the poll tax as a condition of voting.

With so large a percentage of the adult population exempt from the poll tax by law, the remainder will entertain a feeling of injustice. The person of military age who was not called to military service because of flat feet or some other comparatively minor cause will have some feeling of resentment that he must pay a tax to vote while the man whom nature endowed with perfect feet is exempt.

Regardless of whether the poll tax is wise or not, regardless of whether or not this state should continue it, the fact remain that granting exemption from the tax t World War veterans has paved the way fo a demand for exemption from those no being called to military service. And thi demand is bound to weaken the genera argument in support of the tax.

Southern Negro Youth Remind F.D.R. The South Is Still 'Problem No. 1'

(Special to the Daily Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., June 24.—Reminding President Roosevelt that in 1938 he termed the South the "Nation's No. 1 Economic Problem," the Southern Negro Youth Congress, in an open letter declared that "the Southland's voteless millions demand that you speak and act in your behalf now."

The letter, signed by Dr. James E. Jackson, Jr., director of the Right-to-Vote Campaign of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, detailed the shocking story of the South's exile from democracy, beginning with the fact that "less than 20 per cent of the adult population of the thirteen Southern states have the right of Suffrage."

The Open Letter to President Roosevelt was one item in a host of vigorous activities being conducted by the Right-to-Vote Campaign. Thousands of "Let Us Vote" leaflets are being distributed throughout the Soth by the Southern Negro Youth Congress. A picture of Southern Negro and white working men, barred from the ballot box, is on the cover of the leaflet, with the caption:

HIT POLL TAX

"We perform the duties of free men, we must have the rights of free men. We demand the right to vote." And beneath that:

"Abolish the Poll tax; Abolish the Lily-White Primary; Abolish the Registration Restrictions."

Meanwhile, in Birmingham, all democratic forces are concentrating on the giant Right to Vote Mass Meeting, to be held here next Sunday, June 30, at 3:30 P. M. in the Sixth Avenue Baptist Church. Dr. Jackson and Mr. James Anderson, Secretary of the Council of Young Southerners at Chattanooga, Tenn., will be the principal speakers.

The letter to the president described, among other forms of discrimination and restrictions, the so-called "Lily White" primary elections, which exclude Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries.

JAMES JACKSON, JR., director of the Right to Vote Campaign in Birmingham, Ala.

"Not only do the White Primaries disfranchise the Negro people in five Southern states," the letter reminds Roosevelt, "but in one of these states, namely, South Carolina, some whites are also excluded by this vicious, discriminatory law. In certain districts in South Carolina, one must not only be white, and pay a poll tax, but one must also be a member of a Ward Club that has dues of its own which are prohibitive for many white people."

The letter also describes another method of restricting the vote, known as the "Constitutional Interpretation Test," which calls upon the prospective voter to read and interpret a section of the State or Federal Constitution "to the satisfaction of the Registrar."

POLL TAX RECORDS REPORTED MISSING

Lawrence County Primary Investigation Is Delayed

MOULTON, Ala., July 8—(AP)—Sheriff G. D. Byars said tonight he was investigating disappearance of Lawrence County poll tax records which has virtually halted a Democratic committee investigation of the nomination of Isaac Johnson for probate judge.

Probate Judge Charles Bragg, who trailed by 100 votes in a June 7 run-off primary, has protested Johnson's nomination.

E. E. Byars, circuit and probate court clerk in Lawrence County, reported complete poll tax records were taken sometime Saturday night. Lists also disappeared from the office of the tax collector, a post held by Johnson.

Sheriff Byars said members of the Birmingham Police Department were checking fingerprints found in both offices.

A special committee hearing Bragg's protest of the Johnson nomination marked time today, lacking an official list of voters, although some of 20 witnesses who appeared were called on to testify.

E. E. Byars said poll tax records customarily kept in the probate office were placed in his custody as Circuit Court clerk after he turned the lists over to the investigating committee.

THE GREATEST VICE IN ALABAMA

There are several old vices prevalent in many parts of Alabama—gambling, drunkenness, prostitution and stealing.

But the greatest single vice in Alabama, the greatest menace to our social and political order, is vote-selling. The extended palm holds a dagger that is aimed at the very heart of our democracy. Since the May primary the newspapers of the state have reported as faithfully as they could upon the progress of this creeping paralysis that is attacking the body politic. Evil reports from every section of the state have been published. The reports are true. Every practicing politician in Alabama, every alert newspaper, every sophisticated fireside sitter knows that the reports are true.

It is indeed a serious matter. In many counties in Alabama The Advertiser believes it to be true that in any comparatively close race between candidates for office the purchaseable vote in these counties constitutes the balance of power. When we say purchaseable we mean to speak, not about disfranchised Negroes and naturalized aliens, but about our "pure" Anglo-Saxons, many of them descendants of men who fought in the American Revolution. Neither do we mean to leave the impression that we are speaking about ordinary political trading.

We mean to say that the balance of power in the counties aforesaid can be bought with money on the barrel head!

There are literally thousands of "pure" white Anglo-Saxons in Alabama — most of whom look disdainfully upon disfranchised Negroes and naturalized aliens—who would sell their votes as quickly, and as cheaply as some Japanese parents would rent their daughters to traveling salesmen, and with no more compunction of conscience.

Thus there are literally thousands of Cromwellian Anglo-Saxons in Alabama who at every election degrade themselves shamelessly and quite as shamelessly betray their country and its democratic institutions.

These wormy, ill-begotten, badly reared native rats are gnawing at the very foundations of the citadel! They are the easy, ready prey of ambitious and unscrupulous men.

What shall decent people do to stop it? Sometimes we fear they will not do anything until it is too late. But always one can appeal to the public conscience in the hope that responsible officials and members of our juries will become aroused like the Minute Men of the Revolution.

It would plainly be unfair to the vote-selling citizen, the American equivalent of the low-down Japanese father who rents his daughter for a price, not to have a word to say about his seducer.

That word is this: Any man who will buy an office will sell it — for one value or another!

The Ballots of Democracy

The root of democracy is the ballot. Anything which takes away the right of the citizen to vote is a weapon aimed at the very foundation of the democratic system of government. Atlanta Constitution

A number of Georgia counties have, through their county Democratic committees, announced they will not place the names of statehouse candidates upon the ballots for the September 11 state-wide primary. The reason given is that these counties have received no help from the state toward defraying the cost of holding the primary.

Nevertheless some of these counties state they will place the names of gubernatorial candidates on their ballots, "as a matter of courtesy." Why the distinction? Each candidate for a statehouse office has paid his entrance fee and is thereby entitled to have his name on every ballot in every county, equally as much as the candidate for the office of governor. Sept. 7, 1940

Twenty counties have received no state aid on the primary costs. It has been the customary practice to send such financial assistance to counties in which the superior judgeships and solicitor's posts are to be filled. There are no such races in 20 counties this year.

Whether or not this practice is equitable—even whether it is in accord with laws governing the conduct of the primaries—is beside the point. The simple fact is, that, by arbitrary action of the local county committees, the citizens of twenty counties are to be deprived of their sacred right to the ballot in so far as a number of important contests are concerned. Those citizens have depended upon their county committees to protect and to safeguard that right and when, by action of those committees, they are deprived of their constitutional privilege of voting, a form of local dictatorship has replaced the democratic process in those counties.

Not only the candidates directly concerned, not only the thus partially disfranchised citizens, but every Georgian who prizes his rights, his duties and his privileges as a citizen of the state and of the nation, should rise in outraged protest at this situation.

When any citizen, properly qualified as a voter, is deprived of the whole or any part of his balloting right, those who thus deprive him are striking at the very taproot of democracy.

Government in Georgia, as in every state of this nation, stands upon the foundation of the ballot box. Whatever weakens that ballot box is weakening the entire structure of democratic, American government.

South Carolina votes three to two for return to state prohibition, which makes for a certain lull in the conversation with the Governor of North Carolina.

POLL TAX AND CORRUPTION

More evidence that Alabama's outworn poll tax law is breeding dishonesty is found in the recent report of a Dale County Grand Jury. Aroused by reported flagrant violations of the state's election laws, the Grand Jury last week asked for a recess during which it could further investigate charges that candidates in the last Democratic primary had paid poll taxes for voters on a wholesale basis.

"We have examined 66 witnesses pertaining to violations of the primary election laws," the jury reported. "There has been testimony of abuses such as the advancing of considerable sums of money for the payment of the poll tax. . . Testimony has been submitted that older men have offered money to young men to vote for certain candidates. . . . All of these practices are to be condemned by law-abiding citizens of a true democracy, because they undermine the very government under which we live."

What the Grand Jury does not realize is that, try as it might, such corrupt election practices will continue as long as Alabama keeps her poll tax law.

The law limits the exercise of the franchise to a mere handful of voters. In our state only approximately 10 per cent of the citizens over 21 years of age are qualified to vote. The others do not have the money with which to pay the poll tax. Therefore, it is a comparatively simple matter for a group of dishonest office-seekers to buy enough votes through payment of poll taxes to control an election. In other words, Alabama's outmoded election laws aid and abet crooked politicians in their efforts to buy offices.

The Dale County Grand Jury stated the practices they had investigated "are to be condemned by law-abiding citizens of a true democracy, because they undermine the very government under which we live." That statement is true. Yet the factor which contributes most to the undermining of "the very government under which we live" is the poll tax law.

There are those who claim that were there to be no restraint placed on exercise of the franchise, such as the poll tax law places, it would be too easy for politicians to buy votes. These people believe that the "ignorant and unfit" citizens who would obtain the right to vote would be easy prey for crooked candidates. It seems to this newspaper there is little support for such an argument. It is The Bulletin's belief that it would be impossible for an office-seeker to buy enough votes to control an election if the voting list were to be greatly increased. While a candidate for a county office might pay enough poll taxes to control the majority of 2,000 registered voters, it is hardly likely he could accomplish the same result if there were 10,000 voters. Alabama needs to broaden the voting base. When that is done, this "true democracy" most of us give lip service to will be something more than a hazy ideal.
—Lee County Bulletin (Auburn).

Poll Taxes

BY ROBERT QUILLEN

Our respect for words often causes us to disregard facts. We are resigned to a certain tax because it has a pleasing name, and we resent another tax because its name offends us; yet all taxes, no matter what they are called, must be paid out of income and are therefore income taxes. Though lawmakers find 40 excuses to get tax money from you, every cent comes out of the same pocketbook. Birmingham Age Herald

At present, certrain politicians are trying to get us excited about a poll tax. This tax, which varies from $1 to $2.50 a year, is levied by seven states; and politicians in other states are trying to make votes by the ancient process of reforming their neighbors.

As you might expect, the propaganda they send from Washington is hypocritical and dishonest. For example, it says that only 16 per cent of the adult citizens of Mississippi voted in the general election of 1936, while 66 per cent voted in states having no poll tax—thus proving that the poll tax alone kept Mississippi people from voting.

But several Southern states, as all literate people know, have only one party that counts. The voting is done in the primary, and the general election that follows is only a formality. People don't vote because there is no contest. They aren't disfranchised for want of money to pay the poll tax. Thousands who do pay it never bother to vote in a general election. Sept 3, 1940

The poor man who is "disfranchised" by the poll tax doesn't resent it because of its nature. He simply hates to pay taxes, as all of us do. He pays no other direct tax in all his days.

The question is, if a man has all the advantages of citizenship, including free education and transportation for his children, is it too much to ask him to share the burdens of citizenship by paying a tax that amounts to about 4 cents a week He isn't disfranchised by inability to pay it, for he pays a much greater tax on his cigarets.

As a matter of fact, every citizen should be required to pay some direct tax. If he can't pay $2, let him pay 50 cents or a dime. If he is unwilling to pay anything, where does he get the right to vote and help govern the rest of us?

The rich tax-dodger should be denied the right to vote, and the poorest should be disfranchised if they are unwilling to pay anything at all. We do not deserve freedom, and cannot hope to save democracy, if we demand all the privileges of citizenship and refuse the responsibilities and burdens.

JURY CONVICTS OFFICIAL IN DALE

County Commissioner Is Declared Guilty On Forgery Charge

OZARK, Ala., Aug. 30—(AP)—Dale County Commissioner J. R. Brown was convicted of second degree forgery today by a circuit jury which deliberated more than 20 hours. Circuit Judge J. S. Williams sentenced him to three years imprisonment.

Nine other indictments are pending against Brown, Solicitor George Andrews said, explaining that today's conviction was on an accusation of forgery in the cashing of a $532 county warrant.

Commissioner A. T. Lisenby and Road Supervisor O. J. Wells were indicted along with Brown on accusations of mismanagement in the handling of public funds. Lisenby was charged specifically with having an interest in county contracts, Wells with forgery and embezzlement.

Solicitor Andrews said no definite date had been set for trials of Lisenby and Wells, or for hearings on the other charges against Brown.

Testimony Is Heard

The Dale Grand Jury, meanwhile, reported to Circuit Judge J. S. Williams it had heard testimony of vote-buying and other election irregularities in the May Democratic primaries and recommended "further investigation."

The report follows, in part:

"There has been testimony of abuses such as the advancing of considerable sums of money for the payment of poll tax, the discharging of one man from his job for not voting as his employer wished him to vote. Testimony has been submitted that one man was forced to move off of a place because he voted for a candidate other than the choice of the owner of the place. There has been testimony that older men have offered money to young men to vote for certain candidates. There has been some testimony that certain candidates have advanced money to different individuals for the payment of poll tax.

Practices Condemned

"All of these practices are to be condemned by law-abiding citizens of a true democracy, because they undermine the very government under which we live. The attempt to corrupt young men or older men in the exercise of their elective franchise is abhorent to decent citizens. The political racketeer who preys upon the candidates is condemned in no uncertain terms

"We feel that the investigation is far-reaching and there is need for further investigation in order that we may have the benefit of additional information presented to us. Due to this fact and this fact alone we have not acted on any case presented and respectfully request this honorable court that we be allowed to recess at this time to be called back in session at such time as the solicitor and members of the Grand Jury, either or both, recommend to the court for a further consideration of violations of the election laws."

Poll Tax Payments Lag In Arkansas

OCT 4 1940

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, Oct. 3.—With 40 counties reporting poll tax payments to the office of State Auditor J. Oscar Humphrey, it appeared Thursday that poll tax payments for 1940 will be well below last year's total despite the presidential election.

Commercial

A total of 140,968 poll taxes were paid up to the Tuesday night deadline in 40 counties which had reported 177,856 paid for 1939. The 1940 tax is a requirement for voting in the Nov. 5 general election, while only 1939 receipts were required of voters in the August primaries. Total payments for 1939 reached a new high mark of 351,012.

Appeal

Garland was the only county to report an increase so far. A city election scheduled for April, 1941, was responsible for 11,266 poll taxes this year as compared to 10,643 for 1939.

Memphis

Poll tax payments by counties (with 1940 figure first and 1939 second) include: Chicot, 2469 and 2982; Desha, 2532 and 3221; [illegible] and 5734; Jefferson, 6804 and 7909; Lee, 1762 and 2495; Lonoke, 3508 and 6881; St. Francis, 2769 and 4011: Woodruff, 2148 and 3700.

Want Right To Vote In Primary Elections

Willing To Take Test

DEC 28 1940

By EMORY JACKSON

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(ANP)—A three-man sub-committee was appointed by the Arkansas State Central committee of the Democratic party at a meeting Dec. 7 held in Hotel Marion to recommend the kind of action that should be taken by the Arkansas State convention on a request made by the Arkansas Negro Democratic association to allow "all Negroes who may qualify under challenge" to vote in the "white primary."

The request was continued in a letter and supported by a ten-minute speech of Dr. J. M. Robinson, president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic association, who appeared before the central committee.

Black Dispatch

A similar petition that was not acted upon by the state convention because of intervening events was presented to the same central committee by the Negro Demos last June with the committee "favorably referring it" to the convention.

The December request of the "black Democrats" reaffirmed the June petition to change the "only eligible white persons" cause to read: "All Negroes who may qualify under challenge may vote in the primaries." The petition did not define "qualify under challenge" but the Arkansas Gazette, influential white daily, quoted Committee Chairman Robert Knox as seeing it 'to mean some form of literacy test."

Proudly recouting the "loyalty" of the Arkansas black voter to the state and national party, the petition said that when the late Senator J. T. Robinson "was being threatened with humaliation by losing the majority vote in the state of Arkansas as a result of political alignments over which he had no control, under our leadership we came to the rescut of the Democratic party and polled at least 10,000 votes, which helped the state of Arkansas to stay in the Democratic column. Sen. Robinson was indeed appreciative of this achievement and personally expressed his desire to see us eventually evolved into the primary."

Okla. Leg.

Through inference the petition said that since a 150-year tradition had been broken to save the Democratic party from defeat in 1940, Arkansas should modify its rules barring the Negro vote in the primary. It also reminded that the convention in disposing of the June petition "passed a resolution delegating authority back to the state central committee to 'make such rules as may be needed for the best interest of the party."

Okla.

It disclaimed "desire for political domination, nor equality as to that matter" but reiterated a desire to be "allowed to vote in the primary."

Some doubt existed with the committee chairman that the "committee had authority to act upon the resolution," although the colored Demos were optimistic that a satisfactory formula would be found.

Composing the sub-committee are John Vesey of Hope, Luke Arett of Paris. Eugene of Jonesboro, Harvey G. Combs and Robert Knox of Little Rock.

Arkansas Dems Consider White Primary Removal

DEC 24 1940

By EMORY JACKSON

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Daily World

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Atlanta Ga.

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Poll Tax Question Enters Helena Election Contest

Commercial Appeal

DEC 29 1940

Special to The Commercial Appeal

HELENA, Ark., Dec. 28.—John C. Sheffield produced a 1939 poll tax receipt in justice of the peace court here Saturday as taking of depositions in the cross contest filed by John Ike Moore, answering Mr. Sheffield's contest of his election to the State Senate, got under way.

Memphis

The petition filed by Mr. Moore charged that Mr. Sheffield had not assessed his personal tax or his poll tax in 1939, but did not charge him with failure to purchase the poll tax. Assessor Bogan Gist testified before the court that he had assessed Mr. Sheffield's personal taxes for him, but that Mr. Sheffield had not signed an assessment blank.

It was pointed out that the cross contest had not raised the question of whether or not the poll tax had actually been paid.

Mr. Moore received 817 votes in the special election to fill the vacancy left when L. J. Wilkes resigned as state senator to become postmaster here. Mr. Sheffield was second in the field of seven with 7[illegible] votes.

Geo[illegible] Hornor, secretary of the P[illegible] County Board of Election Commissioners, denied that the board had chosen election officials whom they knew would refuse to serve. He declared that both those selected originally and those who actually served were chosen for their "honesty and integrity."

P. A. Deisch, another defeated candidate, told the court that he had entered the race at the request of Mr. Sheffield, who did not become a candidate until just before the deadline. Mr. Sheffield charged that Mr. Deisch's testimony was "not responsive to the issues raised in this contest."

Additional testimony will be taken before the court, presided over by J. B. Lambert and Floyd Curtis, Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock.

REQUEST OF COLORED PARTY MEMBERS MAY BE GRANTED AND 'ALL-WHITE' CLAUSE CHANGED

Committee to Make Recommendations on Petition Asking That Negroes Be Permitted to Vote

DEC 27 1940

By EMORY JACKSON

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The Call

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Kansas City, Mo.

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Los Angeles Denies Negroes Representation

Daily Worker
New York N.Y.

City Council Defeats Proposal Which Would Give Negro Community Power to Elect Their Own Councilman from 8th District

DEC 21 1940

(Special to the Daily Worker)

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 20.—Eleven city councilmen today voted to uphold the principle of Jim Crow in their honorable body.

A proposal by Councilman Earl C. Rasmussen, which would have shifted the lines of the eighth councilmanic district so members of the Negro community would have the balance of voting power in their own area, was defeated.

Since the dawn of civic government here, Negroes have been deprived of representation in the council by so gerrymandering councilmanic districts as to slice up the Negro community and prevent its unification. The city fathers voted to continue that Jim Crow by killing Rasmusson's amendment with 11 nays to 3 ayes.

Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., president of the Los Angeles branch of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, told the city fathers:

"We want a representative from our part of the community who knows the needs of the people there. . . . Unless the people are satisfied by your action today, the time will come when the people will have to take matters into their own hands."

Bob Robinson, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress, said **"we are confined actually in ghettoes, but we aren't allowed the adequate compact grouping of votes necessary to get proper representation."**

John E. Hardgrove, district chairman of Local 465, AFL, Dining Car Employes; Robert Strather, secretary of the redistricting committee, and Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins also took the floor for the plan.

"The Negro community has long been divided and kept ununified because of the way the districts are laid out," said Clifford E. Clinton, Good Government representative.

"Adoption of the measure would enable them to have representation which they have been denied."

Urge Congress To End Poll Tax In Dixie

Plaindealer
8-9-40

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Charging that John N. Garner, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Theodore G. Bilbo, "Gene" Cox, Martin Dies, Howard Smith, and Tom Connally are typical Southern legislators who have opposed every progressive democratic trend in the national legislation, a spokesman for the National Negro Congress declared this week that the results of the activity of these men in Congress are poll tax laws and other restrictions which keep three out of every four citizens in the South from voting.

Eight states, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, have laws requiring the payment of a poll tax of from $1 to $3 a year, it was pointed out. In four of these states the tax is accumulative for periods of from three to 39 years, records show, and in Mississippi a voter may be required to pay amounts of from $2 to $117 before he will be allowed to vote. In other states the range is from $1 to $39. The extreme poverty of the average southern Negro family makes the poll tax an effective bar to voting, it is further emphasized.

Poll tax laws were enacted after the Reconstruction period, it was revealed, with the express purpose to disfranchise Negro citizens. In the eight states named in 1930 there were more than $3,185,000 Negroes of voting age, and less than one per cent of them voted, it was authoritatively shown. The poll tax also has disfranchised the majority of white voters, more than 6,000,000 of whom are denied the right to vote on the same grounds.

Negro Congress Launches Anti-Poll Tax Drive

Northwest Enterprise
8-3-40

Washington, D. C. — The National Negro Congress launched this week a campaign to arouse the Negro people throughout the North in opposition to the poll tax laws which keep ten million poor whites and Negroes from voting in eight southern states. In outlining the drive to the leaders of the local councils throughout the country, the Congress called for the establishment of broad citizens committees which would include church, civic, fraternal, trade union, youth and other organizations. The Congress campaign will include the signing of petitions and the distribution of buttons and a special anti-poll tax pamphlet and a barrage of letters and post cards.

Suffragettes Voice Plea For Poll Tax Abolition

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25. — Congress will be asked tomorrow, the 20th anniversary of the women's suffrage amendment, to outlaw poll tax restrictions on voting in Federal elections.

The request is made in a declaration, signed by 100 southern women, which is to be presented to Congress by William T. Gayle, Jr., of Atlanta, and other former leaders of the suffrage movement.

The anniversary brought from Miss Marion Martin, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, a statement saying that women could "find no better way to celebrate this 20th year of political emancipation than by marching to the polls and helping make America safe for the American way of living."

POLITICAL - 1940 D.C.
SUFFRAGE

DONT EXPECT BILL TO PASS

Mississippi Congressman Dooms Poll Tax, Says It Will Never Pass

WASHINGTON.—The Geyer bill, which provides for the abolition of the poll tax in southern states which still follow this antiquated system, will never be passed, said Rep. Rankin of Mississippi on the floor of the house of representatives, Wednesday.

"The bill will never become a law, as all well-informed members of the house know. But I am getting tired of having a few members arise on this floor and make these misleading statements without regard to the facts or the feelings of the rest of the membership," Rep. Rankin said.

Mr. Geyer, the representative from California, had previously placed a petition on the speaker's desk, asking that the anti-poll tax bill be discharged from the committee for further consideration.

"When we are talking these days about reaching down into these eight southern states and taking these young men and putting them into uniform, let us first give them a little democracy for which they can fight. There are 3,500,000 colored people without the vote and 7,000,000 white people without the vote in these southern states. I hope my colleagues on my right (referring to the Democrats) will do something to clean this thing up that exists in our democratic one party states."

POLITICAL- 1940
SUFFRAGE

FLORIDA

Mulberry, Fla., Press
May 9, 1940

Negroes Cannot Vote Primary

Regardless of all the publicity which had been given the matter, stories were still circulated Tuesday to the effect that in certain sections the colored people would be voted. Such rumors always make political ammunition even though it is a well known fact that negroes cannot vote in either the first or second primary in Florida. According to Supervisor Carlton's books less than 400 negroes are registered in all of Polk county and the greatest portion of them have no party afficiation. But remember the primary is solely a "Democratic white primary" and no colored person can vote. This applies to the second primary on May 28th just as it did last Tuesday. So don't be fooled again by this sort of propaganda.

De Funiak Springs, Fla., Herald
July 4, 1940

NEWS OF DeFUNIAK NEGRO CIVIC ORGANIZATION

The DeFuniak Springs Negro Civic Organization asks that all negroes register and vote in the coming city election. This resolution was made after very fine speeches by some of our white friends.

This group was organized to help the living conditions of the negroes in DeFuniak Springs. The organization plans to launch a home beautification and home improvement campaign in the near future.

This civic organization is open for membership, and urges the cooperation of all negroes in carrying out its improvement program.—Con.

Florida Denies Negroes Right To Vote In Primaries

OCT 4 1940

Globe and Guide

New York—Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, left here for Florida, where he will speak at mass meetings in Tampa and St. Petersburg. Mr. Marshall is investigating discrimination against Negroes who have been denied the right to vote in either the Republican or Democratic primary in Tampa and West Palm Beach. He will also run off in Jacksonville, where he will meet with the state teachers association preparatory to opening a legal fight to equalize white and Negro teachers' salaries.

Independent

Nashville, Tenn.

West Palm Beach Fla Post
October 27, 1940

Chamber Sends Letters To Negro Freeholders

Letters have been prepared by the Chamber of Commerce to be sent to every freeholder in School District 9 (West Palm Beach negro) giving reasons why negroes should vote for a proposal to consolidate Districts 9 and 1 (West Palm Beach white) at an election next Tuesday.

The consolidation has been opposed by many negroes because the negro district board would be dissolved.

The Chamber of Commerce points out in the letters that the expansion of negro schools is impossible unless their district is enlarged to enable the school board to issue more bonds.

Sam Solomon To Settle In Richmond, Va.

Journal and Guide

Norfolk, Va.,

Encouragement For Advancement Program Lacking

OCT 19 1940

MIAMI, Fla., (ANP) — Sam Solomon, local undertaker, civic and political leader, is leaving Miami to establish a business in Richmond, Va., he announced recently.

Mr. Solomon gained fame last year when as head of the Negro Citizen's Service league he defied the Ku Klux Klan when it attempted to frighten Negroes from voting in a local Miami election.

Recently Mr. Solomon has been active in Republican ranks, having held a seat as a delegate in the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, last June and having organized a Willkie Club here in Miami this fall.

Mr. Solomon gave as one of his reasons for leaving Miami, the fact that Miami citizens had not given him as much encouragement in his efforts for racial advancement as he felt could be obtained elsewhere.

Miamians will tender him several farewell parties and banquets before he leaves for his new home.

Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union
October 27, 1940

Negro Voters Are Invited to Attend Two Mass Meetings

The Rev. William Dinkins, negro, president of the National Bible Congress, by authority of the National Democratic Committee, has called two mass meetings for negroes in behalf of the re-election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The first of these will be held at 4 P.M. today in the negro Masonic Temple on Broad Street. The other is scheduled at 8 P. M. Monday in the Mount Zion Church, Jefferson and Duval Streets.

The minister last night urged all negro voters to attend the sessions.

POLITICAL SUFFRAGE - 1940 FLORIDA

EXPOSE RUSE TO NULLIFY FLA. RACE VOTE

Defender
Chicago Ill.

N.A.A.C.P. Investigator Finds Registration Forms Marked

OCT 5 1940

NEW YORK—The Department of Justice has been asked to make an investigation of disfranchisement against Negroes in Palm Beach county, Fla., whereby these citizens are denied the right to vote in primary elections, through the refusal of officials to register them for either the Democratic or Republican party.

The request for a probe into conditions in Florida was made Friday by Thurgood Marshall, special N.A.A.C.P. counsel, in a letter to O. John Rogge, United States assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's civil liberties division.

Marshall recently returned from a special trip to Florida where he got a first-hand account of the situation. He turned over to the Justice Department two types of registration certificates used in Palm Beach county. A yellow certificate, issued to white voters, contains a blank space for "political party affiliation," to be filled in; a second, white certificate, which is issued to colored voters, contains no such blank space.

Florida Bars Negroes From All Primaries

the call
Kansas City
Missouri

NEW YORK. — Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, left here for Florida, where he will speak at mass meeting in Tampa and St. Petersburg. SEP 27 1940

Mr. Marshall is investigating discrimination against Negroes who have been denied the right to vote in either the Republican or Democratic primary in Tampa and West Palm Beach.

He will also stop off in Jacksonville, where he will meet with the state teachers association preparatory to opening a legal fight to equalize hite and Negro teachers' salaries.

West Palm Beach, Fla. Times
October 20, 1940

Negro Voters Refuse To Merge Districts

Negro voters, opposed to abolishing a board of negro school trustees, yesterday defeated a proposal to consolidate School District 1 (white West Palm Beach and lake communities) and 9 (West Palm Beach negro).

The white vote, which was for the spending of white taxpayers' money for negro school improvements, was five to one for the proposal. The negro vote was 10 to one against. A favorable vote by each district was necessary for approval.

District 1's vote for consolidation was 221, of which 172 were cast at the Stypman Arcade and 49 at the Pahokee town hall. The district's vote against totaled 43, 36 being cast at the arcade here and the remaining seven at Pahokee.

The negro vote at the Industrial (negro) High School auditorium was: For, 29; against, 291.

County School Board Chairman Carl A. Widell expressed the regret of school authorities and the voters supporting the proposal that the negroes voted down an opportunity for improving their school facilities.

A $600,000 bond issue for improvements throughout the district will be held in District 1 on Tuesday. On the same date a $70,000 issue will be voted on in District 4 for improvements.

POLITICAL- 1940
SUFFRAGE

FLORIDA

Miami Shows The Way To Negro Americ

Courier 6-22-40 Pittsburgh, Pa.

Reaps Great Benefits From Ballot Use

Voting

By TED POSTON
(Staff Correspondent)

MIAMI, Fla., June 20—Having set an example for the Negroes of America by defying the Ku Klux Klan and exercising their franchise at th the colored citizens of this famous Southern resort this week continued to reap practical community benefits from their fearless and intelligent use of th

Organized into the Citizens' Service League and led by Sam Solomon, a 35-year-old undertaker, the Negro voters astonished the country on 1939, by rushing to the polls more than 2,000 strong after 75 carloads of hooded klansmen had driven through the Negro section and sought to int them.

Since that May Day night when the klan burned crosses on all corners of their community and distributed placards reading: "Respectable Negr Not Voting Tomorrow; Niggers! Stay Away From the Polls," the Negro voters have used the ballot to secure benefits undreamed of before.

Ousting several city commissioners and candidates who had opposed the demands of the Citizens' Service League. the group is credited with ob the following reforms:

(1) A widespread paving program and improvement of sanitation facilities in the colored section.

(2) **An end of police brutality and the removal of two brutal white officers who viciously attacked a 90-pound colored girl.**

(3) An extensive slum clearance program on the part of white landlords which has resulted in the erection of three score modern apartment houses in low-income areas.

USE BURDINE STADIUM; COULDN'T EVEN GO BEFORE

(4) The use of Burdine Stadium, the $1,500,000 city center which Negroes were not even permitted to enter although it was built and supported by taxpayers. (The annual Negro football classic will be held in Burdine Stadium this fall.)

(5) Tennis courts, restrooms and showers in Dixie Park and in the Negro baseball arena which had been donated to the city by the late D. A. Dorsey, wealthy Negro realtor, several years ago.

(6) **An extensive improvement program for the Negro schools which was continued last month with the appropriation of more than $2,000 worth of cafeteria equipment for the Booker T. Washington High School.**

Although the 1939 demonstration marked the first time that more than a dozen Negroes had voted in a Miami city election, the colored citizens demonstrated the power of their block in subsequent elections and forced city officials to recognize their demands.

HELPED TO DEFEAT CHARTER AMENDMENT

In October, a few months after the klan incident, the Negro voters helepd to defeat a charter amendment which would have gerrymandered the Fifth Precinct (the important Negro district) and split the colored vote up by dividing it with large white wards.

In another city test, more than 100 Negro freeholders were credited with the 48-vote victory of a $5,000,000 bond issue which permitted the city to purchase a water plant and street car system from the Florida Power and Light Company.

And just last month, the Citizens' Service League and the Negro voters obtained the $2,000 worth of cafeteria equipment, a promise of a gymnasium at Booker T. Washington high school and other concessions after they threatened to vote against a $3,500,000 bond issue for the schools of Dade County. Only $375,000 had been promised originally for Negro schools.

FIGHTING TO GET BEACH FACILITIES

At the same time, the group began a campaign for Negro beach facilities. At present, Negroes have to travel 25 miles to Fort Lauderdale for outings since they are barred from all Miami beaches. The new fight was inaugurated when a $2,000,000 beach bond issue was placed before the voters on May 28.

The Citizens' Service League scored one of its major victories on May 7, however, when Negroes participated in the Republican Primaries election here. The regular G.O.P. organization had opposed Negro voting and the election commissioners had attempted to prevent their participation by advising them to register "Independent."

When all these tactics failed and the Negroes registered more than 3,000 voters, the regular Republican organization capitulated and tried to control the Miami vote by naming Sam Solomon a regular candidate for delegate to the G.O.P. convention in Philadelphia this month.

Demonstrating the strength of his organization, Solomon rejected the nomination in a letter in which he bitterly scored the regular organization for its anti-Negro bias. He then entered the primaries as a candidate for delegate and overwhelmingly defeated the regular organization candidate. The National Republican Committee will decide at Philadelphia next week which of the three Florida delegations will be seated at the convention.

NEGRO VOTE SOUNDED DEATH KNELL FOR KLAN

Despite subsequent victories however, the 1939 city election scored the greatest victory for the league. The large Negro vote on May 2 is credited with the practical dissolution of the local Ku Klux Klan. The hooded group has not paraded again since the colored voters defied it.

But the klan was not the only casuality. Another victim of the organized Negro vote was John T. Christiansen, owner of the Miami Ice Cream and Dairy Co. A candidate for the city commission, Christiansen wrote Solomon two letters begging for support of the Citizens' Service League in the second city primary.

"I am certainly in accord with your work," he wrote, "as I have demonstrated in the past."

Then seeking to gather the prejudiced white vote too, Christiansen was quoted in the Miami Daily News of May 1, 1939, as saying: "If any (Negro votes) are cast for me I wish you would cancel them and not credit me with any of them."

HE DOESN'T WANT OUR VOTES, WE DON'T WANT HIS CREAM

As soon as the statement was printed, the students at Booker T. Washington high school began a boycott of the company's Arctic Ice Cream with the slogan "Christiansen Doesn't Want Negro Votes. We Don't Want Christiansen's Ice Cream."

The boycott spread through the whole Negro section and the candidate was snowed under in the election. The boycott has continued however although Christiansen has held three conferences with Negro leaders and charged that the paper misquoted him.

Another candidate who was snowed under was Jack Manny, a white man who threatened to "shoot the first nigger I catch at the polls." Manny was badly beaten although 27 Negroes, voting their first time, mistakenly cast their ballots for him.

Pleased at their early success but not satified, the leaders of the league are now seeking to register at least 10,000 of the city's 35,000 Negro residents.

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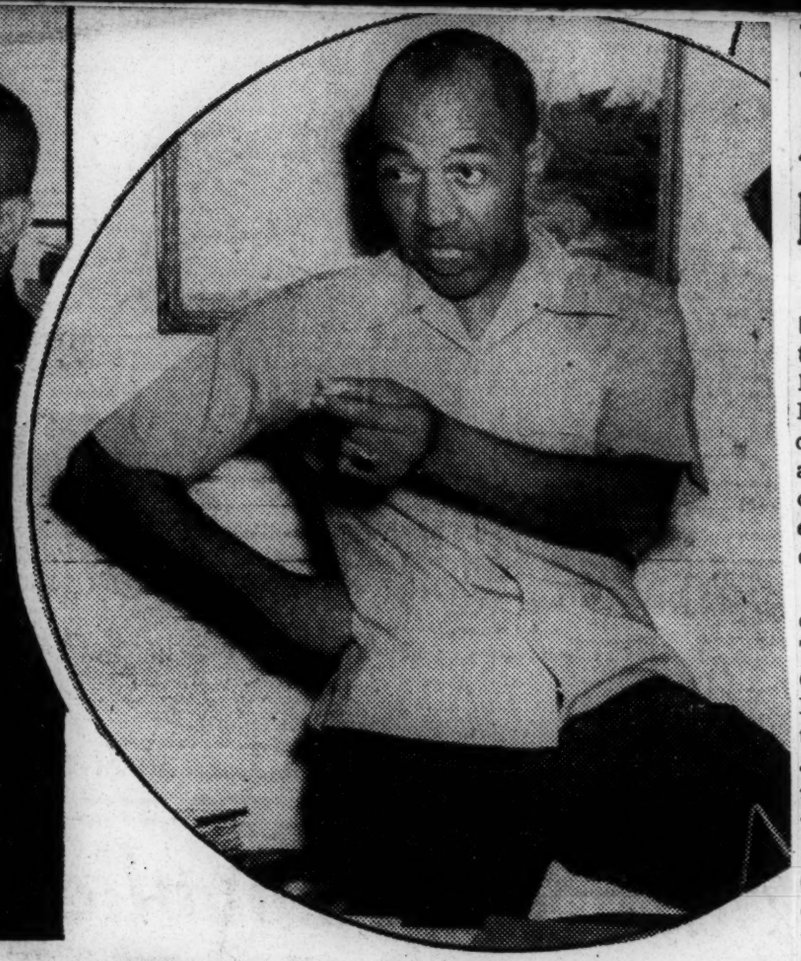


BEACON LIGHT in the fight for right throughout the South is a 35-year-old undertaker, fearless Sam Solomon of Miami, Fla., who has rocked the cradle of the deep South with his ballot fight for politico-socio-economic rights for his people. He is urged and aided by Otis Mundy, shown here congratulating him on a recent victory.

"IT'S TIME we not only feel like men and a part of this American scene, but act like men as well, come what may. The die has been cast and the future of the race in the South looks to the outcome."

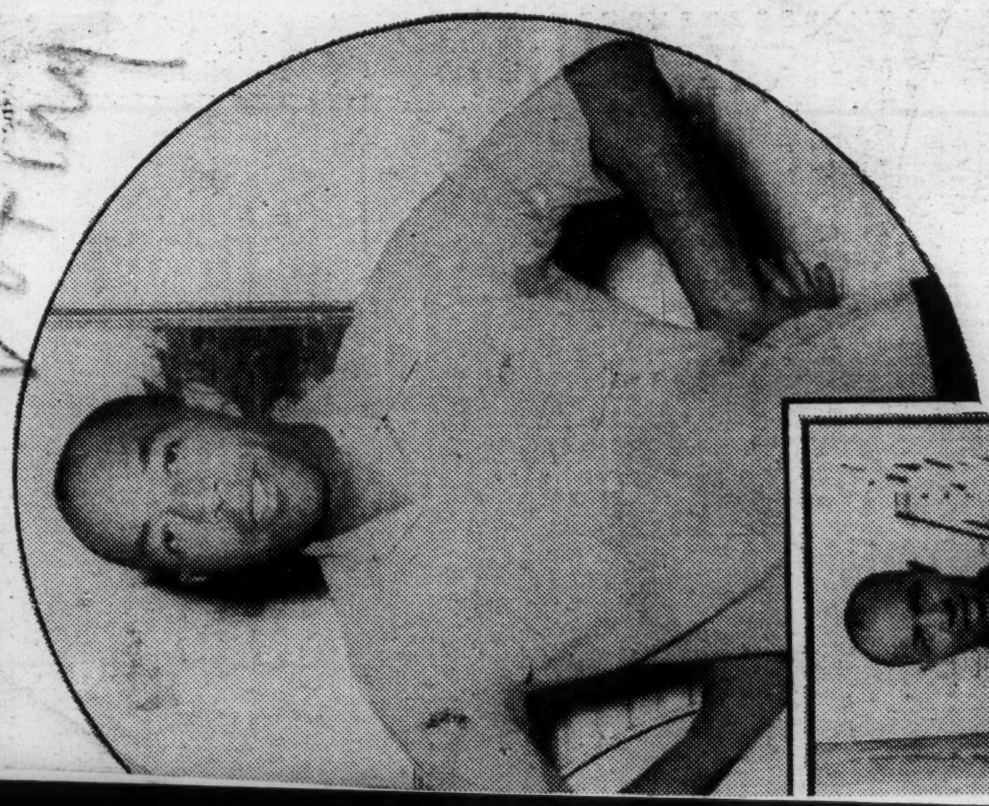
How Florida Negroes Are Kept From Voting Revealed By Attorney

The Department of Justice has been asked to make an investigation of disfranchisement against Negroes in Palm Beach County, Florida, whereby these citizens are denied the right to vote in primary elections, through the refusal of officials to register them for either the Democratic or Republican parties.

The request for a probe into conditions in Florida was made by Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP counsel, in a letter to O. John Rogge, United States assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's civil liberties' division. Marshall recently returned from a special trip to Florida where he got a first-hand account of the situation. He turned over to the Justice Department two types of registration certificates used in Palm Beach County. A yellow certificate, issued to white voters, contains a blank space for "political party affiliation," to be filled in; a second, white certificate, which is issued to colored voters, contains no such blank space.

"The use of separate types of registration certificates for the two races," the letter said, "represents the type of practise prevalent in the entire state of Florida today."

FIGHTS THE GOOD FIGHT



"LIFE isn't worth while if a man can't have his rights."

"WHY should I be afraid of anything or anybody? I'm fighting for a cause and all the world knows it's right."—Photos by Rowe.

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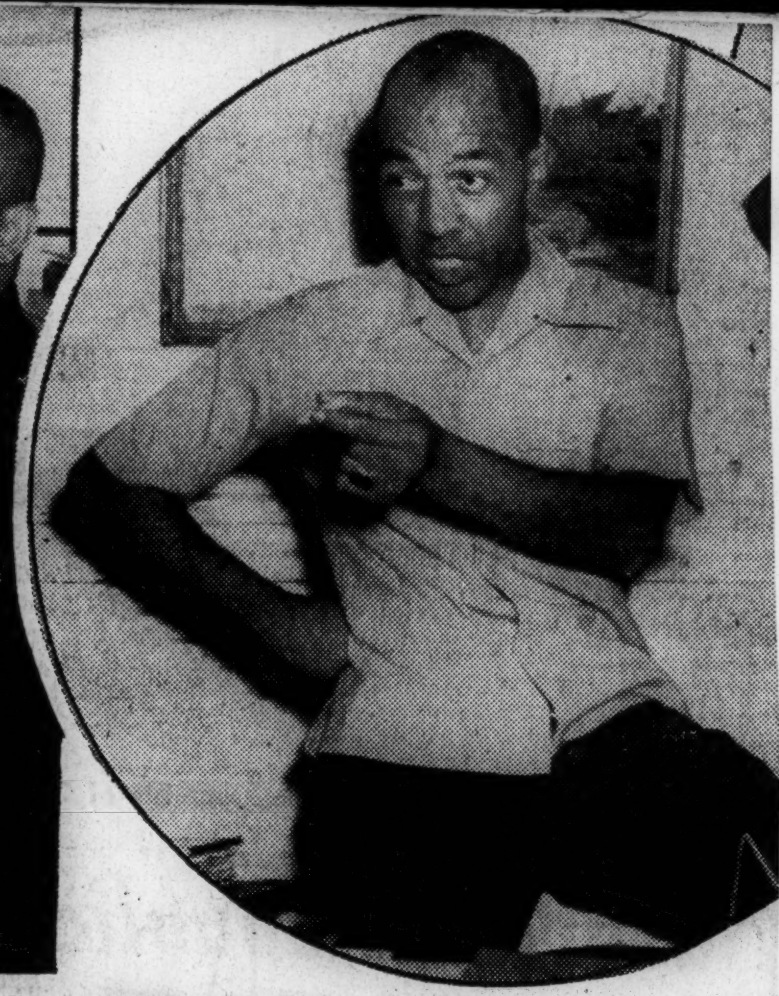

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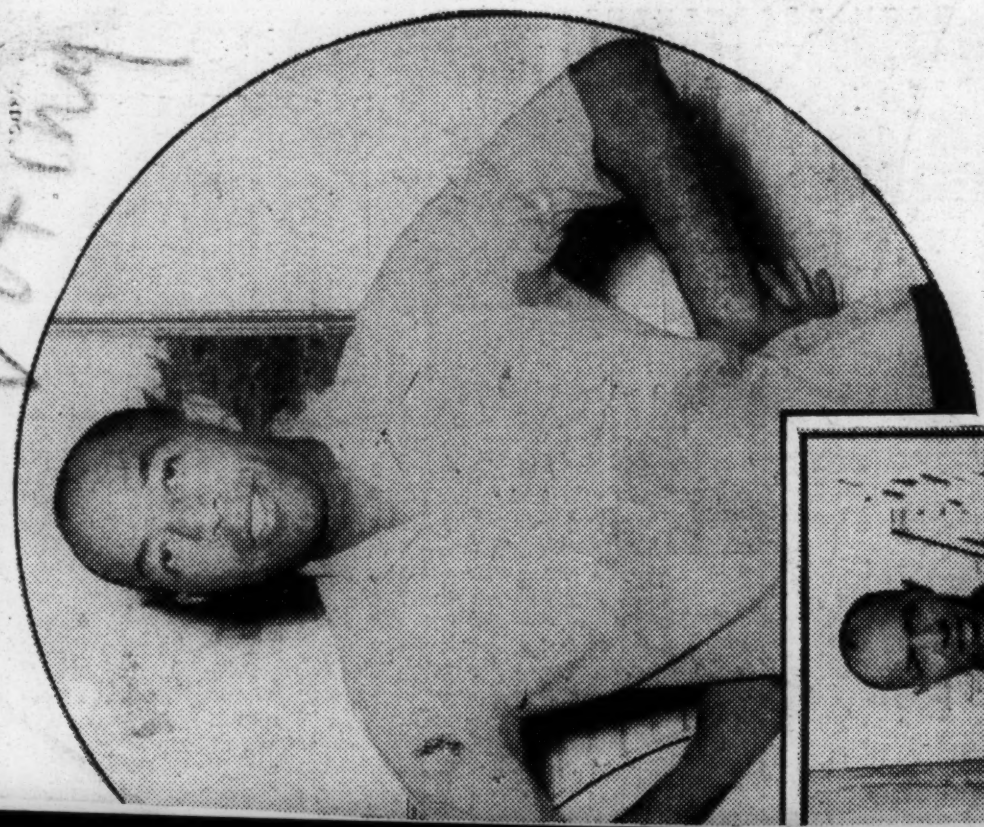

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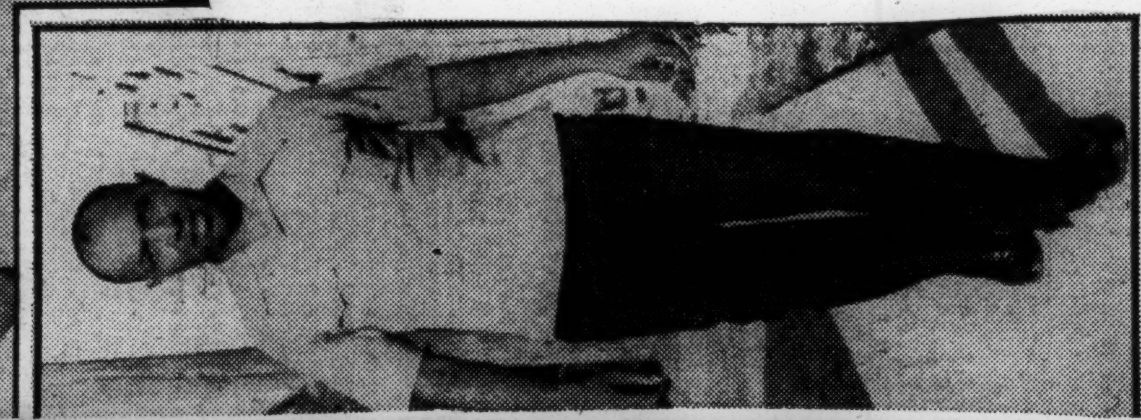

"WHY should I be afraid of anything or anybody? I'm fighting for a cause and all the world knows it's right."—Photos by Rowe.

Miami, Fla. Herald
April 26, 1940

Behind the Front Page

By ELLIS HOLLUMS
Executive Editor of The Herald

BREAKDOWN of Dade county's record registration by Supervisor Carl Holmer, jr., reveals that there are only 22 precincts with more than 1,000 voters. There are 114 precincts, but it should be easier to cast a vote this year than it has been in the last four general elections, because the lines of citizens waiting to get into the polling booth will not be so long.

The ease of registering your preferences in the forthcoming primary should bring out not less than 80,000 Democratic votes of the 86,502 registered, but it probably won't quite reach that figure. Republican registration is only 10,171, in spite of our Republican friends' claims early in the campaign that they would go much higher. There are only 419 independents in Dade county, only two Socialists and only one registered Communist. Negro registration reached only 3,274.

Ten largest precincts in the county, from the standpoint of registration are: No. 80 with 1,416; 31 with 1,413; 39 with 1,294; 8 with 1,255; 5 with 1,250; 108 with 1,229; 113 with 1,226; 26 with 1,152; 27 with 1,145; 104 with 1,134. Ten smallest precincts are: 114 with 236; 16 with 247; 109 with 331; 111 with 381; 14 with 424; 6 with 430; 24 with 453; 110 with 454; 2 with 467; 13 with 511.

Mr. Holmer's figures show that registration in Dade county has grown almost 20 times in the years between 1920 and 1940. The figure for 1920 was 5,925, as against 97,095 this year.

Highest vote ever recorded was the 1938 primary, when 58,030 out of a total registration of 81,475 cast their ballots.

Curious drops in registration at intervals is a reflection of public interest in presidential election years as contrasted to lack of interest in the off years. For example, in 1922 increase over 1920 registrants was less than 2,000, but in 1924, when John W. Davis of New York was the Democratic standard bearer for the presidency, Dade county's registration more than doubled that of 1922, reaching 15,254. In 1926 it dropped back to 13,088, and jumped in 1928 to 28,369. In 1930, it dropped to 23,608, and climbed back in 1932 to 38,378. There was a recession in 1934 to 31,359, but in 1936 Dade's democracy witnessed registration figures of 51,281. In 1938, due to the widespread interest in the race between Senator Claude Pepper, former Governor Sholtz and Congressman J. Mark Wilcox, registration in this county shot up to 81,475, and now we have more than 97,000.

LIST of Roosevelt-McNutt candidates for delegate to the Democratic national convention was announced yesterday at a luncheon of the McNutt-for-President club. Senator Claude Pepper had more to say about who they are than practically any other individual in Florida, no matter what Charles A. Mills, temporary chairman of the McNutt steering committee, may tell you. It was Senator Pepper who checked upon those who first were tentatively selected for the Roosevelt ticket.

One Miamian who is widely known throughout the state and who is a candidate for delegate, refused to accept the offer to go on the ticket, because he could not pledge himself to any candidate for the nomination that the President proposed, in the event FDR doesn't seek a third term for himself. This gentleman, mind you, is willing to support Roosevelt's candidacy, but isn't willing to let the President use his vote as delegate for anyone he pleases, after Mr. Roosevelt withdraws his name.

When the local candidate explained his attitude to Senator Pepper, Claude said, "Well, we can't put you on our ticket, under the circumstances." To which the candidate, in effect, replied:

"I haven't asked you to put me on your ticket, and am not seeking such indorsement. I prefer being selected by the rank and file Democrats to represent them, rather than a few self-elected leaders of the party."

THE FLORIDA Retail Merchants Association has indorsed the candidacy of Senator Charles O. Andrews for re-election, and Secretary E. T. Lay of the organization is sending letters to the membership asking them to work for and vote for the senator on May 7. It is as strong an indorsement as any candidate could hope for. Earnest Overstreet of Miami is president of the association. . . . Tip to Fuller Warren, candidate for governor: When you've reached one hour's time in your speech, chop it off right there. By that time you have made a highly favorable impression, but if you keep going another hour, you might lose all you had gained.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
May 22, 1940

"Possum" Rule In Volusia

The Bradenton Herald, of May 15, quotes Mr. Whitehair, in answering a questionnaire, as follows:

"On the matter of the political ring in Volusia county, he said there are four mythical political factions, as in many other counties of the state. He said his crowd is known as the 'possums' . . . and that some consider him the head of the possum group as against the 'anti-ring' crowd. He said the city of Daytona Beach was divided into five zones, some of which were strongly negro, which gave the negroes the balance of power in city elections. The much discussed charter corrected this, he said, putting the city again in control of the white people."

By House bill No. 1974, Chapter 19,768, Acts of 1939, the city government of Daytona Beach was wiped out. Under that act the officials elected by the people were legislated out of office. The people were not given the opportunity to vote new officials in.

The act provided that the Governor appoint seven Commissioners to serve until the first Monday in October, 1940, a period of approximately 15 months. At that time they will be succeeded by five Commissioners to be elected. The election for these five Commissioners will be held and run by the Board appointed by the Governor.

The situation existing in 1933, when the negroes were the balance of power, and when the negro vote in two large precincts changed the result and wiped out the vote of the white precincts, was not changed one iota. The zone lines may have been changed and the five Commissioners are to be elected from zones but this is all. The negro vote was left just where it was before and if it was the balance of power in any precinct or zone before the act, the act did nothing to change that situation.

By Section 160, Page 392, Acts of 1939, "any person who shall possess the qualification of an elector in general state elections and shall have resided in the city of Daytona Beach six months next preceding such municipal election, shall be deemed a qualified elector authorized to vote at such municipal election."

(General state elections are controlled of course by the 14th and 15th amendments, Florida having no "grandfather" or other clause, and hence elections in Daytona Beach under this new charter come under the same controlling principles.)

Section 161, Page 393, defines the duties of the City Clerk as Registration Officer. Among other things the act provides: "The name of each person so registered shall be entered in a book provided for that purpose, which book shall show under appropriate heading, the age, COLOR occupation, and exact place of residence of each person so registered, the list for each election district being kept separate."

Section 165, Page 396, provides for nominations. The mode of nomination shall be by petition. The act requires the petition to contain the signatures of at least 25 of the qualified electors residing in the zone in which the candidate resides. Legally, 25 negroes who are qualified electors under the act may place a candidate in nomination.

The charter does not recognize political parties. There is no provision for a Democratic primary, or any other party primary. The Democratic party has no way of making a nomination. The party has no way of organizing.

Chapter 19,974, Acts of 1939, amending the charter of the city of Miami, recognizes and provides for a non-partisan, white primary for the purpose of making nominations. Daytona Beach was given no such opportunity. On page 1088 of the Acts of 1939 it is provided that one of the qualifications of a candidate for Commissioner in Miami is that he shall be a member of the Caucasian race.

Chapter 15,533, Acts of 1931, regulates elections in the city of Tampa. The act provides for a primary election. The act requires a party polling 25 percent of the vote to nominate by primary. The act recognizes the White Municipal Party. The act protects the primary by providing that one running in the primary shall not run in the general election against the party in whose primary he participated. Daytona Beach in its new charter was not given the benefit of any such provisions.

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In Orlando nominations are made at a primary participated in by white people. Daytona Beach and New Smyrna, both in Volusia county, are the only Florida towns we know of where the negro vote is a factor in municipal elections. Daytona Beach, under its new charter, and

Miami, Fla. Herald
April 28, 1940

Behind the Front Page

By ELLIS HOLLUMS
Executive Editor of The Herald

BREAKDOWN of Dade county's record registration by Supervisor Carl Holmer, jr., reveals that there are only 22 precincts with more than 1,000 voters. There are 114 precincts, but it should be easier to cast a vote this year than it has been in the last four general elections, because the lines of citizens waiting to get into the polling booth will not be so long.

The ease of registering your preferences in the forthcoming primary should bring out not less than 80,000 Democratic votes of the 86,502 registered, but it probably won't quite reach that figure. Republican registration is only 10,171, in spite of our Republican friends' claims early in the campaign that they would go much higher. There are only 419 independents in Dade county, only two Socialists and only one registered Communist. Negro registration reached only 3,274.

Ten largest precincts in the county, from the standpoint of registration are: No. 80 with 1,416; 31 with 1,413; 39 with 1,294; 8 with 1,255; 5 with 1,250; 108 with 1,229; 113 with 1,226; 26 with 1,152; 27 with 1,145; 104 with 1,134. Ten smallest precincts are: 114 with 236; 16 with 247; 109 with 331; 111 with 381; 14 with 424; 6 with 430; 24 with 453; 110 with 454; 2 with 467; 13 with 511.

Mr. Holmer's figures show that registration in Dade county has grown almost 20 times in the years between 1920 and 1940. The figure for 1920 was 5,925, as against 97,095 this year.

Highest vote ever recorded was the 1938 primary, when 58,030 out of a total registration of 81,475 cast their ballots.

Curious drops in registration at intervals is a reflection of public interest in presidential election years as contrasted to lack of interest in the off years. For example, in 1922 increase over 1920 registrants was less than 2,000, but in 1924, when John W. Davis of New York was the Democratic standard bearer for the presidency, Dade county's registration more than doubled that of 1922, reaching 15,254. In 1926 it dropped back to 13,088, and jumped in 1928 to 28,369. In 1930, it dropped to 23,608, and climbed back in 1932 to 38,378. There was a recession in 1934 to 31,359, but in 1936 Dade's democracy witnessed registration figures of 51,281. In 1938, due to the widespread interest in the race between Senator Claude Pepper, former Governor Sholtz and Congressman J. Mark Wilcox, registration in this county shot up to 81,475, and now we have more than 97,000.

LIST of Roosevelt-McNutt candidates for delegate to the Democratic national convention was announced yesterday at a luncheon of the McNutt-for-President club. Senator Claude Pepper had more to say about who they are than practically any other individual in Florida, no matter what Charles A. Mills, temporary chairman of the McNutt steering committee, may tell you. It was Senator Pepper who checked upon those who first were tentatively selected for the Roosevelt ticket.

One Miamian who is widely known throughout the state and who is a candidate for delegate, refused to accept the offer to go on the ticket, because he could not pledge himself to any candidate for the nomination that the President proposed, in the event FDR doesn't seek a third term for himself. This gentleman, mind you, is willing to support Roosevelt's candidacy, but isn't willing to let the President use his vote as delegate for anyone he pleases, after Mr. Roosevelt withdraws his name.

When the local candidate explained his attitude to Senator Pepper, Claude said, "Well, we can't put you on our ticket, under the circumstances." To which the candidate, in effect, replied:

"I haven't asked you to put me on your ticket, and am not seeking such indorsement. I prefer being selected by the rank and file Democrats to represent them, rather than a few self-elected leaders of the party."

THE FLORIDA Retail Merchants Association has indorsed the candidacy of Senator Charles O. Andrews for re-election, and Secretary E. T. Lay of the organization is sending letters to the membership asking them to work for and vote for the senator on May 7. It is as strong an indorsement as any candidate could hope for. Earnest Overstreet of Miami is president of the association. . . . Tip to Fuller Warren, candidate for governor: When you've reached one hour's time in your speech, chop it off right there. By that time you have made a highly favorable impression, but if you keep going another hour, you might lose all you had gained.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
May 22, 1940

"Possum" Rule In Volusia

The Bradenton Herald, of May 15, quotes Mr. Whitehair, in answering a questionnaire, as follows:

"On the matter of the political ring in Volusia county, he said there are four mythical political factions, as in many other counties of the state. He said his crowd is known as the 'possums' . . . and that some consider him the head of the possum group as against the 'anti-ring' crowd. He said the city of Daytona Beach was divided into five zones, some of which were strongly negro, which gave the negroes the balance of power in city elections. The much discussed charter corrected this, he said, putting the city again in control of the white people."

By House bill No. 1974, Chapter 19,768, Acts of 1939, the city government of Daytona Beach was wiped out. Under that act the officials elected by the people were legislated out of office. The people were not given the opportunity to vote new officials in.

The act provided that the Governor appoint seven Commissioners to serve until the first Monday in October, 1940, a period of approximately 15 months. At that time they will be succeeded by five Commissioners to be elected. The election for these five Commissioners will be held and run by the Board appointed by the Governor.

The situation existing in 1933, when the negroes were the balance of power, and when the negro vote in two large precincts changed the result and wiped out the vote of the white precincts, was not changed one iota. The zone lines may have been changed and the five Commissioners are to be elected from zones but this is all. The negro vote was left just where it was before and if it was the balance of power in any precinct or zone before the act, the act did nothing to change that situation.

By Section 160, Page 392, Acts of 1939, "any person who shall possess the qualification of an elector in general state elections and shall have resided in the city of Daytona Beach six months next preceding such municipal election, shall be deemed a qualified elector authorized to vote at such municipal election."

(General state elections are controlled of course by the 14th and 15th amendments, Florida having no "grandfather" or other clause, and hence elections in Daytona Beach under this new charter come under the same controlling principles.)

Section 161, Page 393, defines the duties of the City Clerk as Registration Officer. Among other things the act provides: "The name of each person so registered shall be entered in a book provided for that purpose, which book shall show under appropriate heading, the age, COLOR occupation, and exact place of residence of each person so registered, the list for each election district being kept separate."

Section 165, Page 396, provides for nominations. The mode of nomination shall be by petition. The act requires the petition to contain the signatures of at least 25 of the qualified electors residing in the zone in which the candidate resides. Legally, 25 negroes who are qualified electors under the act may place a candidate in nomination.

The charter does not recognize political parties. There is no provision for a Democratic primary, or any other party primary. The Democratic party has no way of making a nomination. The party has no way of organizing.

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its present non-elected commissioners, is ruled by the Volusia county political ring, and New Smyrna by the "Possum Club," which is a branch of the county ring—and Mr. Whitehair said, as recently as May 15, that his crowd is known as the "possums," and that he is considered the head of the "possum group," as against the "anti-ring crowd."

Mobile, Ala. Forum Sun,
Sept. 27, 1940-

FLORIDA DENIES RIGHT TO VOTE IN PRIMARIES

NEW YORK — Thurgood Marshall, spcial counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, left here ~~for~~ Florida where he will speak at mass meetings in Tampa and St. Petersburg. Mr. Marshall is investigating discrimination aganst Negroes who have been denied the right to vote in either the Republican or Democratic primary in Tampa and West Palm Beach. He will also stop off in Jacksonville, where he will meet with the state teachers association preparatory to opening a legal fight to equlize white and Negro teachers' salaries.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL.

REPEAL THE POLL TAX? Being an idealist myself I dislike most intensely to become involved with one of those impractical persons.

NOV 13 1940

The Georgia League of Women Voters, the organization with the most intelligent program for arousing interest in the ballot, is meeting in our town and a part of the program yesterday was devoted to talk on the poll tax.

Chess Abernathy, the able young editor of the Cobb County Times, read a paper on suffrage and advocated abolition of the poll tax in the name of democracy and good government. This brought on a discussion which put the program an hour behind time.

The Constitution

My position on this matter is somewhat akin to that of the boy who stood on the burning deck from whence all but he had fled.

I do not think the poll tax ought to be abolished. I think the privilege of voting ought to carry with it some direct contribution to government. I think this always ought to be true.

The cost is $1 per year, and if there be those who are unwilling to contribute less than a third of a cent per day for the privilege of casting a ballot, I am not at all interested in fighting for their privilege to vote.

The idealists always are talking about the large number of those whom they term apathetic boobs who vote like sheep or do not vote at all. I never quite understood why there should be such a whooping up of a crusade to bring more such boobs into the balloting booths.

The cold fact is that it would not assist democracy one whit but would exaggerate the evils we have by putting more persons into them.

Atlanta, Ga.

Voters ought not to be allowed to vote until they are interested enough in the privilege to qualify and make a very small contribution to government. There is no more ardent Democrat than I, but to put up abolishment of the poll tax as a panacea and a cure-all of the ills of government is just so much medicine-man talk. It won't cure the ills of government. It will exaggerate them. It won't cure warts, either.

THE CLINCHER The statistics show that of an approximate 500,000 persons registered to vote in Georgia, about 200,100 failed to vote.

That, to me, is a clincher argument against abolishing the poll tax.

The problem is getting out the registered voter. And if those who have paid a direct contribution for the privilege of voting aren't interested, why go whooping off to another job, dismal in prospect, before the task of getting out the registered vote is tackled?

The idealists toss off some nice phrases about trusting government to the masses and accepting their verdict. No one believes more in the wisdom of the people than I. But this business of being a citizen ought to carry with it some obligation. I mean a direct obligation, and the poll tax is as good as any.

It is argued that many people do not vote because they do not care for the candidates and don't think it worth while to vote.

That undoubtedly is true. But it still doesn't mean we ought to add 500,000 more persons, half of whom won't care for them either, and who will let the other half merely emphasize the problems we have.

The boys keep talking about something which may be true in the good year 2980. I prefer to keep sight of the fact that the voting is to be done in 1942, 1944 and in other immediate years. Let's have a remedy which will apply now.

Whatever the remedy is, it isn't a bottle of Poll Tax Abolishment Bitters hawked from the back of a theorist's wagon.

A FEW MORE EXAMPLES Nowhere is there any evidence, in the states which have abolished the poll tax, that they get better government or more interest in government.

The dangerous fact is that they, too, are writing editorials and making speeches bemoaning the apathy of the voter.

North Carolina has "Our Boy" Reynolds in the senate as a product of the poll-taxless voters in the Tarheel State. The worst political machines in the nation exist in states where there is no poll tax. The one exception is Uncle Ed Crump's machine in Shelby county, Tennessee. There is no improvement in government or democracy or interest in the ballot in the states which have removed the poll tax.

I would be willing for the poll tax to be lifted if the state and the problems of the state were ready for it. And if some other form of direct contribution were required. But the state isn't ready. The person who would immediately abolish the poll tax would plunge the state into more woes than one can imagine.

Years ago I said here that the anti-lynching bill would drive lynching underground and would exaggerate, not solve, the evil of lynching. Today that fact is so generally recognized it soon is to be the topic of a national council on the subject.

Abolishment of the poll tax cannot be a national law. It must be a state matter. And Georgia is not ready for it. Abolishment would exaggerate the evils we have. Not solve them.

Never forget this one fundamental fact—legislation cannot go ahead of the capacity of the people to absorb and execute it. If it does, it fails. That is the one infallible rule of history.

Voting And Education

DEC 10 1940

Atlanta News

In an editorial yesterday on the poll tax and other qualifications for voting, *The News* made a statement that might be misunderstood by some. It said: "Nothing is said about education or property or their (the voters') understanding of the correct use of the ballot." There are, of course, certain minimum educational requirements for voting—usually the ability to read and write. We did not have in mind legal requirements, however, but the matter of general practice. That is to say, these provisions are not strictly or uniformly applied.

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
November 4, 1940

The Negro Vote

There are two and a half million Negro voters in the United States. It is possible, should they all vote alike, they would not only decide the issue next Tuesday, in several important states, but they would decide which candidate shall be president for the next four years.

The Negro vote has come in for much discussion among politicians in recent years. Prior to 1936 it was axiomatic that Negroes who voted cast their ballots for the Republican ticket.

There was, however, a great change in the election of four years ago. Then, realizing all that the New Deal had meant for their race, in better opportunity, better living conditions and a better way of life generally, the great bulk of that vote switched into the Democratic column.

Today there is much speculation on the same subject. Some Republicans claim the entire vote of the race, for what reason seems mysterious. On the other hand there may be some who, misled by Republican promises and still reluctant to vote Democratic, will return to the Republican fold.

Negroes, however, should be more vitally interested in the international factor in the presidential race than almost any others in America. There are, on the Republican side, too many "appeasers" who contend that the best way for America, in this changing world, is to be friendly with Hitler and to accept him as the master of Europe. These would abandon Britain to fate and would follow the same fatuous policy of "isolationism" that was tried, with such tragic result, by so many European nations; that through the policies of the Chamberlain government so nearly brought Britain herself to surrender.

The Negroes of the nation should be well aware of this fact and the dangers inherent therein for their race.

For appeasement of Hitler, friendship with Hitler, means friendship with and approval of the man who deifies his own race, who prates of "Nordic superiority" and who has said, of the Negroes, that they are "lower than the apes." That is direct quotation from Hitler's own words.

What of the future for a race so sneeringly damned in a world which is dedicated to appeasement of, and agreement with, such as Hitler?

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 8, 1940

The Losing Side, the Long Years

This telegram received by The News and Courier furnishes it a text:

"You best barometer. We know you are always on the losing side. Hope you will continue to support the Republican party in 1944."

The Jeffersonian Democrats are not "Republicans". If they were they would and should be excluded from Democratic primaries. As for Mr. Willkie, Senator James Francis Byrnes immediately after his nomination said in an address that the "Republicans had to nominate a Democrat". Mr. Roosevelt has said that he has often voted for Republicans, and he has three or four Republicans now in his cabinet. One of them was on the ticket with Mr. Landon in 1936.

That The News and Courier has often, perhaps most of the time—for a time—"been on the losing side" is true.

In the 1890s it opposed "Tillmanism"—and lived to see nearly everything that Tillmanism stood for thrown into the discard. Now it is the lone newspaper in South Carolina that sometimes quotes Captain Tillman, dead only twenty-two years.

It opposed the state dispensary, the pet of Senator Tillman, and lived to see it flung into the discard as a disgrace to the state.

It opposed "Bryanism" and "free silver"—and lived to see them forgotten.

It advocated the suffrage restrictions of Senator Tillman's constitutional convention of 1895—and still advocates them—and now it witnesses a rebellion against them.

It opposed "Bleaseism" and lost in 1910, in 1912 and in 1924. Where, oh where, is "Bleaseism" now?

It opposed the Eighteenth, or Prohibition, amendment and lost. Where is it now? It was thrown into the discard under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, The News and Courier supporting him.

Time and again The News and Courier has lost—and time and again it has won in the long years.

Between a newspaper of principles and a campaign, between a newpaper and candidates, is a great gulf. The newspaper goes on and on. A single contest is nothing in its life. Campaigns and candidates are things of a day.

Nobody knows what will happen between this day and 1944. Nobody knows what the South Carolinians will think or do after four years. Never before was a time when political opinion was so mixed and confused in the United States as now. We would not dare to prophesy. It is possible that the South will have a Southern party in four years, may be compelled to organize it in defence of its order and civilization.

At least this is certain: Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties stand for the principles that they stood for in 1932. And this too is certain: at this time the historic principles of the Democratic party, "strict construction of the constitution", opposition to centralized power and to third terms and advocacy of state rights, are all in the discard. The majority of the Americans are now Hamiltonian, federalistic. No great party represents the ideas of Thomas Jefferson.

It may be that Jefferson was wrong, that this republic as a loose fabric of sovereign states was a mistake and has had its day. We pretend to no infallibility, and of all things that we cannot tell is what will happen between 1940 and 1944, in that year and the years thereafter.

And finally: had the Jeffersonians, had The News and Courier, combined in the recent campaign with the South Carolina Republicans it is entirely possible if not probable that the national Republican party would have sent $250,000 into South Carolina. The Roosevelt party could not have failed to defend the voting and counting of negro votes in South Carolina without sacrificing its negro votes in the North. The Jeffersonians prevented the danger of that

Yes, The News and Courier has usually been on the "losing side", for the hour. Not for the long years.

Thank God, it is more concerned for the long years than for the instant hour and its victories.

Who Should Vote?

DEC 9 1940

In all this discussion about the poll tax in Alabama, *The News* has tried to steer a sane course. We have not shared the opinion of those who see disaster if the poll tax should be abolished. Nor have we felt with others that the poll tax was the worst political crime imaginable. Our chief objection to the Alabama poll tax has been its cumulative feature, which we think unjust and unfair.

One thought has come into this current discussion, however, which is too basically important to be ignored altogether. That thought is expressed thus by Editor E. C. Hall, of *The Alexander City Outlook*, a paper that is against lightening of the poll tax law: "We believe there are those voting today who have no conception of the way to use this franchise. We need to make it harder to vote until we can give more of them a liberal education in the use of the ballot."

Birm News

An old argument is touched upon here, one that goes back to the founding of this country, and even farther, back to Greece and the cradling there of democratic methods. Shall the right of participation in the government be extended to all, or shall it be restricted to certain groups, members of which are supposed to be more capable of judgment?

Birm Ala

Here in this country we have sought to answer the question by constitutional provisions that all adults, save only those in insane hospitals, prisons or the like, shall have the right to vote if they can meet certain minimum requirements of residence and age. Nothing is said about education or property or their understanding of the correct use of the ballot. We go on the assumption that a normal adult who has lived in one place long enough is qualified to have a voice in the government.

But there are those, like the editor of *The Outlook*, who think otherwise, and they are not without good reasons for their opinions. They would have us, presumably, go back to the early days of this country when not only was voting restricted to men, but they were required to meet certain strict provisions as to property and education.

Those who believe this way are up against many difficulties, however. What would they put up as the prerequisite of voting? Would they require the voter to come to the polls with a grammar school diploma in his hand? Would they compel him to stand an examination on the ways and principles of a representative form of government? Who would pass upon these voters, and how would they go about choosing those who would judge the qualifications? What group of people, furthermore, is wise enough to pass with justice upon the qualifications of other groups?

Recognizing, of course, that education is vitally important in a liberal government, the editor of *The Outlook* presumably would have education precede the franchise. In that regard, *The Birmingham News* proposes the counter idea that education and use of the ballot should go hand in hand. In that way there would be more stimulus to education.

A poorly educated electorate makes mistakes, it is true, some of them serious. But an electorate restricted by educational standards would also make mistakes. Its mistakes, in the long run, would be apt to be more serious. Its mistakes would tend to denial of freedom, to repudiation of the fundamental doctrine that all men are born free and equal.

DEC 9 1940

There are many persons voting today who do not know for what they vote or the proper way to regard their franchise. But to deny those persons, or persons like them, the right to vote, would be taking a backward step. Better it would be to turn more attention to making better voters out of those who should now be voting than by arbitrary limitations of the franchise to make this country only half-democratic and half-free.

THE DISFRANCHISED SOUTH.

DEC 9 1940

The announcement that Mr. Roosevelt will press congress for enactment of the St. Lawrence power scheme will be greeted with no enthusiasm in the states to the south of us.

Chicago Tribune

The Mississippi and the St. Lawrence river systems are rivals in several senses. The Mississippi states want the flow in the Illinois waterway increased to make their route navigable at all seasons. The St. Lawrence interests want the diversion held to the barest minimum so that they may have a little more water for power generation. The routes are in competition, also, for the carrying of commodities between the interior of the country and salt water.

Chicago, Ill.

The people of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana are Mississippi river people, and as such have little enthusiasm for the St. Lawrence scheme. Their feeling is shared, of course, in Texas and Alabama which are almost as directly in line for benefits from the lakes-to-gulf waterway.

Mr. Roosevelt owes his position to no small extent to these southern states. Here is another evidence, then, of the extent to which the southerners, by their almost undeviating devotion to the Democratic party, have disfranchised themselves on important national questions. When they voted for Mr. Roosevelt they voted against their own prosperity and their own interest. Individuals who behave in that way are said to suffer from suicidal mania.

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
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Southern Delegates at American Peace Mobilization in Chicago: (Front row, left to right): Arthur Price, Nashville, Tenn., Valencia Hill, Birmingham, Ala., Blanche Gelders, age 14, Birmingham, Waring Averey, Washington, D. C. (Back row, left to right): Mary Frances Harris, Green Pond, Ala., Anna May Mitchell, Lewisburgh, Ala., Margaret Gelders, Birmingham, Elinor Eaves, Birmingham, Marjorie Holdsambeck, Birmingham, Maple Duncan, Birmingham.

Daily Worker, New York, Sep 5, 1940

The 'New South' Attends a Great Parley Against War

Negroes and Whites from Poll-Tax States Added Their Voices Against Draft and War at Chicago

By Harold Preece
(Special to the Daily Worker)

CHICAGO, Sept. 4.—I have spoken with the New South. I have heard its voice and felt the pulse of its people expressed at the American Peace Mobilization in Chicago this week.

The voice of the New South is being heard against war and conscription in Washington today. Those who are speaking for the South today are not the poll tax statesmen elected by a privileged minority but these are representatives of the miners, the mountainers, the fishermen and the farmers who attended the mobilization.

When the 250 Southern delegates met in caucus Sunday night, Pete Seeger, wandering musician from Vienna, Va., mounted a chair opened the proceedings by singing the Negro spiritual, "I Ain't Gonna Study War No More." Pete Seeger with his guitar—that song with its appropriate title for these days, are symbols of the Southern people determined to build democracy in their own section before they worry about it overseas.

THE REBUILDERS

This gathering of the Southern people reminded one of the Reconstruction conventions which gathered in those stormy days after the Civil War to give the states below the Mason-Dixon line the only progressive administrations in their history. In that caucus, white and Negro delegates sat together as they had during those conventions to complete the great, unfinished tasks of Reconstruction.

Twenty-year old Lois Redding is helping to complete the work of Reconstruction in Polk County, Arkansas, where a Negro dare not settle on pain of being murdered by the night riders. Lois is the granddaughter of old Preacher Redding who farmed the place adjoining Commonwealth College when I attended the school eight years ago.

When I last saw Lois, she was like any other little mountain girl, playing with home made dolls and handling the churn for her mother. I met her again yesterday, and she told me that she was organizing branches of the Arkansas Anti-Poll Tax Councils.

Eighteen-year old Mary Jane Gray walks all over Tallapoosa County, Ala., organizing clubs of young sharecroppers. She is the nieve of Ralph Gray, another of the unsung Negro heroes of the South, murdered at Camp Hill in 1931 when a mob of planters attacked a mass meeting of the Share Croppers Union. And Mary Jane Gray has lived that "epic of the Black Belt."

"We met out in the woods with the owls hooting and the snakes crawling with men on guard outside to protect our meetings." Mary Jane told me. "We knew that some of us would have to die because we were fighting for the right to live. They shot down Uncle Ralph and they shot down Cliff James. But Uncle Ralph and Cliff James are not dead. Look at this big delegation we have from Alabama—32 of them Negroes. And look at the big representation from a change of "inciting slaves to insurrection—that "there will come sooner or later that thousands of Angelo Herndons." I though of Angelo Herndon's prediction when he was sentenced by that corrupt court in Atlanta on for the people in Tallapoosa County but in the rest of the South as well."

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
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I though of Angelo Herndon's prediction when he was sentenced by that corrupt court in Atlanta on a charge of "inciting slaves to insurrection—that "there will come thousands of Angelo Herndons."

Three Young Southerners: At American Peace Mobilization discuss ways of abolishing poll tax. (Left to right): Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, Houston, Tex., president, League of Young Southerners. Louise Hugh, Birmingham, Ala., James Jackson Birmingham, Ala., Acting Executive Secretary Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

Restricted Voting

Two important and complementary surveys have recently been released. The Council of State Governments investigated state suffrage laws, and their results show a poor substitute for the "universal suffrage" guaranteed by the Constitution. Citizens may be disqualified from voting for more than fifty reasons, and every state except Michigan has at least one provision for disqualification. Alabama has twenty-five and South Carolina twenty-eight. On the credit side, Illinois and Pennsylvania have only one each, and Vermont two. The average is about six. Convicted felons are barred in forty states. Lesser crimes that are punished by disfranchisement range from betting on an election to wife beating. Treason, electoral bribery, bigamy, perjury, adultery, malfeasance in office, receiving stolen goods and miscegenation are all reasons for losing the right to vote in at least one state. Five states bar Indians, and Rhode Island specifically bars Narragansett Indians. Insane persons, idiots, illiterates, incompetents, soldiers, sailors and "immoral persons" are generally disfranchised. Disqualification of paupers, the infamous poll taxes in eight states, and some amazing registration and residence requirements make the list almost complete. Add to this the terrorism which prevents Negroes and unpopular minorities from voting, and the wonder is that anyone is left to go to the polls.

. . . And Restricted Candidates

Limitations on who may vote, foolish as many of them are, may be justified in terms of keeping the franchise from idiots and murderers: there is no justification for keeping a qualified voter from voting for whom he pleases. The American Civil Liberties Union has made a survey of the vast difficulties, increasing at present, that face minority parties when they try to get on the ballot. In general they can do so in two ways: by polling enough votes in the last previous election or by filing petitions. They can theoretically acquire listing by a large enough write-in vote, but that has never yet been accomplished. "Polling enough votes in the last election" may mean as many as 20 percent of all the votes cast, as in Oregon, or 50,000 votes, as in New York. Nominating petitions in various states require up to 10 percent of the total vote, and up to 25,000 names. Difficult as this is, such requirements as individual notarization of names, petitioners registered in no other party, excessively early filing of petitions and a minimum number of names from each county in the state, make it even harder.

Other tricks in the barrel include setting high filing fees for candidates; excluding parties which "advocate the overthrow of the government by force"; discouraging petitions by publishing the names for blacklisting; prosecuting collectors for "fraudulent solicitation"; and just plain violence. The theoretical purpose of all this is to keep "nut" parties and "nut" candidates from wasting the voters' time and money. Its actual effect, and probably its real purpose, is to discourage minority expression and keep the two major parties without serious competition.

Blitzkrieg Against Civil Liberties

The report of the American Civil Liberties Union for the year ending June 1940 confirms the existence of a tragic situation that has been fairly obvious to most careful readers of the newspapers—that until quite recently civil liberties had been definitely on the increase, and that now as a result of the war and general American hysteria they are in a more dangerous state than they have been in many years.

Although this new attack on civil liberties and social progress has had its focal point in Congress, the Union report makes it clear that its manifestations extend throughout the nation. Local laws against aliens, radicals, and minorities have been frequent. Unorganized mob violence has increased, and with it the even more dangerous "citizens' committees" of vigilantes to fight aliens and "fifth columnists." In a few fields of civil liberties the Union report shows some progress. Regarding academic freedom, only two major violations, the Bertrand Russell and the Browder cases, are reported. However, the actions of Brooklyn College, the University of Michigan, and the University of Wisconsin against liberal students and the ASU are evidence that in the future even the colleges are not likely to be spared the general reaction. In the words of the Union's conclusion, "Only the utmost vigilance, vigor and skill will serve to protect the substance of democratic rights in so overpowering an hysteria."

POLITICAL- 1940 GENERAL
SUFFRAGE

SAY POLL TAX DEPRIVES MANY OF FRANCHISE

Maverick, C.I.O., A.F.L. Urge Bill's Passage Before Committee

WASHINGTON, March 15—Progressive groups, backing the Geyer bill which proposes to outlaw poll tax and open the way for millions of blacks and whites in eight southern states to vote, won their first important victory at the opening hearing last week.

A firm stand by the C.I.O., the A.F.L. and other organizations upset a series of manouvers designed to permit the measure to expire quietly in a commodious House judiciary committee pigeon-hole.

Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio, Texas, led off testimony on the bill before a judiciary subcommittee with the statement that the poll tax has turned the south into a "factional democracy" which is ruled by a minority and overrun with corruption.

Witnesses from the eight southern states where the poll taxes are still in effect are expected to testify on the effect of these taxes in disfranchising the majority of black and white people in the south.

Walter Yields

Representative Francis Walter, chairman of the judiciary subcommittee, had attempted to confine the hearings to the narrow issue of the constitutionality of the Geyer bill, thereby barring out all sociological and economic data bearing on the background of the poll tax. Under pressure of the powerful groups supporting the measure, Walter dropped insistence upon this point, however.

Chairman of the entire judiciary committee is Rep. Hatton Sumners of Texas, a leading Garner Democrat, who is bitterly opposed to the Geyer bill.

It is believed that Walter, who is head of the Pennsylvania Democratic delegation, has reflected Sumners' attitude in undertaking various moves which have shown a marked lack of enthusiasm for the Geyer measure, including several efforts to stall off the hearings.

Cites Statistics

In his testimony on behalf of the bill, Maverick cited statistics to show the effects of the poll tax. Maverick said that in South Carolina only 10.6 per cent of the people vote; in Georgia 14.5; in Mississippi 14.5 and in Texas 27 per cent. He drew a comparison with West Virginia which has no poll tax and where 79.3 per cent of the people vote.

Representatives of many of the organizations which have endorsed the Geyer bill differed sharply with one point made by Maverick: that the bulk of the Negro people should be kept from voting even if the measure is passed.

Although he was the only representative from the south who had voted (in 1936) for the anti-lynching bill in the House, Maverick indicated that he was so incensed because the Race people of San Antonio had not voted for him in the last election that he did not think they should be given the franchise "until they free themselves of political machines."

Maverick said that he considered so-called educational requirements in many states which are used to keep Race members from voting as "entirely proper."

A First Step

While the Geyer bill, H.R. 7534, does not specifically strike out against the use of Ku Klux Klan terror, intimidation, lynching and other more subtle subterfuges employed by the feudalistic rulers of the south to rob the Negro of his vote, it does however, open the way for both black and white people to exercise the franchise.

Specifically, the bill makes it "unlawful for any person, whether or not acting under the authority of the laws of a state or subdivision thereof, to require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting or registering to vote, at any election for a President or Presidential elector or senator or member of the House of Representatives of the United States." Thus the application of the bill is limited to federal elections.

Obviously, the passage of such a bill would be the first big step toward the complete abolition of a vicious antiquated system, which in centuries past was used by emperors and kings to keep themselves in power. The persistence of such a system in the twentieth century in one of the greatest so-called democracies, is a continuation of a hangover from ancient feudalism. In times of war and wide-spread poverty caused by the political and economic bankruptcy of capitalism. the poll tax system, which is but a single part of a whole system of feudalistic-landlord oppression, becomes a serious test of, as well as an imminent and immediate danger to democracy.

POLL-TAX "DEMOCRACY"

In eight Southern States the voting rights of otherwise qualified citizens are denied unless they can show that they have paid their poll taxes. In six of these States the poll tax is cumulative for two or more years. In some of them no effort is made to collect it, on the theory that "undesirable elements" will thus be kept from qualifying. These restrictions seem to have been more readily accepted because it was argued that they would enforce the practical disfranchisement of the colored race. But they do more than that. In the Presidential year 1936 only 20.4 per cent of the adult population voted in Alabama; 18.5 per cent in Arkansas; 19.6 per cent in Georgia; 16.2 per cent in Mississippi; 14.1 per cent in South Carolina; 33.5 per cent in Tennessee; 26.2 per cent in Texas; 25.7 per cent in Virginia. Tennessee, at the top of this list, cast about half as many votes as Kentucky, a State of about the same population.

Florida, Louisiana and North Carolina, which once had this bar to suffrage, have removed it in recent years. Its existence is a legitimate concern of every State, North as well as South since the votes of the poll-tax States help determine national policies which concern us all. But outside intervention is apparently not needed. A current publication of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, in cooperation with the American Council on Public Affairs, shows representative Southerners fighting the tax, among them groups representing education, parent-teacher organizations, labor and the churches. Before many years this limitation on democracy may be relegated in all our States to the limbo where it belongs.

REPEAL THE POLL TAX

Judged by their belief in democracy—the kind of democracy which holds that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," the eight MOST BACKWARD states in the United States are as follows:

ALABAMA, ARKANSAS, GEORGIA, MISSISSIPPI, SOUTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS, VIRGINIA.

These are the eight states in which there is a poll tax requirement to vote. As long as citizens in these states are required to pay poll tax in order to exercise their right of suffrage it is plain that a majority of the people will be disfranchised. A majority of the people have never consented to this form of disfranchisement and never will willingly consent to it.

The poll tax law was enacted for the purpose of disfranchising a majority of Negroes and a majority of the working class of white people. It has succeeded famously in this purpose for lo these many years, but a day of reckoning for the promoters of minority rule is at hand. The progressive forces of the South are battling to get the poll tax repealed. They rightly believe that with all citizens voting they can bring to an end the kind of government the South has been compelled to endure under boss rule and clique control.

The liberals of the South are pleading with the masses of both races to get into this fight for repeal of the poll tax, first by paying the poll tax now due and thereby becoming eligible to vote for legislators and other officials who will help repeal the poll tax.

The cost of the poll tax now due is $2.43. The voters in every family, including husbands, wives and other adults under the age of 50 should all make a sacrifice, if necessary, to pay the poll tax now due. By paying the present tax they will help do the thing that will end the necessity of paying any future poll taxes.

The Nashville Globe, in the interest of putting Tennessee's government in the hands of the people calls upon all leaders of the race, especially ministers and teachers to help carry on the crusade to get more of our citizens to pay poll taxes NOW so they will not have to pay poll taxes IN THE FUTURE.

Tuscaloosa, Ala. News
April 7, 1940

The 1940 Force Bill

THERE comes to this office a long communication from Lee E. Geyer, the California congressman who, in behalf of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is leading in the movement to outlaw the poll tax in all "federal" elections. This letter, sent under government frank, has stamped upon the envelope these words: "Attend the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, April 14, 15, 16, Chattanooga Tenn."

This letter from Mr. Geyer sets forth in detail the arguments against the poll tax—the same old arguments which we are hearing every day in the week—and there is no use to go into them. We would like to quote Mr. Geyer, however, on one point: "The eight poll tax states exert an influence in Congress and on the affairs of the nation as a whole that is far-reaching and entirely disproportionate to the population involved." Mr. Geyer then shows how much longer our House and Senate members serve than do those from elsewhere, and as a result of the rules of seniority, how many more important committee chairmanships they hold.

We see no reason why this California gentleman should cite this condition except in an effort to arouse prejudice against the South. Does he mean to intimate that, by taking our suffrage laws out of the hands of the states and placing them in the hands of the federal government, he can stop this business of the South profiting by seniority? Does he mean to intimate that, by throwing the franchise open to the negroes, he can break down the one-party system of the poll tax states, and thus deprive us of the only real power which we hold in national politics (not a Southern man has been elected president of the United States in 90 years)? If he does not mean these things, then what does he mean?

Except for this one point, what Mr. Geyer says does not deeply concern us. We are deeply concerned, however, by the supine and listless attitude of the South toward this bill, and especially the attitude of the urban press. Here and there we find one of our larger newspapers timidly protesting against the Geyer bill—protesting that his goal may be all right, but that he really shouldn't be using the federal government in attaining it! As usual, these Gentlemen of the Press have one eye—their best eye—on New York, from whence come the awards for Editorial Excellence, as well as the various scholarships and other emoluments.

We contend that despite this mealy-mouthed attitude on the part of our urban press—an attitude not shared in by the far bolder press of the country and the small towns—this Geyer bill is the most dangerous piece of legislation to be levelled at the South since the Force Bill.

For years, we have been combating the federal anti-lynching bill, by filibuster and otherwise ,and even the urban press of the South is now aroused over it, but the anti-lynching bill as a dangerous piece of legislation is just another lamb gambolling in the pasture when compared with Lee Geyer's bill.

We have fought the anti-lynching bill on principle, without being overly bothered by its actual appliance. Last year, for instance, it could not possibly have been applied more than three times in the entire South. During the past five years, it could have been invoked in Alabama only once. This Geyer bill, however, involves precisely the same principle of interference with the time-honored rights of the state as does the anti-lynching bill, and in addition to that it confronts us with a very definite actuality which is overwhelming in every aspect. It confronts us not with federal interference in the enforcement of a criminal law every few years, but with the direct control by the federal government of our franchise—and thus with our entire system of living. It confronts us with the federal control of our system of living in exactly the same manner that the federal government controlled our system of living for almost a decade following the War Between the States.

As we have said before, this matter does not stop with the poll tax. It goes far beyond that. If the federal government has the power to specify that we charge no poll tax in our "federal" elections, it has the power to control otherwise our federal elections—precisely as it once did with bayonets. It has the power to tell us that we cannot keep illiterates from the polls; it has the power to control our registration system, it has the power to tell us that we must let our vagrants, our ex-criminals, or anybody else vote, regardless of what we think. In short it has the power to control our elections quite as effectively as it did in the worst days of the Reconstruction. It has the power to bring back to Tuscaloosa precisely the same conditions which once prevailed here, when hundreds of negroes were herded to the polls and voted as so many cattle.

What we ask is this: Have we, in John Bankhead or Lister Hill, another Morgan? Will either of these men, or both of them, stand before the United States Senate—as Morgan once did—and tell that body that it cannot ram down the throats of the South a Force Bill? What the South needs today is a little leadership—a leadership interested in the preservation of our white civilization, not one whose sole concern is the dispensation of government jobs and the building up of a political machine—and we wonder whether in this new crisis Alabama will furnish its share of the leadership. Will John Bankhead and Lister Hill stand up and fight the battles of a white South, or will they be timid and watery as has been our urban press, while Alabama looks to such men as Pat Harrison for its hope and salvation? We do not believe that they will fail us.

Citizens Pushing Fight On Poll Taxes In South

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Carrying the battle for the elimination of poll taxes to the House judiciary subcommittee, Representative Lee E. Geyer last week said he expects to prove that the vicious tax as it now exists must be abolished to free millions disfranchised under the present unfair ruling.

The solon said that less than one fourth of the audlts in eight southern states vote under the poll tax rule. In Virginia, 26 per cent vote; in South Carolina, 14 per cent vote; in Tennessee, [illegible] per cent; Georgia, 20 per cent; Alabama, 20 per cent; Mississippi, 16 per cent; Texas, 26 percent and Arkansas 18 per cent. Thus an average of 24 per cent of the total population of these states votes, whereas the national average of voters is around 64 per cent.

WHITES WERE TARGET

The revival of the poll tax in the 1890's, according to Professor Clarence Nixon, who was a witness at the hearing, shows that the revival was directed even more against the poor whites, who belonged to the Populist Party, than against the Negroes. By swallowing racial propaganda, the whites of the hills helped to vote the Negroes out of politics immediately and at the same time to prepare the way for their own gradual loss of the vote

negro votes hold the balance of power under normal conditions in northern and boundary-line states, controlling 227 electoral votes; the 11 Southern provinces have only 135 electoral votes. Naturally the vote-getting New Deal is much interseted in the negro-controlled states rather than in the Southern provinces, commonly known as "Problem No. 1."

The unwarranted fear of Negro domination has been disproved by the states which have repealed the poll tax prerequisite such as North Carolina, Louisiana and Florida. It is estimated that 64 per cent of all the white adult voters have been disfranchised in the poll-tax states and in every one of them, more whites than Negroes are barred from the ballot box as a direct result of this law.

Chatsworth, Ga. Herald
August 3, 1939

"A Wooing We Shall Go"

We note with interest, the wooing of Marion Anderson (col.) the visit to Tuskeegee Institute (col.) and now, the reported issuance of a Booker T. Washington (col.) stamp. When Southern people lick the back side of this stamp we wonder what they will be thinking! There is a reason—the

ELECTION SHOWS HOW THE SOUTH STAYS 'SOLID'

Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Ill.

Law Keeps Republicans from Voting.

NOV 25 1940

This is the first of a series of articles revealing how the Democratic "Solid South" has virtually suppressed the Republican party. Subsequent articles will tell of the laws which made the disfranchisement of Republicans effective.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

[Reprinted from yesterday's late editions.]

Washington, D. C., Nov. 23.—Complete returns from the 1940 Presidential election furnish fresh testimony to the efficacy of Democratic measures for suppressing the Republican party in the "solid south."

In the 11 southern states Roosevelt received 3,657,122 votes; Willkie, 1,005,824. While only a negligible fraction of southern Republicans was allowed to register for the election, there evidently was a considerable shift of Democratic votes to Willkie, presumably in protest against the reëlection of Roosevelt to a third term.

The President received only 290,968 more votes in the solid south than he did in 1936, an increase of less than 8 per cent. Willkie received 208,348 more votes than Alf M. Landon did in 1936, an increase of 21 per cent.

Roosevelt Plurality Cut.

Roosevelt's plurality in the 11 southern states was 2,651,298; in the 37 northern and western states, 2,284,822. In the whole country the Roosevelt popular plurality was 4,936,120, compared with 10,797,090 in 1936. The Roosevelt plurality in the solid south in 1940 was 82,620 less than in 1936.

Willkie polled more votes than Landon in every southern state except North Carolina, where he got 10,000 less and Roosevelt likewise got 7,000 less than in 1936. Roosevelt received more votes than in 1936 in all the 11 states except Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Republican Shift in Texas.

The greatest shift of Democratic votes to Willkie took place in Texas, where Willkie polled 100,000 more than Landon. Next largest was in Florida where the Willkie vote was nearly 50,000 larger than Landon's, tho in that state the influx of northern Republicans may have been as much of a factor as the shift of Democrats.

A comparison of the Democratic and Republican vote in the south in 1936 and 1940 is presented in the following table:

	1936.	1940.
ALABAMA.		
Democrats	238,196	225,726
Republicans	35,358	42,152
ARKANSAS.		
Democrats	146,765	156,569
Republicans	32,039	41,986
FLORIDA.		
Democrats	249,117	359,083
Republicans	78,248	126,458
GEORGIA.		
Democrats	255,364	264,085
Republicans	36,942	46,848
LOUISIANA.		
Democrats	292,894	319,751
Republicans	36,791	52,446
MISSISSIPPI.		
Democrats	157,318	168,267
Republicans	4,443	7,364
NORTH CAROLINA.		
Democrats	616,141	608,824
Republicans	223,283	213,146
SOUTH CAROLINA.		
Democrats	113,791	97,129
Republicans	1,646	4,478
TENNESSEE.		
Democrats	327,083	333,624
Republicans	146,516	157,233
TEXAS.		
Democrats	734,485	887,255
Republicans	103,874	203,811
VIRGINIA.		
Democrats	234,980	236,809
Republicans	98,336	109,912
Total	4,163,610	4,662,956

Negro Domination Feared.

The low state of the Republican party in the south is the result of fear of Negro domination of state and local government. For more than half a century the southern whites have felt such a sense of outrage at the excesses under the Republican reconstruction régime that the very name Republican is hated. In vain have James Weldon Johnson and other Negro leaders contended that those excesses were no greater than those attending local government control by the whites.

By numerous devices the ruling whites, in order to prevent any possibility of a repetition of Negro domination, disfranchised colored citizens and poor whites thruout the south. Inasmuch as the Republican party in the south was composed almost entirely of Negroes and poor whites the Republican party was pretty effectually suppressed.

NOV 25 1940

Elections Only a Formality.

With the Republicans disfranchised the south became a one party region and elections became a mere formality. Contests for office were confined to the primaries of the one party—the Democratic party. These contests brought out a large vote in the Democratic primary. But with the nomination in the primary equivalent to election in a one party state it was unnecessary for the Democrats to vote in large numbers in the general election in order to ratify the choice of the Democratic primary.

Hence in national elections the Democrats do not poll anywhere near their real strength. An exception was the 1928 election in which the issues of religion and liquor stirred the south to its marrow. The southern whites did not boggle at voting the Republican ticket to beat Catholic and wet Al Smith. The Republicans carried Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, and Texas. Liquor and religion did for the Republicans what the third term dismally failed to do.

Crude Disfranchisements.

The disfranchisement of the Republicans was effected originally by various devices, some of them so crude that they were held unconstitutional by the Supreme court. One of the most notorious was the "grandfather clause" whereby the franchise was granted only to descendants of persons who voted prior to 1861, thus barring Negroes whose fathers and grandfathers were voteless slaves.

The present disfranchisement measures consist of property and literacy qualifications and poll taxes. The Democrats exclude Negroes from their primaries and impose on all participants in the Democratic primary the obligation of voting the Democratic ticket in the general election.

How these measures are applied in the south will be described in succeeding articles.

San Antonio's Mayor Maverick First Witness Against Poll Tax

Daily Herald 3-5-40 Atlanta, Ga

Representative Lee E. Geyer of California announced Friday that a hearing on his bill to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in feredal elections will be held before a House Judiciary subcommittee on March 6, with Maury Maverick, noted liberal and Mayor of San Antonio, appearing as a witness.

Plans for the hearing were discussed at a conference in Mr Geyer's office Thursday morning The Geyer bill is supported by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, laong with thirteen other national organizations.

MAVERICK ON WARPATH

Maverick, long opposed to the poll tax, has been on the war path since the abortive attempt of the San Antonio political machine to unseat him shortly after his election. He successfully defended himself in the courts against an attempt to fasten upon him the charge of buying votes through the payment of poll taxes, a corrupt practice known to be the basis of machine politics in Texas and other poll tar states. Mr. Maverick is chairman of the south-wide group sponsoring the Geyer bill, which is an amendment to the "pernicious political practices act", commonly known as the Hatch Act.

Before the Judiciary subcommittee Maverick, the first witness, will stress the need for the legislation set forth in the Geyer Bill, H.R. 7534. Representative Francis Walter (Deb.), Pennsylvania, Chairman of the sub-committee, has requested that all other witnesses confine their testimony at this time to the question of constitutionality. The main brief on the constitutionality of the bill will be presented by Crampton Harris, of Birmingham Alabama, attorney for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Mr. Harris, an eminent constitutional lawyer of the South was the fomer law partner of Supreme Court Justice Black.

Thursday's meeting was the second of such conferences of nation-

Rep. Lee Geyer Ready for Fight Starting Wednesday

al organizations planning for the hearings on the Geyer bill. In the group supporting this legislation William Green is represented by Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, Legislative Representative of the A. F. of L. and Mr. Lee Pressman, General Counsel of the C.I.O., represents Mr. John L. Lewis.

In addition to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., other organizations participating in these arrangements include: The Women's Trade Union League, The American Association of University Women, the League of Women Shoppers, the Descendants of the American Revolution, National Negro Congress, Labor's Non-Partisan League, American Civil Liberties Union, National Bar Association, I. B. P. O. E. Elks of the World, the Workers Alliance of America, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Lawyers Guild.

POLL TAX IS THROWBACK

"The poll tax itself is a throwback from Greek and Roman days," said Congressman Geyer. "It is wrong because it is a head tax and does not follow the correct principles of taxation. It does not depend upon ability to pay.

"The poll tax is particularly vicious when it is used as a rerequisite for voting. If democracy is going to survive, it will be because it works. We certainly cannot say that it is functioning where sixty-two per cent of the white people and ninety-two per cent of the colored people are disfranchised, as in the eight poll tax states."

The states which have a poll tax and the amount applied as prerequisites to voting are as follows:

Tennessee, $2 per year, with a 25 cent delinquent collection charge and one per cent interest per month.

Texas, $1.75 per year.

Arkansas, $1 per year, with a $1 penalty for delinquency.

Alabama, $1.50 per year, which is cumulative and must be paid in full before the right to vote is restored.

Georgia, $1 per year with delinquent collection charges and interest totaling approximately $1 per year.

Mississippi, $2 per year and cumulative for two years.

South Carolina, $1 per year in general elections, but the tax is not required in the primary.

Virginia, $1.50 per year and cumulative for three years.

The members of the House subcommittee who will conduct the hearing are: Francis E. Walter, Chairman, dem., Pennsylvania; W. Ben Abe Murdoch, dem., Utah; Albert Gibbs, dem. Georgia; Vreeland, Rep., New Jersey, and John W. Gwynne, Rep., Iowa.

Congressman Geyer will ask for support of his bill on a nation-wide hookup on Wednesday March 13 from 10 to 10:15 p.m. EST, on the NBC Blue network.

MANY GROUPS IN SUPPORT OF MOVEMENT

Pool Energies to Bring Up Vital Issue in This Session

3-3-40

WASHINGTON.—A bill, aimed to free 3,000,000 voteless Negroes and four million 'poor whites' in the South, who are disfranchised and prevented from voting because of a poll tax law, has been introduced into the Congress by Congressman Lee Geyer of California.

If the bill is passed it will wipe out the poll tax law, now in existence in a number of southern states, and will make it possible for a large number of whites and Negroes in the south who are barred from voting because of this economic vehicle, to participate in the national election this fall.

Congressman Geyer is being supported in his effort to get the bill passed by various newspapers and organizations throughout the country.

Meeting in the offices of Congressman Geyer last Saturday were Paul Scharrenburg, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor; Lee Pressman, general counsel of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Gardiner Jackson, legislative representative of Labor' Non-Partisan League; John P. Davis, national secretary of the National Negro Congress; Virginia Durr, vice chairman of the civil rights committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and sister-in-law of Justice Hugo Black of the United States Supreme Court; William Hastie, dean of Howard university law school and James Nabrit, secretary of Howard university—both representing the N.A.A.C.P.; Sol Alpher of the American Civil Liberties Union; Joseph Gelders secretary of the civil rights committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare; and representatives of the League of Women Shoppers and other labor civic groups. These representatives pledged to pool their energies in a combined national compaign to make the right of disfranchised voters in the South to vote a vital issue in this session of Congress.

Speaking of the significance of this meeting, A. Philip Randolph, president of the National Negro Congress declared:

"The abolition of poll taxes is the first step in the real emancipation of three million Negro Americans whom poll tax laws have robbed of their citizenship privileges for nearly two generations. This step will also men the enfranchisement of four million 'poor whites' who now find themselves in the same plight as the Negro.

"The Third National Negro Congress intends to make the question of the right of the Negro to vote a major subject on its agenda when it meets in Washington this April. We are determined to win this right."

SUPPORT THE GEYER BILL

One of the most progressive legislative measures ever introduced in Congress is the bill designed as H.R. 7534, of which Representative Lee F. Geyer of California is the sponsor. It provides for the outlawing of the vicious poll tax system now obtaining in several Southern States—a system disfranchising 64 percent of the whites as well as the colored citizens in the eight States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, where only one person out of four voted in the 1936 Presidential election. Jefferson County, Alabama, perhaps holds the record for this kind of disfranchisement; in that county, out of 120,000 colored citizens, only 667 were permitted to vote.

How does this poll tax system work? Many Northern readers will ask this question, for the practice is unknown north of the Mason-Dixon Line. A person is not qualified to vote until he has paid his poll tax, and payment is retro-active from the age of twenty-one. Thus a person who had not the desire to vote until he was thirty, when he became politically conscious, would be excluded unless he paid the nine years' arrears of poll taxes. In a region where wages are the lowest anywhere in the nation, it will be readily seen how difficult it is for a person to save sufficient to pay such a comparatively large tax.

It has been estimated that the abolition of the poll tax system would give 12,606,437 persons, colored and white, the ballot, which they could and would be used to better their economic position. The NAACP and other progressive organizations have gone on record in support of the Geyer Bill, which has far-reaching consequences for the enlargement and increase of democracy in America. The Geyer Bill should be supported by all true Americans, who believe in those principles of liberty, equality, and social justice enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution. Readers are urged to address telegrams and postcards to their Congressional Representatives, asking them to vote for the bill.

Labor's Leadership Needed

• An important gain in the fight for the passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill was made the other day when the measure was forced out of the House Judiciary Committee for a public hearing.

This bill would end the poll-tax in federal elections, and would thus open the way for assaulting the vicious poll tax disfranchisement in state elections.

Representing the sentiment of the Southern masses and of democratic Americans all over, a broad committee composed of the CIO, the A. F. of L., the National Negro Congress, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and other groups is actively pushing the Geyer bill. Not only have they forced the bill out into the open, but they prevented the Republican-Democratic clique on the Judiciary Committee from narrowing the hearings down to the technical question of "constitutionality."

For the real issue is that 11,606,437 Negro and white Americans in eight Southern States cannot vote because of the poll tax. This outrageous disfranchisement makes a mockery of real democracy, and it serves as a weapon in the hand of the landlords and mill owners for degrading the poor whites and enforcing a lynch system upon the Negroes. Martin Dies, of Texas, war-monger and labor-hater, is elected with the overwhelming majority of the people in his Congressional District disfranchised.

Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio, Texas, testified in favor of the bill, but he opposed the vote for the Negro so that "white people will keep control of the South." This plays into the hands of the Ku Klux Klan officials and politicians who are the worst enemies of the Geyer bill.

There can be no ballot or real democracy for the white masses in the South, except on the basis of fighting for the full citizenship of the Negro people. But Maverick, having just come out for a third-term for President Roosevelt, is evidently following the President's policy of "national unity" with the oppressors of the Negro.

This only drives home the fact that labor must take the leadership in the fight for the Geyer bill, along the forthright lines set forth by John L. Lewis in his historic address at the recent American Youth Congress. It is this leadership which will rally the developing progressive movement in the South, and all other democratic Americans in abolishing the poll-tax relic of feudalism.

The Poll Tax Question

An indication of the national interest in the South's poll tax question is contained in an editorial in *The New York Times* commenting on the recent testimony of Mayor Maury Maverick, of San Antonio, before a House subcommittee in behalf of a federal law which would rule out the payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections.

The Times remarks that it is natural that Mayor Maverick should be sensitive about poll taxes, since his political enemies in his home city recently tried to get him convicted of the crime of paying poll taxes for indigent voters. While he was acquitted, the paper adds, the experience must rankle.

The Times continues:

"If one is to believe the testimony of Southerners themselves, the practice of buying up poll tax receipts and passing them out to voters who will do as they are told is a common one in the poll tax states of the South.

"Northerners may be diffident about telling Southerners how to manage their domestic politics. In the Breedlove case, decided in 1937, the United States Supreme Court unanimously held that each state could set its own franchise requirements, subject to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Another case, based on an alleged denial of the right to vote in a special congressional election, is now on its way to the court. A nation-wide interest is justifiable in this instance, since the vote of a Southern senator or representative may affect every state in the Union.

"It seems likely, however, that election reforms in any state must be supported in that state if they are to do any good. *The Survey Graphic* recently carried an article by a young North Carolinian, Mr. George C. Stoney, which pointed out that Southern women's clubs, parent-teacher organizations and newspapers have begun to campaign against a system which encourages corruption and disfranchises the poorer members of the white population. The day may come when the poll-tax states of the South will bring more than the present third of their potential voting populations to the polls at their all-important primary elections."

The testimony of many Southerners themselves, as *The Times* says, is that there is a good deal of vote-buying in the South through the simple device of paying a person's poll tax. There can be no doubt that this is true. It is one of the evils of the poll tax. It may be said, however, that vote-buying is often found in places where there is no poll tax, and that it is just as easy to give a voter cash as it is to give him a poll tax receipt. That is true; yet the close connection between payment of poll taxes and the ballot tends to make it convenient to bribe a voter in this way.

As desirable as poll tax reform is, however, it is not a question to be decided by federal legislation, as *The News* has said before. It must be left up to the states. Already in some of the Southern states the poll tax has been eliminated. Reforms will follow in the others in time, no doubt.

Actually, there is no such thing, of course, as a federal election, so that consideration hardly enters into the question. Occupants of federal offices are elected in state elections. For example, you do not vote for a president, but for state presidential electors. A senator or a representative in Congress is elected as a representative of his state, in a state election.

Congress should keep hands off of the poll tax question.

Maverick Urges Free Ballot For Millions of Sharecroppers

He Says Act Would End 'Machines' in Eight Southern States.

WASHINGTON, March 6.—(AP) Congress was asked today to offset the work of political machines by abolishing poll taxes in eight southern states.

Led by Maury Maverick, fiery mayor of San Antonio, Texas, and former congressman, a big southern delegation urged a judiciary subcommittee of the house to write the Geyer poll tax ban into the Hatch act.

Geyer said Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia have poll tax laws.

Maverick asserted fraudulent voting in these states could be overcome by extending the free ballot to millions of sharecroppers and others now unable to meet the tax requirement.

He said a citizen of Alabama who had not voted for 10 years could obtain the right of franchise again only by paying $15 of back poll taxes.

To a sharecropper, he said, $1.50 would be the equivalent of $300 to a man with the salary of a congressman.

The Poll Tax

By WILLIAM HENRY HUFF

The poll tax is a subterfuge
To fine and fog the poor,
Created by some wicked stooge
Behind a crimson door.
That it should soon be blotted out
The nation now demands;
What's needed to bring this about
Is in the people's hands.

Polling The Poll Tax

A story of poll taxes would involve several volumes. The poll tax has been used for many purposes. Hardly a tax before the American people and the world has had so many different missions. It was paid in one form before Christ. It was assessed in ancient Rome and in England. While it has served its purpose in various designs it has often, like the boomerang returned to its thrower with the same impact that it bludgeoned its enemies.

In this country we have known it as a tax on the head and a medium of obtaining a list of voting eligibles. In some states and precincts evidences of this payment have been presented as identifications of those eligible and qualified to vote.

In some instances it has been set up as a preventative of certain voters taking part. It was thought that many such voters would neglect the payment of their poll tax within the stipulated period and thereby forfeit their right to vote. Many states using the poll tax as a subterfuge to keep certain citizens from voting, also had an accompanying prohibitive. That involved the payment of all taxes before one could vote. In later years and especially during the hard days of the depression, when big landowners were hardest hit and could not pay all taxes, it was suggested that the clause exacting all taxes be deleted and upon the payment of the poll tax a citizen could vote. Here again the law to keep out certain citizens was returning like a boomerang, to its thrower. Many old timers who worshipped around the fires of Negro Disfranchisement and the old one party system, bitterly objected to the repeal of this clause. It was openly advanced that if this claus were deleted there was no telling when some Republican fund would come down and enfranchise millions of non voting blacks in the South. In this same discussion it was brought out that there were some twelve counties in the state of Georgia in which the Negro eligibles outnumbered the whites. There again the agitators flew up the old race bugaboo, willing to disfranchise thousands of white voters in order to get a few hundred blacks.

But many of the old worshippers died and the depression hit harder and heavier.

The machinery for the dissemination of this information has been so inactive that there are thousands of voters in many of our rural counties who have never heard of this arrangement.

There is a widespread move on now to repeal the poll tax in all states. According to our information only five or six states in the union require this now for a qualification for voting. The hearing now in progress is bringing out some startling facts about the payment of a poll tax as a consideration for voting. Among these, Ex-Congressman Maury Maverick brought out the fact that certificates for the qualification for voting have been obtained by the payment of poll tax for non-existent persons and given to existing one for the purpose of violating the law in voting. Here again the boomerang returns to its thrower.

One dollar for the privilege of voting is a small sum and not large enough to prevent a real citizen from voting. Without advocating the poll tax, it can be said here and now that any man who allows one dollar to lie between him and his suffrage is hardly deserving. No excuse it harbored for those who have disfranchised themselves on account of the poll tax.

The poll tax will in the end throw itself. The fact that only a hand full of states are still clinging on to it, bespeaks its unpopularity and its failure to effect the purpose for which it was designed. Evil begets evil and wherever men have flown up schemes to defeat their fellows, they have found their own defeated.

The small vote now cast in many of our southern states is every day becoming more and more alarming. The question is being raised as to why fewer votes are cast in our general state and county elections than in single counties in the north and west.

There is a question mark back of United States senators, congressmen, governors, state-house and county officers holding their offices on such a small percentage of the eligible votes in their commonwealths.

The fanfare is over at the close of the primaries and in the states in question men will emerge from the primaries actually stating they have been elected!

Whatever have been the virtues and merits of the poll tax, it has defeated itself. It may have had honorable intentions and served fine purposes but like its predecessors and designing associates, has lost its savor in bad company.

Poll Tax Freezes Congress Control, Council Is Told

The poll tax in eight States has a direct effect on congressional committees, according to a report presented by Mrs. Fred G. Krivonos, of Washington, before the National Legislative Council in session here yesterday at the Willard Hotel.

Because of the small percentage of the population of voting age permitted to vote under the poll tax system, representatives are returned again and again to Congress, gaining seniority here that gives them places on important committees. Thus the eight States control a third of the committees whereas they would normally control only a sixth, were there an even division among the 48 States, Mrs. Krivonos said.

The first hearing ever held in Congress on the poll tax was that March 6 before a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. Others have been set for April 2, 3, 9 and 10.

ALIENS CANNOT VOTE BY PAYING POLL TAX

Arkansas Attorney General Rules On Question

Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, March 26.—An alien, despite the fact he may have obtained a poll tax receipt, cannot vote in a primary election even though he has been a resident of the state some time, Atty. Gen. Jack Holt ruled today. He so advised S. L. Miller of North Little Rock in an official opinion.

The attorney general pointed out that Amendment Eight to the Arkansas Constitution, adopted in 1920, declared: "It is . . . the purpose of this amendment to deny the right of suffrage to aliens."

Attempt to vote by one who is not a qualified elector entails a fine from $300 to $1000.

The attorney general also advised W. A. Sanders of Nettleton, Ark., that a person in Arkansas must have a poll tax receipt to vote in a presidential election, and the tax must be paid on or before Oct. 1, 1940, to qualify for the November general election.

Poll Tax Paid By 181,496 To Vote This Year

Stimulated By Contests For Local Posts, Total Revenue Is $467,392

A tabulation released yesterday by Comptroller I. C. Heck shows that 181,496 Alabamians have paid $467,392 to exercise their voting franchise in the State primaries and the presidential election on this Fall.

The 181,496 voters who renewed their suffrage is considerably short of the more than 300,000 who voted in the last gubernatorial primary. What makes the difference is the exempt status of a great number of voters over 45 years of age and war veterans.

This becomes immediately apparent in Montgomery County, where this year 6,950 residents paid $15,112 in poll tax. The county has voted in excess of 10,000.

In several counties the amount of tax paid by voters and politicians reflects the existence of hot county races. In the absence of interesting campaigns, or in off election years, a large segment of the population lets its franchise lapse.

The poll tax is $1.50 a year. But Alabama law—the only one of its kind in the nation—makes the arrears cumulative. Thus if a voter has not paid for two years and wants to begin voting again, he must pay two years' back tax plus the $1.50 for the current year.

In election years there is a tendency to pay up the arrears. This year in Clarke County, where most citizens are eating and sleeping politics, 3,564 voters have paid up. The average cost of requalifying was $4.86. One family alone paid $108. Approximately 6,000 expect to vote in May and November.

In Cullman County, where the Democrats have to fight hard against the Republicans, it cost 5,431 citizens an average of $4.53 to requalify.

"In Clarke County," said Comptroller Heck, "some payments were as much as $36."

The total $467,392 (and 50 cents) paid over the State is earmarked exclusively for schools.

The county-by-county tabulation follows:

	No. Issued	Amount
Autauga	1,070	$ 3,064.50
Baldwin	1,606	4,549.50
Barbour	1,454	3,190.50
Bibb	1,412	3,133.50
Blount	2,114	5,851.50
Bullock	779	2,067.00
Butler	1,962	5,466.00
Calhoun	3,505	8,566.50
Chambers	3,088	8,835.00
Cherokee	2,498	8,881.50
Chilton	2,622	7,318.50
Choctaw	1,617	4,296.00
Clarke	3,564	17,302.50
Clay	1,873	4,461.00
Cleburne	1,449	3,927.00
Coffee	2,372	7,461.00
Colbert	2,856	8,508.00
Conecuh	1,351	3,015.00

From The Commercial Appeal

Coosa	1,267	2,535.00
Covington	3,613	9,300.00
Crenshaw	2,100	5,787.00
Cullman	5,431	24,576.00
Dale	2,353	7,038.00
Dallas	1,775	4,389.00
DeKalb	4,829	10,122.00
Elmore	3,207	7,882.50
Escambia	2,240	6,349.50
Etowah	4,753	10,375.50
Fayette	2,216	5,679.00
Franklin	3,443	8,691.00
Geneva	1,660	3,379.50
Greene	687	2,170.50
Hale	1,109	2,428.50
Henry	1,373	3,226.50
Houston	2,610	5,572.50
Jackson	2,733	7,470.00
Jefferson	20,925	47,233.50
Lamar	2,300	6,730.50
Lauderdale	2,952	6,252.00
Lawrence	2,066	3,663.00
Lee	1,602	3,856.50
Limestone	1,734	3,682.50
Lowndes	686	1,395.00
Macon	749	1,708.50
Madison	3,693	11,100.00
Marengo	1,568	4,119.00
Marion	2,790	7,669.50
Marshall	3,299	8,458.50
Mobile	6,843	16,314.00
Monroe	2,389	7,645.50
Montgomery	6,950	15,112.50
Morgan	3,372	8,667.00
Perry	1,011	2,449.50
Pickens	1,172	2,313.00
Pike	1,990	4,077.00
Randolph	2,452	5,212.50
Russell	1,173	2,869.50
Shelby	1,695	3,663.00
St. Clair	2,013	4,206.00
Sumter	806	1,809.00
Talladega	3,670	9,450.00
Tallapoosa	3,075	7,092.00
Tuscaloosa	4,518	11,125.50
Walker	4,869	11,737.50
Washington	1,777	4,189.50
Wilcox	1,010	2,952.00
Winston	1,756	3,772.50
Total	181,496	$467,392.50

SHOULD BE ABOLISHED BY FEDERAL LAW, SAYS MAURY MAVERICK OF SAN ANTONIO

Full 3-15-40

WASHINGTON. — (AN P)—Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, former member of congress from Texas and regarded by many as one of the liberals of the Southwest, was guest speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Descendants of the American Revolution, Tuesday evening and promptly assailed some of the old stand-bys of America including the poll tax and economic liberty and labor.

Lashing at the pseudo-artistocrats of America, who gloat over their ancestry, Mr. Maverick, tracing the relatives of the former early settlers, now held in disdain throughout the country, said:

"Those blue-eyes, these Nordic blondes, those cousins of yours and mine, have lost out and are forgotten in this country today. Strangely enough, many of these hungry people of old American stock—our cousins-have no fight left in them. In the South, they have strangled and exploited themselves in their hard and cruel lives by hammering on the Negro—by getting rid of their inhibitions through practising race superiority, but suffering economic degradation in the process. For their pains, these white cousins of ours get exploited, disfranchised, kicked around and abused just like the Negro. And in the North they are not much better off.

"South Fought for Liberty"

"Indeed, the slave owners of the South fought for liberty in the Civil war. Liberty for whom? For the Negroes, and for the non-slave-owning seven-eighths of the white population, known as the poor whites? No, they fought for liberty for themselves. And they led the poor whites to fight against their own liberty, just as a small reactionary minority has many of the common people fighting each other today."

Throwing bitter sarcasm at Martin Dies, leader of the committee on un-American activities, Mr. Maverick declared that there should be a contniued fight against Communism and Fascism as well.

"Now about the poll tax," Mr. Maverick contirued. "Whether or not that is strictly a question of civil liberties, I don't know but I discuss it under that heading. I do so because millions of citizens have been and are being deprived of their liberties by the imposition of a poll tax which they haven't the money to pay.

"The orginal idea of the poll tax might have been to exclude the Negro. But today it excludes the white man from the Democratic primaries; and more white men are excluded than there are Negroes in the South. By Supreme court decision the Negro can not vote in the white man's primary, where elections are seltled. Even omitting the Negro, we still have the disfranchisement of millions of white men.

Poor Whites Are Exploited

"The so-called 'meance' of the Negro is continually thrust in the face of the poor white. He is assured that all is for white supremacy. And so the poor white either does not get to vote at all, or if he does, he does so with all the economic prejudices of the people who are exploiting him.

Harris Attacks Poll Tax Before House Committee

WASHINGTON, April 10. — (AP) — Crampton Harris, of Birmingham, Ala., chairman of the civil rights committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, asserted today that a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in a Federal election was a State tax on a privilege derived from the Federal government, and hence was unconstitutional.

Advertiser

Testifying before a House judiciary subcommittee in support of the bill to prohibit collection of poll tax in connection with such elections, Harris said a frequently-cited Supreme Court decision upholding the contsitutionality of the Georgia poll tax was not controlling.

While the decision held that the State poll tax was consistent with the Federal Constitution, he argued, at the time of the decision Congress had never spoken on the question and nothing in the decision prohibited Congress from exercising its right to enact such legislation as the bill under consideration.

He challenged a statement of Justice Butler in the Georgia case decision that the privilege of voting was not derived from the Federal government but was conferred by the States.

"The power to vote in a Federal election is a Federal power, Mr. Justice Butler to the contrary notwithstanding," Harris said, citing previous Supreme Court decisions which he said sustained his contention.

Even though the Constitution permits the States to impose the same qualifications on voters in Federal elections, he contended, the right to vote nevertheless derives from the Federal government.

He conceded the States had the right to establish reasonable "qualifications" for voters, but contended that a poll tax was a tax and not a qualification."

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, of Atlanta, public relations representative for the C. I. O. in the South, told the committee the poll tax "operates to permanently disfranchise vast numbers of people, unless their voting power is illegally restored for political purposes through manipulation of poll tax requirements and the voters' register."

The bill was also endorsed by Representative O'Day (D), New York, representing the Alabama Farmers' Union; Martin Popper, New York, representing the constitutional liberties committee of the National Lawyers Guild; and Arthur Shores, Birmingham, Ala., negro lawyer representing the Negro Youth Conference and the Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 15, 1940

One-fifth of the White Voters

Disregarding the result of the recent election and how the votes were divided between candidates, The News and Courier reminds the people that it is a sign of political ill health when the vast majority of them do not vote.

In South Carolina are about 1,100,000 white people and about 800,000 negroes. If this estimate be approximately correct (the census figures as to races have not been published), the number of white persons of voting age is about 550,000. It is at the very least 500,000.

From the figures of the election so far published it appears that little more than 100,000 ballots were placed in the boxes, and of these several thousand were those of colored people.

In other words, 100,000 white voters in 500,000 or more determine the course of South Carolina in national affairs.

What kind of democracy is that?

The condition is dangerous. As long as it shall last, it will be possible for a strong man, a Huey Long for example, or for one of another type having ambition and $250,000 to spend on an election, to turn the state upside down.

It were as well to remember that in the state are about 400,000 negroes of voting age and the majority of them can read and write. The constitutional provisions adopted in 1895 are no longer in themselves effective. That convention was held at the instance of the late Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, he dominated, he controlled it, and he predicted that the suffrage limitations would not permanently serve the purpose that caused their adoption. Senator Tillman sometimes peered into the future.

"Never trouble trouble till trouble troubles you" is the ancient saying, and apparently it is generally accepted as true in South Carolina. The News and Courier is no believer in its soundness.

That only one fifth of the white people, or ninth of all the potential voters, vote in general elections bodes trouble, and we hold to the unpopular notion that a better proverb is, "Take time by the forelock."

In present conditions there is no "democracy" in general elections in South Carolina and not nearly so much in the primaries as is commonly supposed to be. When a party is wholly financed by candidates, the candidate class will rule. That is not "democracy".

EIGHTY PER CENT OF THE TWENTY-FIVE HUNDRED NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS ARE ABOVE AGE OF FIFTY

Ben Cofer, publicity agent of the Young Men's Republican Club of Georgia, and a member of the Editorial Staff of the Republican, the official organ of the National Federation of Young Men's Republican Clubs in the United States, under the direction of Benjamin J. Davis, President of the Young Men's Republican Club of Georgia, has made the startling discovery, that eighty per cent of the Negro registered voters of Fulton County, Georgia, are above the age of fifty; and that those of the twenty-five hundred, in default, ninety per cent are young men under the age of fifty. While Mr. Cofer found that only 2500 Negroes had registered, many of them were in default, for failure to pay their poll tax; and that a large majority of those in default were young educated men, making from $75.00 to $200.00 per month. When we received this information from Mr. Cofer, we were reminded of what King Agrippa said to Apostle Paul. Paul, much learning has made you drunk. When we compare the young Negroes' much learning, education and opportunity, with their father's education and opportunities, we seriously wonder, if much learning is not a dangerous thing, to give the average young Negro. We feel that the education, we are getting has not the proper setting, that Negroes need a kind of education, that he cannot find in colleges and books.

Negroes are divided into two classes: the intelligencia and the common people. The intelligencia is composed of the preachers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, scientists, editors and philosophers. As a class these people live of the public and land back nothing to the people who constitute the public. They are consumers and not producers; they receive and give not. The common people, are composed of the people who work with their hands and earn from $25.00 to $150.00 per month. As a rule, this class of voters, own their homes, farms do the domestic work; pullman porters, train porters, taxi cab drivers; support the churches, societies, pay the tax and do all the voting for the race. Their philosophy is, he that lives of the public must give something worthwhile back to the public. They live in the spirit of Christ, giving liberally to the people and expects to receive their reward in common with those, whom they serve.

Mr. Cofer's investigations, revealed that there are approximately 2,000 professional men and women in the city more or less, and less than ten per cent of them do not qualify to vote. Many of them own property, pay tax and are too dumb to regester to vote. Thousands of young Negro men and women in Fulton County, graduates from colleges and high schools, who never have a thought of civic and political responsibility. Just too dumb to contemplate the essential of good citizenship. They have one idea, and that idea is, to escape responsibility; that it is smart not to pay tax but wisdom to have a good time and to live an idle irresponsible life.

If the modern idea of education, is to un-fit the Negro youth for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, we had better cut it out, and return to the school of commonsense, where we were taught at our mother's knees around the fire-side, the morality of hard work with the hands and the joy of doing work well. Any education that unfits the individual for usefulness is poor education, and we need a period of un-education, rather than the grade of education the Negro youth is receiving from books, colleges and philosophers. Can anybody explain why the brains of the race, is less service to God and man than the muscles of the race? This is an important question and ought to be given serious consideration. We ought to know why the intelligencia of the race believes in receiving all, and giving back nothing, in return for the value received. This is usually the class that often exclaims, "I am ashamed of the race." If these parasites would use one ounce of common sense, they would wear the boot on the other leg, and exclaim "I am ashamed of myself." These arrogant people are so dumb they cannot see that they cannot rise any higher in the world mind and matter, than they lift the masses of their race as they climb higher in the estimation of those, who do things worthwhile for God and man. Those who are intelligent enough to be the ones, to lead the masses to higher and nobler thoughts. They should be so well informed and interested in civic and political duties, that those less informed might follow their example in taking part in church, politics and society.

Poll Tax

The Southern conference on human welfare held recently in Chattanooga reflected a growing sentiment for abolition of the poll tax. Just prior to the convention a survey published by a group of prominent and courageous Southerners revealed the extent of the system. With added comment of several who instituted or participated in the study, the document is undoubtedly one of the strongest indictments that has yet been made.

Entering "the war to a finish on the system of the payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia and South Carolina," the National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs has just released a compilation of facts from the congressional directory and the United States census of 1930. Figures are analyzed and facts presented with the clarity and force which will interest even the man in the street. Deductions presented as "incredible comparisons" between the South and other sections of the Nation are the climax of the study. These are unanswerable arguments for the passage of poll tax legislation which was introduced in the House of Representatives last August by Geyer of California. These must awaken the Negro voter to his responsibility on behalf of his benighted brother in the South. Even if he is indifferent to his duty as his brother's keeper, he will read in such comparisons as follow a challenge to defend himself from the effect of widespread disfranchisement and corruption at the polls. Nor is the white man who votes elsewhere apt to pass over such comparisons as these:

In Pennsylvania for every two citizens, 1 votes; but in the State of Mississippi only 1 votes for every 193 citizens.

The third congressional district of Mississippi had a population of 420,000 in 1930. Yet only 2,171 people voted. In a congressional district of Missouri of the same size 151,000 ballots were cast.

"More people voted in the Twelfth Congressional District of Missouri than in the combined states of Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina for 23 Congressmen."

In California, 44.5 per cent of the total population voted in the last Presidential election; in Georgia only 2.4 per cent of the population went to the polls.

Conditions which these amazing comparisons reveal are the direct and pernicious result of the poll tax which the Southern white man originated to keep colored voters from the polls. That it has mitigated against thousands of white citizens, has not mattered to him if his prime object has been accomplished.

"The cost of poll taxes is from $1 to $3. Thousands of families in

these states handle no money at all during the year, frequently coming out in debt. Millions have an income of less than $100 per year. The cost to these families for poll tax varies from 1 to 3 per cent of their total income. If a Congressman had to pay proportionately, the cost to him would be from $100 to $1,000, depending on the number of persons voting in his family. What would Henry Ford have to pay?

"Reform groups cannot get these taxes repealed. They would have to depend on the politicians to repeal them. Can it be expected that persons who owe their office to the manipulation of the poll tax will work for its elimination?"

When, as now, a Democratic administration sits in Washington, the evils of the pernicious poll tax system exist in full force. As we look toward November, the implication is clear.

POLL TAX REPEAL

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia are the poll tax states.

All states which were able to get rid of the poll tax through legislative enactments have already done so: North Carolina in 1920, Pennsylvania in 1933, Louisiana in 1934, and Florida in 1938. In the remainder of states, with the possible exception of Tennessee, the provision has been frozen into the constitution and requires an amendment.

How and to what extent the poll tax states helped to secure the disfranchisement of large numbers of its citizens through this means is demonstrated by the following breakdown:

Alabama, the first state, incidentally admitted to the Union with no property qualification required for voting (1819)—now has the most undemocratic provision regarding the poll tax of any of the states requiring the fee. The tax is $1.50 yearly, is cumulative for the entire period of liability, ages 21 to 45. After the age of 45 the poll tax is not required, but no person over that age votes unless all taxes have been paid. The Alabama constitution prohibits any process for collection of the poll tax. Also Feb. 1 was the deadline for payment of poll taxes to gain eligibility to vote in the presidential election next November.

The present poll tax law was enacted to prevent the Negro from exercising his right of franchise; it not only did that but has excluded large groups of white miners, farmers and their wives, sawmill workers, laborers, agricultural workers, stevedores and many others in nearly every walk of life have been and are today disfranchised by a vicious poll tax law that never should have been enacted.

Alabama with a population of 2,600,000 people cast about 250,000 votes in the presidential election of 1936, making about 100 voters out of each 1,000 of the population of the state. Mississippi with 1,000,000 fewer inhabitants, cast more votes in the 1936 presidential election than Alabama did. Colorado, with a population of 1,036,000, cast 20,000 more votes than did Alabama. The poll tax law of Alabama must be repealed if we wish to progress and keep abreast of the times. A small minority of our citizens absolutely control the political destinies of the state, which is not a true form of democracy.—Winfield Journal.

Missouri to Send Delegates to Both Political Confabs

ST. LOUIS. — (Special) —While Republicans make plans for their state convention at Hotel Jefferson on next Friday, April 26, Missouri's Democrats already have their big train ready to go to the national convention this summer at Chicago, after selecting their "Big Eight" and district delegates, including Dr. Opal McClellan, superintendent of Homer Phillips hospital, during the Democratic state convention here last week.

Dr. McClellan will be the only Negro delegate from Missouri at the Democratic convention. He was lected from the eleventh congressional district.

The Republican convention at Philadelphia will seat two Negro delegates from Missouri: Attorney Sidney R. Redmond, elected as district delegate from the eleventh district and William A. Morant, who is slated to be elected as one of the "Big Four" delegates at large to be chosen at the state convention Friday.

The election of Morant, Republican of high standing for many years, is conceded. Morant is now serving his fourth term as constable in the fourth district in St. Louis.

The election of Redmond as district delegate followed a real battle during the district convention when delegates were forced to decide between Redmond, the N.A.A.C.P. president, and N. B. Young, both prominent attorneys and friends of long standing.

A. J. Burton took the floor and made the nomination speech for Attorney Redmond, while Mrs. Lucy Gilmore read the nomination speech of Attorney Young. Attorney Redmond won the contest, 74 to 37 votes.

T. B. Watkins of Kansas City, will go to the Republican convention as an alternate from the fifth congressional district.

The Democratic state meet ended in harmony, after the party nearly split in two factions, one favoring United States Senator Bennett C. Clark, and the other stringing along with Governor Lloyd C. Stark. Senator Clark succeeded in steering the convention in his favor, and he will head the state delegation to the national convention.

The Democrats elected the following eight delegates at large, each of whom will have half a vote each: Senator Clark, Governor Stark, Senator Harry S. Truman, Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann, Mrs. Ann Brady, Mrs. Blanche Griffith, Mrs. Henry C. Chiles and Mrs. Alice Moss Ferris.

The convention did not express itself on the question of a third term for President Roosevelt. The state delegation is uninstructed and its individual members are free to vote as they choose at the national convention.

JUSTICE DEP'T IS SOUGHT TO AID MOVEMENT

NAACP Plans To Bring Court Action Against Dixie Primaries

NEW YORK, April 19—A campaign along all fronts, using every resource of the courts, the federal department of justice, and public opinion, is being launched actively by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to guarantee Race voters in the South the right to the franchise, it was announced here this week.

The N.A.A.C.P. campaign, now out in the open, is a result of the activities of many of its branches in the southern states dating back a year ago and includes the spectacular fights in Miami, Fla., and Greenville, S.C., in which the Ku Klux Klan was defied.

The association's Birmingham, Ala., branch has also been active together with numerous units in the state of Texas.

The N.A.A.C.P. barrage will include action by the Department of Justice, which has been consulted almost continuously since last July.

The N.A.A.C.P. legal staff has forwarded steadily a stream of memoranda, briefs and affidavits to the F.B.I. on violations of the Race's right to vote in the South and has cited both to the F.B.I. and to the attorney general's office the federal statutes which have been violated.

Action Urged

That the drum-fire of the association on these cases will most likely result in action was indicated at a conference last week between N.A.A.C.P. attorneys and O. John Rogge, assistant attorney general, in Washington.

In addition to urging action by the attorney general's office, the N.A.A.C.P. plans to bring criminal and civil suits in the federal courts, and the groundwork for several of these already has been laid in Texas and will be instituted in the next 30 days.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., will leave New York shortly for an investigation and consultation on primary cases in the states of Texas, Alabama and Louisiana.

The court actions planned in Texas have special significance this year because of the candidacy of Vice President John N. Garner for the presidency, and the campaign for re-election of Senator Tom Connally, foe of the anti-lynching bill and organizer and leader of the filibuster against it.

Congressman Martin Dies, who has refused persistenly to investigate the Ku Klux Klan and mob violence, also hails from Texas.

Plan Research

To back up its campaign, the N.A.A.C.P. legal staff is completing research for a memorandum on procedure for instituting both criminal and civil cases where Race rights have been violated.

In Miami, the Klan burned crosses in the Race neighborhood, and in Greenville, the president of the N.A.A.C.P. youth chapter, who was leading the fight for registration of voters, was twice arrested.

Mobile, Ala., Forum. Sun
Oct. 11, 1940-

NEGRO VOTE MAY DETERMINE OUTCOME

NEW YORK—Because the "Negro vote is today so distributed that it can hold the balance of power in any reasonably close contest in seventeen states with a total electoral vote of 281, fifteen votes more than the 266 required to elect a President and Vice-President," it is a factor that will have to be reckoned with by the major parties in 1940.

"This," says Walter White, in the current isue of Liberty Magazine, "and the fact that the Negro voter is politically far more mature today than ever before, means that he is increasingly ignoring party labels, preferring to study candidates and issues."

Writing on "How Will the Negroes vote," the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said, "If the decision is close, their 2,500,000 may be decisive in such key states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri and Michagan."

Don't Fail To Vote

Today more than fifty millions of Americans will go to the polls to decide who will serve as the President of their government for the next four years. NOV 5 1940

Their decision will come at the most critical and fateful period in not only the history of the United States but that of the world as well. Daily World

No words can be uttered that could rightfully describe the power and protection that lies within the right of franchise. The ballot is all powerful in a democratic system such as ours. It is the only safe-guard of a minority group in a democracy. Atlanta Ga.

Two and one half million members of this country's largest minority, the Negro, will with other Americans march to the polls today. Residing, as they do in the five pivotal states—New York, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania—their votes hold the balance of power between the Democrats and the Republicans. They might easily determine the outcome of today's election.

The greater majority of the Negro population, however resides, not n these five states, but in the Democratically Solid South. Disenfranchised through manipulations of educational tests, compounded poll tax assessments and other devices, the large majority of them stand stripped of the privilege and duty of voting.

There are, however, hundreds of Negroes in the South who are qualified to vote in the election today, who through indifference, may fail to exercise this precious privilege. In failing to go to the polls, no matter which of the two candidates they may favor, they merely add another nail to the coffin Messers. Hitler and Mussolini are designing for world democracy.

If you are qualified, don't fail to express your choice at the polls today. Failure to go vote is a flagrant abuse of a secred trust.

Anderson, S. C., Mail
November 4. 1940

GOVERNMENT SEEKING POWER TO POLICE STATE PRIMARIES

By BRUCE CATTON
Daily Mail Special Writer

WASHINGTON.—A legal battle to re-establish the federal government's power to "police" primary elections in the states is being launched by O. John Rogge, assistant U. S. attorney general.

Catton

If Rogge's fight should succeed it would reverse a Supreme Court decision of nearly two decades ago and vastly widen the field in which the government can operate against vote frauds.

As things stand now, the government can act against election crookedness only in general elections. In the famous Newberry case the Supreme Court ruled the corrupt practice act unconstitutional in so far as it applied to primaries, which were held to be purely state concerns.

Rogge hopes to get the court to reverse this ruling, on the ground that the civil liberties statute—which provides penalties for persons who conspire to deprive a citizen of his legal rights—can be applied to primary elections. This statute, passed shortly after the Civil War to protect the new civil rights of southern Negroes, has been resurrected under the New Deal and was used effectively in cleaning up the Kansas City election fraud cases.

INDICTMENT ACCUSES ELECTION OFFICIALS

ROGGE spent some time in Louisiana this year attacking various forms of political corruption. Figuring a Democratic nomination in Louisiana is equal to election, he decided to chance a court test on the plea that depriving a citizen of his rights in such a primary is a federal offense.

The case he brought is an indictment against five election officials in the second Louisiana congressional district, in New Orleans. Charge is that these men phenagled vote totals in favor of T. Hale Boggs, the winning candidate.

Carefully worded so as to get in under the civil liberties statute, the indictment charges the officials conspired to deprive the two losing candidates, and also those who voted for them, of their legal rights.

Lower court in Louisiana threw the indictment out, sustaining a defense demurrer which argued that the federal government can't touch primaries. Rogge is taking an appeal direct to the Supreme Court.

JOB THREATENED BY MILLIGAN

BEHIND-THE-SCENES aspects of the case are fully as interesting as those in the foreground.

Rogge is somewhat out of favor at the Justice Department right now—as witness the recent setting up of a special unit under Maurice M. Milligan, special assistant to the attorney general, to handle vote fraud cases. That previously had been strictly Rogge's field.

Should Rogge win this case, however, it would have the effect of swinging him back into the saddle. Milligan's sudden rise took the play away from him. If Rogge could nail down the government's right to intervene in primaries he in turn would take the play away from Milligan.

Rumors have been current lately that Rogge will eventually be replaced, presumably by Milligan—sometime this winter, according to most predictions. Rogge is said to have displeased the administration during the summer, when in the middle west he displayed a willingness to open fire on Democratic politicians.

And in Springfield, Ill., the other day, Rogge took the trouble to deny that high politicians are trying to sway his conduct of a federal grand jury there investigating alleged slush expenditures by public utility companies to influence rates and regulations.

The Jews in the 1940 Elections

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By Max Steinberg
(Secretary, National Council of Jewish Communists)

Both Roosevelt and Willkie are making special appeals to the Jewish voter. In addition to the general issues which concern the entire American people—such as peace, jobs and civil liberties—the Republican and Democratic candidates are also raising issues which are of especial interest to the Jewish people, such as anti-Semitism, refugee aid, discrimination, the problems of the foreign-born, etc.

This election interest in the Jews is motivated by very practical considerations. Many cities have sizeable Jewish populations. With the campaign running so closely as it is, a swing of a few hundred thousand votes from one party to the other may decide the fate of the state. This is especially true in New York with its 47 electoral votes. New York may determine the national outcome and it is no wonder that both major parties are trying to win the votes of the two and a quarter million Jews in New York.

In addition, statements against anti-Semitism, also constitute an appeal to the progressive non-Jewish voter. The majority of the American people hate reaction and fascism and know very well that anti-Semitism is a tool of reaction and an earmark of the Fifth Column.

The last few years have witnessed an alarming increase in anti-Semitic activities and propaganda in the United States. President Roosevelt has, on occasion, protested against the persecution of the Jews in Germany and spoken about tolerance and brotherhood in America, but he has not done anything fundamental to stop anti-Semitism in our country.

President Roosevelt talks about tolerance, but to this very day his administration has ignored the demands of progressive America for an investigation of Father Coughlin. Roosevelt's agent, G-man J. Edgar Hoover, hastened to whitewash Father Coughlin before the opening of the mock trial of the Christian Fronters in New York. U. S. Attorney Harold M. Kennedy, who was supposed to prosecute the Christian Front, declared that this anti-Semitic organization was built on "solid, American principles!"

Roosevelt signed the Alien Registration Act which forces non-citizens to register and be fingerprinted like common criminals.

Under the Roosevelt Administration anti-Semitism has increased and discrimination against Jews has multiplied. The war hysteria which Roosevelt has promoted has fanned the flames of anti-Semitism and racist propaganda still further.

Roosevelt's pretty speeches about tolerance do not square with his activities to date.

Wendell Willkie masquerades as a man of the people, even as a worker. He is trying hard to give the impression of a square-shooter close to the problems and needs of the people.

Can the Jewish masses depend upon Willkie to do anything for them? Willkie would like the Jewish masses to look up to him as a savior. In one of his campaign advertisements he was quoted to the effect that the persecution of Jews is one of "the greatest tradgedies in history."

This sounds pretty good. But a simple question comes to mind: During the past few years a wave of anti-Semitism has swept over the capitalist world. Brutal persecution has been inflicted upon the Jews in the Nazi countries and the Jews of fascist Poland, Roumania, Hungary and other countries. What did Wendell Willkie do during all these years to help wipe out this "great tragedy in human history?"

In America the anti-Semitic movement has assumed such serious proportions that Jews have already been assailed in the streets of New York City and in subway stations. In Bath, Maine, anti-Semitic vandals attacked the homes and property of Jews. When did Willkie protest against these wild attacks? When did he speak out against discrimination of which the utilities are guilty.

His speeches do not square with his activities.

Willkie adheres to the very program which is supported by Henry Ford, Father Coughlin and others of their ilk.

TOO MUCH AT STAKE

Too much is at stake for the Jewish masses to allow themselves to be misled by the pretty phrases of Roosevelt or Willkie. Too much is at stake for the Jewish masses to allow themselves to be misled by the pro-Roosevelt **Jewish Daily Forward** and **The Day**, or the pro-Willkie **Morning Journal** — Jewish newspapers which refused to publish the advertisement of **Friday** magazine exposing anti-Semitism in high places!

The Jewish masses are as vitally and urgently concerned with the problems of peace, economic well-being and civil liberties, as the rest of the American people.

Millions of Americans—workers, farmers and middle-class people—Negroes, Jews and members of the various national groups, know that the Democratic and Republican parties do not represent their true interests. Millions of Americans know that both Roosevelt and Willkie represent the interests of the bitterest enemies of the people. The masses could give expression to their sentiments if there were a third party, a people's anti-imperialist party, but such a party does not exist.

The Socialist Party, with Norman Thomas as its standard bearer, has degenerated in the past years into a miserable tail of the war-mongers. Their tirades against the Soviet Union, their betrayal of the struggle in Spain, their attitude to the Dies Committee reveal unmistakably that they have abandoned every trace of class-struggle. They bedeck themselves in a socialist mantle but in reality they aid the forces of reaction. Their greatest ambition is to see the present war transformed into a war against the Soviet Union as indicated in the **Socialist Call** of Oct. 26.

ONE CHOICE—BROWDER

The Social Democratic traitors and reactionary trade-union bureaucrats are lackeys of capitalism and reaction, and they loyally fulfill their mission of betrayal of the working class and the people.

The Jewish masses, like the American working people and the great majority of the American people, have but one choice: to vote for the Communist Party and its candidates Earl Browder and James W. Ford. The Communist Party today is the only party which, in its programs and struggles, is unconditionally opposed to American involvement in the war. The Communist Party is the only party with a clearly-defined program for the economic well-being of the masses, with a clear program for the preservation of civil liberties and the outlawing of discrimination. It is not by chance that Point XII of the Communist Election Platform reads:

"OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM; NO DISCRIMINATION AND FULL RIGHTS FOR ALL NATIONAL GROUPS: IMMIGRANTS ALL—AMERICANS ALL.

"Those of foreign birth or parentage are an integral part of American life and aspiration. Attacks upon the foreign-born and the national groups are attacks upon the civil rights of all Americans.

"The Communist Party stands for the unity of the people and proposes to prohibit alien-baiting, discriminatory legislation, fingerprinting, and denial of employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

"We condemn and will outlaw all propaganda for, and practice of, anti-Semitism and all other forms of religious and racial hatred."

The Communist Party has demonstrated in the years of its existence that it fights for the fulfilment of its program and its leaders and members are always ready to bring sacrifices, when necessary, in the struggle to realize its program in

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Thus, for example, both Roosevelt and Willkie speak about civil liberties, while the Roosevelt administration hounds the foreign-born. And Willkie agrees.

They talk about defending the interest of labor, but the Roosevelt administration uses the Sherman anti-trust laws against the trade unions and imprisons labor leaders. And Willkie agrees with Roosevelt.

They talk about the living standards of the people, but the Roosevelt Administration has scuttled the major part, if not the entire, WPA. And Willkie maintains that the project shouldn't have been started to begin with.

Roosevelt is dragging America into the war step by step—and Willkie fundamentally agrees with Roosevelt's war program. Willkie says that he is against dragging America into war, but to this very day he has not formulated any anti-war policy. Very often he even criticizes Roosevelt for proceeding too slowly in the direction of war. At the same time he plays upon the anti-war sentiments of the people and poses as an angel of peace.

Roosevelt declares that Hitlerism must be combatted, but he has himself introduced a great number of Hitlerite methods in dictatorially removing and threatening imprisonment to those who do not agree with him. He is trying to destroy minority parties in order to steal their votes. He is praised, significantly enough by the Ku Klux Klan which has just absorbed the Nazi Bund. His program and actions do not in any way lead to the destruction of reaction, fascism and dictatorship. On the contrary, he is consciously strengthening these elements.

THE C. P. CANDIDATES

Wendell Willkie, the utility magnate, Wall Street's very own, who fought the New Deal before Roosevelt abandoned it; who wants to leave the unemployed to the mercy of the Wall Street money-bags and Big Business industrialists—Willkie talks about jobs for everybody, about true democracy, about peace!

Both Roosevelt and Willkie raise these slogans demagogically only to lure the people into voting for them and giving approval to their policies which are opposed to the vital interests of the American people.

The Jewish workers and middle class people, those who want true democracy in America, those who want to keep our country out of war, those who want to fight against fascism and anti-Semitism, those who want a peaceful, socialist America, should vote for Earl Browder and James W. Ford and all the local candidates of the Communist Party.

In those states where the national Communist candidates have been removed from the ballot the name Earl Browder can be written in. At the same time all forces must be concentrated for the election of the local candidates, for Congress and Assembly.

Especially in New York we must see to it that Peter V. Cacchione, Robert Campell and Bessie Polonsky in Brooklyn, Paul Crosbie in Queens, Isadore Begun and Antonio Lombardo in the Bronx, are elected with great majorities.

All progressive Jews should simultaneously help elect all candidates, not on the Communist ticket, who are true opponents of war and reaction.

Vote for a peaceful America, for security, for socialism

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
SUFFRAGE

Most Negro Voters Still Are Democratic; Some Drift To G. O. P..

Republican Gains In This Quarter Are Only Slighter Greater, However, Than Among All Other Classes Of Balloters

By Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J.—In the last presidential election the great majority of those Negroes who voted—principally in Northern communities—turned their backs on the party of Abraham Lincoln to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt. As the Republican party gathers in a series of Lincoln Day dinners across the nation next week, one of the problems that will not be overlooked is the problem of winning the Negro vote back again.

How much chance do the Republicans have?

While it is still a long way until election day, the recent surveys of the American Institute of Public Opinion show:

1. That the average Negro voter is still anxious to see the Democrats win in 1940.

2. But that if the presidential election were held today the Republican candidate might gather a larger share of the colored vote than Gov. Landon did in 1936.

Approaching Negro voters in all of the states where their political sympathies are important, the Institute asked a carefully selected cross-section: "Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in November?" and, "In general, do you approve or disapprove today of Roosevelt as president?

As the following figures show, the average Negro voter is more likely to be a Democrat and a Roosevelt supporter than the ordinary voter throughout the country. (Figures for "all voters" are from the latest Institute surveys):

	Favor Democrats	Favor Republicans
Negro Voters	66%	34%
All Voters	54	46

	Approve of Roosevelt	Disapprove of Roosevelt
Negro Voters	82%	18%
All Voters	63	37

Institute tests show that the average colored voter was jarred loose from his Republican associations in 1932. Along with voters in all walks of life, he crossed party lines eight years ago to help elect the first Democratic administration since Woodrow Wilson's.

In the 1936 election, the Institute's present survey shows, approximately 76 per cent of the colored voters interviewed (who voted at all) voted for Roosevelt, while 24 per cent were for Landon. Obviously, there has been a substantial movement on the part of Negro voters toward the GOP in the last three years, as shown by the number who now say they would like to see the Republican candidate elected in November.

The trend is shown in the figures:

	Democratic	Republican	Change in Dem. Vote
1936 election	76%	24%	
Today's Survey	66	34	—10

The indicated Republican gain among Negro voters since 1936 is only slightly greater than GOP gains among all classes of voters however, and so the Republicans cannot be sure that the trend represents any special change in the colored voter's position. The most likely explanation seems to be that the colored voter is today voting far more in terms of his income status than in terms of his traditoinal party lines.

Whatever the trend of the colored man's political sentiments should be, he is likely to be an important factor in the electic in several "borderline" states. In 1936, for instance, New York Pennsylvania and Illinois averaged more than a quarter of a million registered Negro voters piece, nad Ohio, Michigan and Indiana together accounted for more than 400.000 more.

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Southern Poll Tax Again Under Fire With Changes Sought

Arkansas, Mississippi And Virginia Want Repeal Or Revision Of Laws

ATLANTA— (AP) —The Southern poll tax, long a subject of debate as a prerequisite to voting, is under fire again in several strongholds this presidential year.

Efforts are under way in Arkansas, Mississippi and Virginia, three of eight states in which the levy of $1 to $3 a year is collected from voters, to eliminate or revise the governing statutes.

"Why should we disfranchise a man because he is poor?" is a question advanced by Gov. Paul B. Johnson, of Mississippi.

It is a question raised off and on in the South, unique in its large Negro population and one-party political system, since Georgians placed a poll tax provision in their constitution of 1877.

Proponents insist it is a head tax for revenue, not an election levy. But collections efforts are nominal (Georgia's assessments return less than $500.000 annually from a population of 3,000,000) and the effect upon balloting is unmistakable.

Only about one person in nine is a voter in the poll tax area, and most of them are Democrats. The ratio is one-in-three in some states North and West.

Two poll tax bills are before Mississippi legislative committees. One would eliminate the tax as a primary election requirement. The other proposes reduction of the voting requirement from two years' poll taxes to one year. The tax is set up in the state constitution.

Johnson recommended repeal in a speech Jan. 16 dedicating his administration to a program of "benefits for the average man." Mississippi's U. S. senators are on opposite sides of the fence. Theodore G. Bilbo advocating repeal; Pat Harrison opposing it.

Repeal of the Arkansas law as it affects old age and blind pensioners is sought in a proposed constitutional amendment, initiative petitions for which are circulating.

In Virginia, Gov. James H. Price has recommended reduction of the tax from $1.50 to $1; reduction in

Other poll tax states are Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. Poll tax laws have been repealed in Florida, Louisiana and North Carolina

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Approaching Negro voters in all of the States where their political sympathies are important, the Institute asked a carefully selected cross-section:

"Which party would you like to see win the Presidential election in November?"

"In general, do you approve or disapprove today of Roosevelt as President?"

As the following figures show, the average Negro voter is more likely to be a Democrat and a Roosevelt supporter than the ordinary voter throughout the country. (Figures for "all voters" are from the latest Institute surveys.)

	Favor Democrats	*Favor Republicans*
Negro Voters	66%	34%
All Voters	54	46
	Approve of Roosevelt	*Disapprove of Roosevelt*
Negro Voters	82%	18%
All Voters	63	37

Institute tests show that the average colored voter was jarred loose from his Republican associations in 1932. Along with voters in all walks of life, he crossed party lines eight years ago to help elect the first Democratic Administration since Woodrow Wilson's.

In the 1936 election, the Institute's present survey shows, approximately 76 per cent of the colored voters interviewed (who voted at all) voted for Roosevelt, while 24 per cent were for Landon. Obviously, there has been a substantial movement on the part of Negro voters toward the GOP in the last three years, as shown by the number who now say they would like to see the Republican candidate elected in November.

The trend is shown in the figures:

	'Democrats'	*'Republican'*	*Change in 'Dem.' Vote*
1936 Election	76%	24%	
Today's Survey	66	34	—10

The indicated Republican gain among Negro voters since 1936 is only slightly greater than GOP gains among all classes of voters, however, and so the Republicans cannot be sure that the trend represents any special change in the colored voter's position. The most likely explanation seems to be that the colored voter is today voting far more in terms of his income status than in terms of his traditional party lines.

Whatever the trend of the colored man's political sentiments should be, he is likely to be an important factor in the election in several "borderline" States. In 1936, for instance, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois averaged more than a quarter of a million registered Negro voters apiece, and Ohio, Michigan and Indiana together accounted for more than 400.000 more.

Southern Poll Tax Again Under Fire With Changes Sought

Arkansas, Mississippi And Virginia Want Repeal Or Revision Of Laws

ATLANTA— (AP) —The Southern poll tax, long a subject of debate as a prerequisite to voting, is under fire again in several strongholds this presidential year.

Efforts are under way in Arkansas, Mississippi and Virginia, three of eight states in which the levy of $1 to $3 a year is collected from voters, to eliminate or revise the governing statutes.

"Why should we disfranchise a man because he is poor?" is a question advanced by Gov. Paul B. Johnson, of Mississippi.

It is a question raised off and on in the South, unique in its large Negro population and one-party political system, since Georgians placed a poll tax provision in their constitution of 1877.

Proponents insist it is a head tax for revenue, not an election levy. But collections efforts are nominal (Georgia's assessments return less than $500.000 annually from a population of 3,000,000) and the effect upon balloting is unmistakable.

Only about one person in nine is a voter in the poll tax area, and most of them are Democrats. The ratio is one-in-three in some states North and West.

Two poll tax bills are before Mississippi legislative committees. One would eliminate the tax as a primary election requirement. The other proposes reduction of the voting requirement from two years' poll taxes to one year. The tax is set up in the state constitution.

Johnson recommended repeal in a speech Jan. 16 dedicating his administration to a program of "benefits for the average man." Mississippi's U. S. senators are on opposite sides of the fence, Theodore G. Bilbo advocating repeal; Pat Harrison opposing it.

Repeal of the Arkansas law as it affects old age and blind pensioners is sought in a proposed constitutional amendment, initiative petitions for which are circulating.

In Virginia, Gov. James H. Price has recommended reduction of the tax from $1.50 to $1; reduction in

Other poll tax states are Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. Poll tax laws have been repealed in Florida, Louisiana and North Carolina

Progress Against The Poll Tax

The recent conference in Washington which mapped a broad campaign against the undemocratic poll tax in the South was like a fresh breeze which will blow good to the entire country.

The conference was planted firmly upon the foundation of joint participation and backing by both the CIO and the A. F. of L. Representation from Labor's Non-Partisan League, the National Negro Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Lawyers Guild and the National League of Women Shoppers and others show the wide character of the participation. The developing progressive South was reflected again through the presence of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Unquestionably John L. Lewis' powerful indictment of the poll tax (which disfranchises the Negro pepole and the majority of poor whites in at least eight states) in his address at the American Youth Congress in Washington gave impetus to the right-to-vote movement in the deep South. His words expressed the new and added attention which labor is giving to Negro rights and to the whole question of political and civil liberties during these crucial days. It gives added inspiration and courage at a time when the Roosevelt Administration has moved over with the Republicans in assaulting the Bill of Rights.

The conference is organizing the widest support for the bill of Rep. Geyer, of Calif., which would deal a powerful blow to the poll tax system by abolishing it in federal elections. Already the House Judiciary Committee has been compelled to appoint a subcommittee for future open hearings on the bill.

It is labor's leadership in this historic fight which provides the guarantee of success. Meanwhile, progressives and all other democratic Americans should urge their Congressmen to speed passage of the Geyer bill.

Retain the Poll Tax

It is not surprising that no Southern member of congress could be found last year to introduce an amendment to the Hatch bill which would forbid the collection of a poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote.

The radical Southern Conference for Human Welfare, through its "civil rights" committee, is preparing to make a drive for the passage of this amendment at the present session, and Maury Maverick, the Texas lame-duck, who fell outside the breastworks in the last congressional election, is to be the first witness next Wednesday before the house committee which is to begin hearings.

The bill offering the proposed amendment was introduced in the house last August by Representative Geyer, of California, when no member from the South would compromise himself by sponsoring it.

Eight Southern states still retain the requirement that a poll tax ranging from $1 to $2 a year shall be paid as a condition of registering and voting in primaries and elections and it is hoped the representatives from those states will make a vigorous fight against the amendment.

In the first place, the proposed bill is certainly in violation of the constitution, which gives the states the right to say who may vote and so long as there is no discrimination on the grounds of race, color or previous condition of servitude, the federal government has no right to interfere.

The amendment to the Hatch bill which would forbid pernicious political activities on the part of state employes whose salaries or wages are paid wholly or in part from federal funds is entirely consistent with the constitution and should be passed. Nobody has to take a job the salary for which is paid at least in part by the federal government or any other kind of government job, and the right to vote is not affected in any way. It is only the interference, directly or indirectly, by cajolery or coercion, with the rights of others to vote.

It is contended that the requisite of a poll tax leads to corruption, because candidates in many instances pay the taxes of those whose votes they seek. This is a violation of law, and failure to enforce one law is a sorry excuse for the passage of another law.

But after all, the real point is that thousands of persons who are duly qualified to vote fail and refuse to go to the polls in every primary or election. They have paid their poll taxes and there is no reason why they should not exercise the franchise, but a large percentage of them neglect their duties of citizenship by remaining at home, no matter how vital the issues at stake may be.

Nobody is deceived as to this movement, instigated by the so-called civil liberties committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Its sponsors are seeking to perpetuate the New Deal, with its policy of handouts. It is part of the flabby philosophy that the government owes every man a living. It would go still further toward destroying the morale of the people whose pride in self-reliance was once dominant.

It would be a safe proposition to assume that if the wild-eyed Maury Maverick is for this amendment there must be something the matter with it. If no congressman from the South would sponsor it there is another reason to assume that it is not for our own best interest.

But we do not need to look further than the face of the bill itself to see how mischievous it is, at a time when the strongest pressure to spend and spend and to make relief a permanent institution comes from those who pay no direct taxes.

One of the great merits of the poll tax is that it is a direct tax. Every citizen who pays it knows he pays it, which is not the case with those invisible taxes which bring in the greatest amount of revenue.

Every intelligent citizen who loves our democratic institutions and hopes to see a return to a normal way of life should rally to the call to defeat this bill.

FIGHT ON POLL TAX TO OPEN WEDNESDAY

House Bill Would Prohibit State Collection

MAVERICK TO TESTIFY

Hearings Will Be Opened On Amendment To Hatch Act—Levy Leads To 'Pernicious Politics' Congressmen Says

3-1-40

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Feb. 29.—A legislative drive to amend the Hatch Act so as to prohibit the collection of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting was planned today by a group of Southerners who said Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio, Texas, would be called as their first witness Wednesday.

Mayor Maverick, former Democratic representative, is chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, backer of the amendment which was introduced last August by Representative Geyer (D., Calif.)

Sought a Southerner

Joseph S. Gelders of Birmingham, secretary of the Maverick Committee, said the conference sought without success a Southerner who would introduce the amendment.

The conference said in a statement that the poll tax was still a requirement for voting in Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas.

"This is one piece of legislation in which the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are in agreement," Mr. Gelders said. "Both are supporting the legislation."

The amendment (H. R. 7534) avers that the requirement that a poll tax be paid as a prerequisite for voting "has resulted in pernicious political activities in that frequently such taxes are paid for the voters by other persons as an inducement for voting for certain candidates."

Asks Congressional Ban

"Experience proves," the proposal continues, "that existing legislation prohibiting the making of expenditures to any persons to induce persons to vote for certain candidates has failed to prevent this practice" and it is necessary that "Congress forbid the requirement."

The penalties under the Hatch Act, a year's imprisonment or a $1000 fine, would apply under the amendment and would be assessed against any election officials requiring evidence of a poll tax payment as a prerequisite for voting.

A House Judiciary Subcommittee, of which Representative Walters (D., Pa.) is chairman, will conduct the hearings.

POLITICAL _ 1940
DUFFRAGE

GENERAL

Vote Of All People Is Vital To Retention Of Our Liberty, President Roosevelt Declares

SEP 21 1940

Text Of His Speech At University Of Pennsylvania Reveals Strong Warning Against Government By Few—New Deal's Social Reforms Are Upheld

The Commercial Appeal

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Sept. 20.—Following is the text of President Roosevelt's speech Friday at ceremonies in observance of the University of Pennsylvania's 200th anniversary.

This is a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the world—for in some lands it has become the custom to burn the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national forms of religion, morality and culture. In such a time it is more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the 200th anniversary of this free and independent institution of scholarship. I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania.

The very foundation of this university was concerned with freedom of religious teaching, and with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed as a place where the good and Rev. Doctor George Whitehead might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. Instead, it was desired to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of the founders to make it a source of education to the children of the poor who otherwise would go [illegible]

Memphis

The survival and growth of the university through these two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength which is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Freedom Is More Precious In World Today

Events in the world are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought and worked to win and hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocte of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian schools were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free, unhampered elections which was the surest guaranty of popular government. So long as the voters of the Nation, regardless of higher education or proper possessions, were free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

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Vote Of Entire Citizenry Superior To That Of Few

At all times in our history since Hamilton, there have been many Americans who have sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Eliot of Harvard sumarized his views when he said to me:

Commercial Appeal

"Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the Nation would go on the rocks in a very few years."

It may seem ungracious for a very new degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for this view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the superior ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

Memphis

On candidates and on election issues, I would rather trust the aggregate judment of all the people in a factory—the president, all the vice presidents, the board of directors, the managers, the foremen, plus all the laborers—rather than the judgment of the few who may be financially interested. On such questions the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, the farmer and all the farm hands will be sounder than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president, its superintendents, its engineers, foremen, brakemen, conductors, trainmen, telegraphers, porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of management, or the principal stockholders.

Group At Top Tries Too Often To Dictate

Only too often in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they should vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of those few, who, because of business ability or economic omniscience, are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

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I can never forget that some well-meaning people have even recently seriously suggested that the right to vote be denied to American men and women who through no fault of their own had lost their jobs and, in order to keep the family and the home going, were working on works relief projects.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can permanently control government. In the maintenance of free elections rests the complete and enduring safety of our form of government.

No dictator in history has ever dared to run the gantlet of a really free election.

Memphis

These fundamental truths have become commonplace among Americans, but it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to understand what has happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Naziism"—a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism, and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by this special group on their own purity of purpose. Nothing was ever said about abolishing free elections.

Commercial Appeal

Right Of Free Elections Wiped Out In Germany

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. The right of free elections and the free choice of heads of government were suddenly wiped out by a new regime, still professing the same purity of purpose. It is a travesty on fact to claim that there is any free choice of public officials in that nation today, or that there ever has been one since 1933.

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Memphis

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, the philosophy of the restricted vote and of government by specialists was adopted, did actually happen in Germany before our very eyes.

Many years ago, speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote a long time ago: "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

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We must follow that rule today as readily as then, always with the condition that any changes in institutions or in economic methods must remain within the same old framework of a freely elected democratic form of government.

Commercial Appeal

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended with the advent of the industrial age; that with the changes wrought by new inventions of steam and electricity, new relationships have arisen between units of finance and industry on one side and the great mass of workers and small business men on the other; and that certain government controls have become necessary to prevent a few financial and industrial groups from harming or cutting the throats of other groups smaller in size but much greater in number.

Memphis

We have at the same time developed new beliefs in governmental responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life to consider what the relationships of government are to its starving or unemployed citizens, and to take steps to fulfil its duties to them.

Government Gives Attention To Social Advances

A generation ago people had scarcely given thought to the terms "social security," "minimum wages" or maximum hours." It is only within recent years that Government has given its attention in a serious, effective way to the insurance of bank deposits, to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric water power, reclamation of soil by proper use of water and forest; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to Government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; or to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.

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These are some of the new instruments of social justice which America has forged to meet the new conditions of industry, agriculture, finance and labor — conditions

which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security. These are the means which our own generation have adopted to overcome the threats of economic democracy in our land—threats which in other lands lead quickly to political despotism.

Benjamin Franklin, to whom this university owes so much, realized too that while basic principles of natural science, of morality, and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily changes with the patterns of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not of the past. Growth and change are the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems—just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation.

It is the function of education to provide continuity for our national life—to transmit to youth the best of our culture which has been tested in the fire of history. It is equally the obligation of education to train the minds and the talents of our youth; to improve, through creative citizenship, our American institutions in accord with the requirements of the future.

We cannot always build the future for our youth; we can build our youth for the future.

It is in great universities like this that the ideas which can assure our national safety and make tomorrow's history, are being forged and shaped. Civilization owes most to the men and women, known and unknown, whose free, inquiring minds and restless intellects could not be subdued by the power of tyranny.

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This is no time for any man to withdraw into some ivory tower and proclaim the right to hold himself aloof from the problems and the agonies of his society. The times call for bold belief that the world can be changed by man's endeavor, and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better. No man can sever the bonds which unite him to his society simply by averting his eyes. He must ever be receptive and sensitive to the new; and have sufficient courage and skill to face novel facts and to deal with them.

If democracy is to survive it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice, and with courage and single-minded devotion—and above all with humility—to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free.

We may find in that sense of purpose, the personal peace, not of repose, but of effort, the high satisfaction of doing, the deep feeling of achievement for something far beyond ourselves, the knowledge that we build more gloriously than we know.

SAYS NEGRO VOTERS IN 20 STATES TO DECIDE ELECTION

AUSTIN. — Citing the strategic position of Negro voters in 20 pivotal states during the present general election and presidential campaign, Dr. John C. Granberry, liberal white Texan and former professor at Georgetown university near here, declares:

"No one knows who will be the next president of the United States, but it is easy to tell who will elect him."

"The decision," says Dr. Granberry, "is in the hands of the Negro voters in twenty pivotal states."

Negro Vote a Big Factor

Dr. Granberry's statement follows:

No one knows who the next President of the United States will be, but it is easy to tell who will elect him. The decision is in the hands of the Negro voter in twenty pivotal states. Out of 435 votes in the electoral college 317 come from these key states, where Negro voters hold the balance of power. The other twenty-eight states have only 118 electoral votes. There are over 4,000,000 Negro voters in the United states, and 2,604,000 of them are in the twenty decisive states.

There is something futile and amusing about the exclusion of Negroes from democratic primaries in southern states. When Bankhead, Byrnes and Rayburn were mentioned for the Democratic nomination for Vice-President, Negroes replied that they wanted no more candidates for that office from sections where Americanism operates on a part-time basis. Negroes of the North and West are now saying that they will not vote for a party that refuses suffrage to their race in the South.

The Negro is being wooed by both parties, and he knows it. He can come near getting what he wants from either. He turned from his traditional Republican loyalty to elect Roosevelt, and if he sees fit he will abandon Roosevelt to elect Willkie. In any case, Southern Democrats stand the chance of being isolated. Perhaps the Southern white Democratic primary is doomed.

THE NEGRO VOTE

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THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY in its October issue, just out, has a scholarly article on The Negro Vote, written by Lawrence Sullivan. After reviewing the political history of the Negro and the shift of the bulk of Negro votes from the Republican to the Democratic party, Mr. Sullivan concludes that recent Democratic domination of national affairs has contributed nothing to the political status of the Southern Negro in return for his vastly lowered economic position.

In the race for political bounties and patronage, the administrative group has tended first to care for its own kind. As a result the Southern Negro finds himself in an economic, social and political quagmire. One result of this delemma has been the spreading support among Southern whites for a once-forgotten movement to establish a Negro homeland in Africa, the migration to be paid for by the United States Treasury. The writer contends that many southerners are taking seriously Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's proposal to return a large percentage of Negroes to Africa.

New York Age

Summarizing his survey, Mr. Sullivan concludes:

New York, N.Y.

"Viewed in the light of today's tragic panorama of racial discriminations and forced migrations throughout Europe, the Negro homeland proposal becomes a gesture of despair, defeat and surrender—wholly one in its primary moral motivations with Hitler's Semitic purge. Reduced to terms of parallel, the Negro problem with the Democratic Party in the South is insoluable; therefore the answer must be a mass repatriation."

If Mr. Sullivan's soundings are correct, the Negro would do well to give serious thought before supporting a party, a large percentage of whose members feel that the only solution of the race problem in this country is the forced migration of the minority group to their ancestral homeland. At any rate the article is worth reading if for no other reason than it sets forth in concise language the point-of-view of the average white man as regards the Negro in this country.

Hold Balance Of Power In Key States

Journal and Guide

Norfolk, Va.

Expect 3 Million To Cast Ballots In November

NEW YORK CITY—In the many presidential election polls conducted to date, while President Roosevelt holds a decided edge, it is believed that the Negro vote will be the decisive factor. In the Gallup survey of recent date, the poll showed that the election race would be decided in key states like New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, West Virginia and Virginia.

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In most of the above named states, it is claimed that the decision will be reached by a very close margin, in which case, the Negro vote is certain to prove the decisive factor.

100,000 VOTES IN HARLEM

In New York for instance, both Democratic and Republican leaders claim that the Negro vote will reach close to 200,000 if not more. Herbert L. Bruce, Democratic leader of the 21st Assembly District Manhattan, expects a registration of more than 35,000 while Daniel Burrows, also a Democrat and leader of the 19th Assembly District, the registration figures will total another 30,000 and with the Porto Rican vote (two thirds colored) Harlem alone will send more than 100,000 Negro voters to the polls.

Journal and Guide

Brooklyn will be good for another 35,000 while the Bronx, Queens, and the outlying communities will add at least 12,000 or 15,000 more. Upstate New York, will contribute another 25,000 and this vote with the votes of lower Manhattan, will bring the total to the 200,000 figure claimed by the Negro political leaders of the Empire State.

Norfolk

Pennsylvania also has a big Negro vote, estimated to be greater than 150,000 and may reach 200,000 rivaling that of New York. In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the Pennsylvania folk have two gigantic areas from which to draw. Illinois, Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia have powerful Negro voting blocks that will play a vital role in the election.

3,000,000 VOTES SEEN

While the Negro vote is not of any great size in New Jersey, nevertheless if the decision depends on 35,000 or even 50,000 the way the Negro vote goes in the main—will decide the issue in the Skeeter State.

Another factor that must be reckoned with is the great number of Negro voters in the south who, for the first time, thanks to President Roosevelt—will vote in large numbers in many sections of the south and southwest. According to reliable statisticians, the Negro vote this November will be around 3,000,000, exceeding that of 1936 by almost 2,000,000.

Negro Voters at The Cross Roads

SEP 28 1940

The big issue this presidential year rests in whether or not the Negro vote will become positively liberal or whether it will rejoin the reactionary forces of America.

Seven years ago the Democratic party for the first time in 76 years made an open bid for the black vote. The Negro for the first time broke away from his prejudices and his traditional alliance with the Republican party. Everywhere one could then hear discussion regarding the radical switch of the black vote from stand-patism to fluidity and mobility.

The Black Dispatch

The importance of the strategy used seven years ago should be obvious now. Never before in the history of the Republican organization has there been such herclean efforts made to woo and return the Negro vote to the Republican fold as is in progress now. Millions of dollars will be thrown into the Republican war chest for the purpose of swaying the black vote. It remains to be seen whether Negro leaders will eye the flesh pots of selfish venality or will rise to the high level of common good.

Evidence that Negro leaders are not conscious of, or paying attention to the basic issues involved in this campaign rests in the gullible manner by which Negro Republicans are swallowing and digesting reactionary slogans and issues such as the "third term" boogy and the attempt to use the age of Jefferson and Washington as a yard stick with which to measure present day progress.

Oklahoma City

People used to ride in ox carts, but they do not do that in America any more. There are no more Paul Reveres. Today we use the telephone and the radio to get in advance of criminals or a change in the stock market. Would it not be silly to put the operatives of the FBI on horses or insist on making clothes with old fashioned looms just because this was the rule in Jefferson's day?

The fellow who would hold America and the Negro to such a program is reactionary. Influences and parties which would liberate and free the nation from its century old traditions and customs are liberal. Which way will the Negro turn? Unquestionably black citizenship is at the crossroads.

Okla.

If there is one segment of the American electorate desiring to get away from old traditions and customs it ought be the Negro. As Dr. Gordon B. Hancock said several weeks ago in his column "Between the Lines" it has been traditional to deny Negro women the privileges of white womanhood; it has been traditional to pay Negroes less for doing the same sort of labor as whites; it has been traditional that Negroes should not vote down in Dixie and it has been traditional that white folk could mob a black man when ever local communities in the South decided so to do. These sort of practices are continued solely because of their oldness. People below the Mason and Dixon line will tell you quickly that their reason for doing so and so with Negroes results from "unwritten laws" and customs formed in America's "oxcart" age.

In fact one of the liberal views that Negroes should take along with a large bloc of white voters is that this is a government of laws and not of men. Unwritten laws, customs and traditions belong to such organizations as the Klan, German Bunds and "Christian Fronts." The Negro who is greatly impressed with a custom just because of the age of the custom and gives no thought as to the common sense, equity and fairness of the custom is reactionary.

The New Deal has unquestionably interested its self with a lot of human problems that greatly distress the business world. Old age pensions, social security, education of the poor (NYA) home ownership and a score of other measures calculated to raise the living standards of both white and black people alike. It remains to be seen whether Negro leaders will be able to decern this, or whether like Lot's wife, the black group will be found in November looking backwards rather than forward.

There is no question but that in the basic problems of every day living the New Deal has entered to give black folk more opportunity and a higher level of equality than ever before. We would consider that the Negro vote still liberal were it to flop over to the Republican party if the Republican party offered more than the New Deal.

But any one who has read the Republican platform and the utterances of Wendell Willkie should realize that if Roosevelt is defeated in November the very definite thing promised is that all relief projects of the Government will be returned to state administration. If there is a Negro who believes the South can rise above its traditions and customs giving Negroes the same sort of treatment given to others, we would like for him to rise and announce his name. The South is hidebound with unwritten laws regarding the treatment to be accorded Negroes. The South says the Negro has a certain "place" in which he must be held. Would this custom be expressed in the matter of relief?

For this one reason and this one alone every Negro should support the New Deal. And then there is another reason that is far more important. Especially among those Negroes, as in Oklahoma, who have gone over to the Democratic party. Oklahoma today is recognized as the political guinea pig of the South. A lot of folk think Negroes are disfranchised down in Dixie because they are black, but the Black Dispatch offers the suggestion that Negroes are disfranchised in the South solely because it is a fine political expedient by which to get rid of what has hitherto been a solid Republican bloc.

Today Democrats in Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana are watching the use of the ballot by Negroes in Oklahoma. If it can be proven that the black ballot is definitely flexible and is not the traditional piece of Republican granite it used to be, Negroes in the states immediately surrounding Oklahoma are going to be given ballot privileges. We liked so much to learn from several sources that in the recent registration up in Wagoner County, Oklahoma, at least 60% of the Negroes registered Democratic. This writer as head of the N. A. A. C. P. is delighted to know that after securing the ballot the Negroes up in Wagoner County have decided to work out their every day

NEGROES HOLD DECIDING VOTE

Tulsa Daily News

New York, N.Y.

Big Increase Expected In Colored Ballots; F. D. R. Favored

OCT 12 1940

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In most of the above named states, it is claimed that the decision will be reached by a very close margin, in which case, the Negro vote is certain to prove the decisive factor.

In New York for instance, both Democratic and Republican leaders claim that the Negro vote will reach close to 200,000 if not more. Herbert L. Bruce, Democratic Leader of the 21st Assembly District, Manhattan, N. Y., expects a registration of more than 35,000 while Daniel Burrows, also a Democrat and leader of the 19th Assembly District, the registration figures will total another 30,000 and with the Porto Rican vote (two thirds colored) Harlem alone will send more than 100,000 Negro voters to the polls.

Brooklyn will be good for another 35,000, while the Bronx, Queens and the outlying communities will add at least 12,000 or 15,000 more. Upstate New York, will contribute another 25,000 and this vote with the votes of lower Manhattan, will bring the total to the 200,000 figure claimed by the Negro political leaders of the Empire State.

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folk have two gigantic areas the way the Negro vote goes in from which to draw. Illinois the main—will decide the issue Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia in the Skeeter State.

have powerful Negro voting Another factor that must be blocks that will play a vital reckoned with, is the great role in the election.

What the Negro vote is not number of Negro voters in the southwest. According to reliable south who, for the first time statisticians, the Negro vote of any great size in New Jersey—thanks to President Roosevelt—this November will be around sey, nevertheless if the decision will vote in large numbers in 3,000,000, exceeding that of 1936 depends on 35,000 or even 50,000 many sections of the south and by almost 2,000,000.

Negro Voters at The Cross Roads

SEP 28 1940

The big issue this presidential year rests in whether or not the Negro vote will become positively liberal or whether it will rejoin the reactionary forces of America.

Seven years ago the Democratic party for the first time in 76 years made an open bid for the black vote. The Negro for the first time broke away from his prejudices and his traditional alliance with the Republican party. Everywhere one could then hear discussion regarding the radical switch of the black vote from stand-patism to fluidity and mobility.

The Black Dispatch

The importance of the strategy used seven years ago should be obvious now. Never before in the history of the Republican organization has there been such herclean efforts made to woo and return the Negro vote to the Republican fold as is in progress now. Millions of dollars will be thrown into the Republican war chest for the purpose of swaying the black vote. It remains to be seen whether Negro leaders will eye the flesh pots of selfish venality or will rise to the high level of common good.

Evidence that Negro leaders are not conscious of, or paying attention to the basic issues involved in this campaign rests in the gullible manner by which Negro Republicans are swallowing and digesting reactionary slogans and issues such as the "third term" boogy and the attempt to use the age of Jefferson and Washington as a yard stick with which to measure present day progress.

Oklahoma City

People used to ride in ox carts, but they do not do that in America any more. There are no more Paul Reveres. Today we use the telephone and the radio to get in advance of criminals or a change in the stock market. Would it not be silly to put the operatives of the FBI on horses or insist on making clothes with old fashioned looms just because this was the rule in Jefferson's day?

The fellow who would hold America and the Negro to such a program is reactionary. Influences and parties which would liberate and free the nation from its century old traditions and customs are liberal. Which way will the Negro turn? Unquestionably black citizenship is at the crossroads.

Okla.

If there is one segment of the American electorate desiring to get away from old traditions and customs it ought be the Negro. As Dr. Gordon B. Hancock said several weeks ago in his column "Between the Lines" it has been traditional to deny Negro women the privileges of white womanhood; it has been traditional to pay Negroes less for doing the same sort of labor as whites; it has been traditional that Negroes should not vote down in Dixie and it has been traditional that white folk could mob a black man when ever local communities in the South decided so to do. These sort of practices are continued solely because of their oldness. People below the Mason and Dixon line will tell you quickly that their reason for doing so and so with Negroes results from "unwritten laws" and customs formed in America's "oxcart" age.

In fact one of the liberal views that Negroes should take along with a large bloc of white voters is that this is a government of laws and not of men. Unwritten laws, customs and traditions belong to such organizations as the Klan, German Bunds and "Christian Fronts." The Negro who is greatly impressed with a custom just because of the age of the custom and gives no thought as to the common sense, equity and fairness of the custom is reactionary.

The New Deal has unquestionably interested its self with a lot of human problems that greatly distress the business world. Old age pensions, social security, education of the poor (NYA) home ownership and a score of other measures calculated to raise the living standards of both white and black people alike. It remains to be seen whether Negro leaders will be able to decern this, or whether like Lot's wife, the black group will be found in November looking backwards rather than forward.

There is no question but that in the basic problems of every day living the New Deal has entered to give black folk more opportunity and a higher level of equality than ever before. We would consider that the Negro vote still liberal were it to flop over to the Republican party if the Republican party offered more than the New Deal.

But any one who has read the Republican platform and the utterances of Wendell Willkie should realize that if Roosevelt is defeated in November the very definite thing promised is that all relief projects of the Government will be returned to state administration. If there is a Negro who believes the South can rise above its traditions and customs giving Negroes the same sort of treatment given to others, we would like for him to rise and announce his name. The South is hidebound with unwritten laws regarding the treatment to be accorded Negroes. The South says the Negro has a certain "place" in which he must be held. Would this custom be expressed in the matter of relief?

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the way the Negro vote goes in the main—will decide the issue in the Skeeter State.

Another factor that must be reckoned with, is the great number of Negro voters in the southwest. According to reliable statisticians, the Negro vote this November will be around 3,000,000, exceeding that of 1936 by almost 2,000,000.

While the Negro vote is not so gigantic as the two areas from which to draw, Illinois, Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia have powerful Negro voting blocks that will play a vital role in the election.

of any great size in New Jer-sey, nevertheless if the decision depends on 35,000 or even 50,000 thanks to President Roosevelt will vote in large numbers in many sections of the south and

Taxes Are Paid By All Who Labor

SEP 27 1940

In one of the most notable speeches of his 1932 campaign for the presidency, made at Pittsburgh, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt had the following to say about taxes:

"Taxes are paid in the sweat of every man who labors . . . Our workers may never see a tax bill, but they pay in deductions from wages, in increased cost of what they buy or in broad cessation of employment."

Contrary to what many persons may think, it is these laboring masses who not only pay taxes in excess of any other class of citizens but the sum total they pay is greater than that paid by any other class of citizens. This fact is vouched for, also, by Mr. Roosevelt.

In a letter to Roy W. Howard, publisher of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, written on September 2, 1935, President Roosevelt stated the following:

'What is known as consumers' taxes, namely the invisible taxes paid by people in every walk of life, fall relatively much more heavily upon the poor man than on the rich man. In 1929, consumers' taxes represented only 30 per cent of the national revenue. Today they are 60 per cent."

Globe and

Now it happens that what Mr. Roosevelt said in his famous Pittsburgh speech has been repeated by newspapers and political orators so often until there are few people in these United States who have any excuse for not knowing what was said.

Independent

Also, this matter of consumers' or hidden taxes, has been dwelt upon so incessantly during the past eight years until even the masses themselves are supposed to have become tax-conscious, and skeptical about any promises of politicians to the effect that they can give the masses great material blessings without any cost to the masses.

With the departure of the Hon. Harry Hopkins from the national scene we thought, that for the time being at least, we would be bereft of any New Dealer with the hardihood to boast that the cost of the things the New Deal had done had been or would be taken out of the "hides of the rich."

But we are disappointed, and doubly so because that old hoax is a part of the 1940 New Deal campaign among Negro voters. They have, apparently, given to Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the job of persuading his race that their shower of New Deal blessings has taxed only 2 per cent of Negro Americans.

The Democratic National Committee sent out a release a week ago in which Mr. Wilkins, who is also editor of the CRISIS MAGAZINE, sought to appease any of the Negro masses who might be getting the opinion that the New Deal hasn't been giving away much free stuff, after all. Wilkins confesses the good things were not exactly free, but undertakes to make the masses happy by telling them that the money has been taken from the pockets of a 2-percent wealthy class of Negroes. The New Deal propaganda sheet does not pretend that Mr. Wilkins is omnicient about economics. It leaves every reason to doubt that he is any thing of the kind as it introduces him merely as "the dapper and militant" editor of the CRISIS. It reveals Mr. Wilkins' theory about taxes to be as follows:

Nashville Tenn

"He (Wilkins) is equally as frank about taxes and appreciates that no one black any more than white, wants to be taxed because it hurts. On the other hand, however, he pointedly reminds the small percentage of Negroes who really pay taxes that had it not been for Mr. Roosevelt, they too might have been in the bread lines.* * * *

The dapper, militant editor of the Crisis then proceeded to castigate that 2 percent of wealthy Negroes who object to the New Deal because they have to pay a few dollars more in taxes* ** One would think however that they would realize what has been done for millions of their less fortunate racial brothers. Of course they (Wealthy Negroes) have had to help pay for it but that should be the lot of the more fortunate, the more talented. For the first time in the history of this country government means something to the man farther down."

SEP 27 1940

Now in view of what Mr. Roosevelt says about taxes and who pays them and how large a part of them is paid by working men and women, it would seem to be possible for New Dealers to avoid trying to mislead that class of citizens, who never see tax bills and do not get tax receipts when they pay hidden taxes.

SEP 27 1940

But you can bet your bottom dollar, that for the duration of this campaign at least, there will be no hoax and no form of demagoguery that the campaigners for a third term will not resort to. They are forced to do so because they can not successfully defend the New Deal record of eight years on the claim that what they have "given" the people has been equal to what they took from the people in taxes. New Dealers from top to bottom always undertake to fascinate the public by pointing to how many things have been done under Roosevelt over and above what was done under any previous administration, but they are always careful to avoid giving an accounting that would set forth what has been spent against the amount they were given to spend to prove that their stewardship of the people's tax money had been worthily and prudently discharged.

Globe and

As a matter of fact and candor the New Deal administration has not given the masses of the people anything. It has spent money so recklessly until the tax burden on everything a person eats, wears or otherwise uses is the heaviest in all the history of this nation.

Independent

In addition, billions of dollars represented in what internal improvements have been, made plus the overcharge for these improvements, that has gone into the pockets of party henchmen represent government debts that the New Deal has cruelly transferred to the backs of unborn generations because the politicians did not have the moral courage to tax the people of this generation for all of the things "given" to this generation.

There has been absolutely nothing in the New Deal's gorgeous plan of "giving" things to the people that has represented anything wonderful in statesmanship. Any other administration in the past might have strained the borrowing power of the government to the limit to make internal improvements and win the votes of pressure groups. But other administrations had more conscience than the New Deal. They had more regard for thrift than the New Deal. They believed that, as near as possible, each generation of taxpayers should operate on a pay-as-you-go plan of living. They believed, like Mr. Roosevelt used to say, back in 1932, that governments are often wrecked by loose fiscal policies.

Nashville

Chronicle

If only a few of the past administrations had taxed, borrowed, spent and wasted in proportion to what we have had under eight years of the New Deal there is no telling what kind of a country these United States would be today, nor what kind of evil government would be ruling over us.

From what we have read from the abundance of "dope" sheets being sent out by the Democratic campaign committee to Negro newspapers, (and, incidentally, with a request for free copies of any issues in which the stuff is printed) it is plain that the smart men dishing out this "dope" have no respect for the intelligence of the editors to whom they are sending it. Negro editors, worthy of the name, are not going to picture the masses of their race as paupers and persons who are not carrying their share of the tax burden that keeps this nation going. They are not going to help a gang of well-paid politicians in the scheme of dividing the race by peddling the falsehood that there is a small, 2-per cent group of wealthy Negroes who are opposing increased taxes because the money is to be used to help the poor and needy. That is sheer demagoguery.

Taxes are paid in the sweat of those who labor, just as President Roosevelt has said. And the Negro race certainly has its share of men and women who toil and sweat and spend their earnings for the necessities of life. They have a right to know the truth and to take pride in the fact that they are paying their way in life as fully and faithfully as any other class of citizens and neither Mr. Roosevelt nor anybody else is giving them anything.

Poll Tax Congressmen Ensured Passage of Conscription Bill

SEP 1 8 1940

By Adam Lapin

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 17.—It is hardly a very phenomenal achievement for the two major political parties with a virtual monopoly in both branches of Congress to get together and pass a bill.

Daily Worker

This is what they did in the case of the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill. Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie told the Democrats and Republicans in Congress to vote for a peace-time draft, and the measure went through.

New York

What is much more remarkable than the actual passage of the bill by the combined steamroller of the two big political parties is the exceptionally large vote against conscription in both the House and the Senate.

Despite the orders of the presidential candidates of the two capitalist parties, the fact remains that more than one-third of the membership of the House and the Senate went on record against peace-time conscription.

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In the House 149 Congressmen voted against the bill while 263 voted for it. In the Senate 31 Senators do not constitute a made-to-order peace bloc on whom the people can rely for opposition to the moves which threaten to catapult the United States into the imperialist war.

Many of them are reactionaries and most of them have voted for all the other steps in the Roosevelt armaments and war program leading up to conscription.

But their vote against the Burke-Wadsworth bill is a highly significant reflection of the potential power of the peace forces of the people.

And it is, therefore, worth looking a little in detail at the line-up in Congress on conscription because it does indicate both the strength and the weaknesses of the progressive and peace forces.

The following seem to be the highlights in the roll call on passage of the Burke-Wadsworth bill.

First, that the bloc of reactionary Democratic Congressmen and Senators from the South was the decisive factor in putting conscription across.

Second, that the largest concentration of votes opposed to conscription came from the Midwest, more than half of the anti-draft votes in both House and the Senate came from Midwestern states. This reflected the influence of the new CIO unions as well as the anti-war sentiment in rural areas.

MACHINE VOTE

Third, that the labor and progressive movements hardly dented the solid bloc of votes for conscription from machine- controlled urban areas like New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Jersey and Chicago. As a whole, the industrial east was the weakest link in the anti-conscription front.

Fourth, that the obsolescence of existing party labels and the disappearance of real differences between the two major parties was dramatically illustrated by the line-up on the crucial conscription issue.

The Southern tories voted in a solid phalanx for conscription. Whatever differences they one had with the President on domestic issues, they support his pro-war foreign policy 100 per cent.

From the 14 Southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and Maryland there were 116 votes in the House for conscription.

And there were only three votes against the Burke-Wadsworth bill—from two Tennessee Republicans and from a Kentucky Republican.

In the Senate these 14 states provided the conscription forces with 26 votes. Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina cast a grudge vote against the President on this issue, and one Senator didn't vote.

The nine poll tax states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee Texas and Virginia turned out 74 votes for conscription in the House, and 16 votes in the Senate.

SOUTH'S STRANGLEHOLD

Even though the tory legislators of the South may not represent many voters, they cast enough votes for conscription to insure victory for the Burke-Wadsworth bill.

Subtract the 116 Southern votes from the 263 conscription in the House and you get 147—two less than the total of anti-conscription votes. Without the bloc of Southern reactionaries and poll tax statesmen, Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie would have been hard pressed to pass the conscription bill.

There has, of course, been no evidence to indicate that the Southern people have a peculiar, regional desire to be regimented by the brass hats in the Army, or that sentiment for conscription there is stronger than anywhere else in the country.

The vote on conscription simply indicates again the stranglehold on the South maintained by the tory Democratic machines, and emphasizes the tremendous national importance of the passing of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill to give the disfranchised masses of the South the right to vote.

Offsetting the solid South was an almost equally solid Midwest against conscription. The difference was that the midwestern Congressmen knew that their constituents would have a chance to vote in the November elections.

SEP 1 8 1940

All of the 17 Congressmen representing Michigan in the House voted against conscription, as did the two Senators from that State—Vandenberg and Brown.

WORKERS' PRESSURE

Minnesota had a perfect score with eight Congressmen and two Senators against conscription, and Wisconsin came through with her complete total of nine Congressmen and two Senators.

Twenty out of the 22 Ohio Congressmen voted against conscription, and they were joined by Senators Taft and Donahey in the Senate.

High anti-conscription votes also came from Indiana with a total of 10 Congressmen out of 12, Nebraska with 4 out of 5, Iowa with 8 out of 9, and Kansas with 6 out of 7.

Fifteen out of the total of 31 anti-conscription votes in the Senate came from Midwestern states.

It is a significant fact that many of these votes against conscription came from rural areas. The lineup on conscription revealed again that American farmers want to keep the U. S. out of the imperialist war.

But the Midwestern vote against conscription was by no means an exclusively rural phenomenon. In many of the most important industrial communities in the Midwest congressmen were forced to vote against conscription.

Of the 19 Michigan votes against conscription, many represented industrial areas heavily populated by members of the CIO-affiliated United Automobile Workers in and around Detroit.

The pressure of the working people of Michigan seems to have resulted in interesting reversals by some of the legislators from that state.

Reps. John Dingell of Detroit, John Lesinski with Dearborn and parts of Detroit in his district, and Frank Hook of the Upper Michigan peninsula have on the whole been warm supporters of the administration's war policies—but they found it expedient to vote against conscription. Senator Prentiss Brown has long been an administration stalwart, but he too voted against conscription.

Congressmen from industrial areas in Missouri also felt compelled to vote against conscription. These included Reps. Anderson and Cochran from St. Louis (Cochran particularly is an old-time administration wheel-horse) Shannon of Kansas City and Wood who is President of the Missouri Federation of Labor

Ohio Congressmen who voted against conscription included the Cleveland Congressmen, Sweeney and Crosser who has long had close ties with the Railroad Brotherhoods. Congressmen representing industrial communities in Canton, Dayton, Toledo and Cincinnati also voted against conscription.

On the negative side of the ledger in Ohio is the fact that two Congressmen from highly industrial towns, Kirwan of Youngstown and Harter of Akron voted for conscription.

The only state in the Midwest not solidly lined up against conscription was Illinois where only 11 out of the state's 25 Congressmen voted against the Burke-Wadsworth bill.

KELLY-NASH MACHINE

There the decisive factor was the Kelly-Nash machine which lined up Chicago's sizeable delegation of Democratic Congressmen in favor of conscription.

Particularly in the Senate, the western states were an important factor in piling up the large vote against conscription.

Out of the 31 votes in the Senate against conscription 11 came from Colorado, Arizona, Montana, Idaho, California, Washington and Nevada.

In the House these states were a less important factor in the vote against conscription partly because of their smaller representation in terms of population and partly because California cast only 5 votes against conscription out of a total of 19.

The influence of the Roosevelt Democratic machine in California seems to have kept the vote against conscription low, and another factor seems to have been the influence of the fascist fruit grower organizations in the rural areas of the state.

Washington cast 4 out of its 6 votes against conscription, and it so happens that the Congressmen who voted against conscription came through much stronger in the recent primaries than their colleagues who supported it.

This would seem to offset the widely circulated report that Senator Henry Ashurst of Arizona was defeated because of his anti-con-

scription stand. To many observers here it seemed that Ashurst's well-known eccentricities including his failure to visit his home state for years on end influenced the outcome.

On the whole, the vote from the western and particularly the mid-western states showed strong anti-conscription and anti-war sentiment on the part of the overwhelming number of voters.

EAST WEAKER

In the eastern states, including some of the most important industrial areas, the showing was less satisfactory.

Only five out of New York's 43 representatives in the House voted against conscription. Both New York Senators Wagner and Mead, supported the Burke-Wadsworth bill.

Up-state Republicans joined with the Tammany Democratic machine of New York City, lining up a powerful vote from the Empire State for conscription.

In New York City only two Congressmen—Marcantonio of Harlem and Evans of Brooklyn—voted against conscription.

Only 3 out of the 14 Congressmen from New Jersey voted against conscription.

The corrupt alliance between Hague Democrats and the Republicans continued in effect on the conscription issue. Both New Jersey Senators, as well as the bulk of the New Jersey delegation in the House, voted for conscription.

In Massachusetts only one lone Congressman—Tinkham of Boston—voted against conscription. Here again rock-ribbed Republicans stood side by side with pro-Roosevelt Democrats from the Boston area in voting for a peace-time draft.

Pennsylvania made a somewhat better showing with 14 out of the state's 34 Congressmen voting against conscription. The two Senators split on this issue, with Davis voting against conscription and Guffey supporting it.

The bulk of the anti-conscription vote came from the Western part of the state where the influence of the mine and steel unions is comparatively strong.

The group of Administration Democrats lined up solidly for conscription.

CORRUPT MACHINES

Powerful big city machines in New York, Chicago, New Jersey, Philadelphia and Boston no doubt had a lot to do with delivering the votes of Congressmen for the Burke-Wadsworth bill.

But it is also true that the labor and progressive movement seems to have manifested an inability to put enough heat on these congressmen to force the same kind of reversal which we witnessed in Michigan.

One factor which undoubtedly influenced many Congressmen in thinking that they could get away with a pro-conscription vote was the evasive stand of the AFL chiefs and the actual pro-conscription position of Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky.

SEP 18 1940

The influence of the AFL hierarchy and of Social-Democrats like Hillman and Dubinsky help, at least in part, to explain why the labor movement in New Jersey, New York and Philadelphia, was not able to register more effective pressure on Congress.

Party lines were practically non-existent in the conscription vote in both House and Senate. Congressmen were torn between the pressure of the popular resentment against conscription, and the pressure of big business and the two major party political machines in favor of it. They chose the side that seemed strongest in terms of their election in November.

In the Senate 17 Democrats, 10 Republicans two Minnesota Farmer-Laborites and one Wisconsin Progressive voted against conscription while 50 Democrats and eight Republicans voted for it.

In the House 112 Republicans, 33 Democrats, one American Laborite, two Wisconsin Progressives and one Minnesota Farmer-Laborite voted against conscription; and 211 Democrats and 52 Republicans voted for it.

The comparatively larger number of Republicans opposed to conscription seems due to two factors: First, that many of them come from midwestern states where the anti-conscription feeling is strong; second, that many of them are angling for votes and felt that they voted on the popular side.

PEACE FORCES STRONG

With the exception of the South where the people have little opportunity for political expression, the anti-conscription movement as a whole showed remarkable strength.

In all other parts of the country, the practically unorganized mass movement of the people against conscription lined up almost as many votes against conscription as the two big political machines could line up for it.

They achieved this feat with little collaboration on the part of the great number of organizations opposed to conscription like the CIO, the AFL, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Farmers Union and the church organizations.

If the AFL hierarchy had been willing to cooperate with John L. Lewis and the CIO on this issue, there is little doubt that this step would have been but a preliminary to a broader anti-conscription united front.

And above all, the large vote against conscription was registered without a political party of their own through which the people could express themselves.

In view of these shortcomings the vote in Congress is even more significant as a reflection of the anti-war sentiment of the vast masses of the American people.

The vote on conscription showed that the American people are moving into conflict with the expressed policies of the Republican and Democratic parties. They are rapidly becoming ready for a progressive third party of the kind frequently proposed by John L. Lewis.

NEWSMAN SEES NEGRO PRESS AND USE OF BALLOT AS POWER WEAPONS

Veteran Writer Makes Thoughtful Address at Great Meeting of Marcus Garvey Followers in Ohio

CLEVELAND, Oct. 3—(By Gene Ray for ANP)—"The Negro Press and the Ballot are the two great weapons of the Negro in these United States," said Clarence L. Simmons, veteran newspaper man, in an address here recently to a large gathering of Garveyites of the city, Youngstown and Warren at Cleveland's Liberty Hall.

Simmons interested and impressed his vast audience by his presentation of the review of the Negro press after paying tribute to the memory of the late Marcus Garvel, founder-president general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and expressed his confidence in the future of the organization now in the hands of James R. Stewart, successor of Mr. Garvey.

In his address, Simmons mentioned pioneer publishers and their attitude towards the Negro who were very instrumental in securing better treatment for the race just emerging from slavery. He intimated that the pioneer publishers had a goal and a purpose and went about their work faithfully.

"Shortly before the birth of some of our leading newspapers of today," Simmons said, "a few sheets used 'yellow' journalism and agitation' as a means to promote and increase circulation, a tradition being followed by a few publishers today."

OCT 4 1940

Then the former Associated Negro Press representative told his hearers how the Negro press fought Booker T. Washington and other leaders, only to learn that a more beneficial purpose of the press was to protect and promote the general welfare of the race in every community. He intimated that outside of a few "Uncle Tom" publishers, the Negro press in general was fighting for the Negro people of the world in every sphere of life and was doing a very effective and proficient job.

"They are putting the situation up to the masses in bold print so that the question as to the Negro's stand may be thoroughly understood, not only by the Negro, but other races as well," he declared. "It was Frederick Douglass through the Liberator, who fought for the abolition of slavery," Simmons shouted, "and the late Robert S. Abbott, through the Chicago Defender, who fought against prejudice in the South and advised his brother to come North."

Asserting that in the year 1918 when Mr. Garvey came to these shores bent on conferring with Mr. Washington, who died during 1915, Mr. Garvey turned to the only real source of securing a picture of the deceased educator.....the Negro press....and only to find a group of conflicting stories, which were the outcome of yellow journalism.

"At regardless to those conflicting stories," Simmons blazed "Mr. Garvey launched his dream, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, amidst the opposition of publishers who did not understand his purpose or platform. Therefore, the great modern emancipator published the Negro World and later the Black Man as official organs of the association and the African Communities league.

"Desipte the opposition of the Negro press of those days, the organization advanced and increased its number, and of about 16 millions of us, more than 2½ millions became Garveyites within about 14 months. And it is safe to say that had the Negro press supported rather than fought the man's program, he would not have suffered the difficulties he did, and the Race internationally would not be in its present predicament.

"But it is refreshing and comforting to note the Negro press today", declared Simmons, "for it is giving the race all it can in support of the welfare and promotion of the Negro eopie the world over. The Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier, Kansas City Call, Amsterdam News, Louisiana Weekly, the locals of our city, The Associated Negro Press, Capitol News Service, Ted Yates Service, Southern News Sydicate Service and numerous other publications and services are supporting the ideals for which Marcus Garvey gave his life.

In his final remarks, Simmons stated that he was glad to see that the Negro press and a few white publishers are turning the tide of the former publishers and is presenting the Negro problems to the masses in a straightforward manner, thereby obtaining the desired results.

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
SUFFRAGE

Election Results Show Negro' Political Power Stronger

NOV 17 1940

Outstanding leaders of the race, both Democratic and Republican, hurled aside the masks of partisanship this week to ask that Negroes present a united front in fighting for further integration into national life, according to a survey conducted by the Associated Negro Press. At the same time they said results of the recent election showed the race's strategic political importance, while some pointed to general Aframerican satisfaction with the policies of Roosevelt as expressed by the vote and foresee even greater benefits.

Chicago Bee

According to Atty. Julian D. Rainey of Boston, head of the colored Democratic eastern division, "The reelection of Roosevelt will affect the Negro as it will affect a great majority of the people in the Negro's economic group. It means uninterrupted progress for underprivileged people. I am sure we have made enormous political gains and under the President will make further economic and social gains."

Hope for Future

Somewhat similar sentiments were expressed by Dr. C. B. Powell of New York, eastern Democratic publicity director, who declared, "In New York and the East the new Democratic victory strengthens the Negro's hands and presages hope for the future. It points to many lessons the first of which is the need for political organization which really represents the people. Such an organization will supersede the welfare workers who frequently usurp its position and will be in independent position to present to the administration the authoritative views of the Negro voter without reference to any individual's personal future."

Chicago, Ill.

Calling for an end to the bitterness of the recent campaign, Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, assistant district attorney of New York City, said, "It is my sincere hope that the Negro, like all other good American citizens, will unite in an effort to achieve that national harmony without which we shall not be a nation strong enough to withstand the enemies boring from within and battering from without.

Need Strong Minorities

"On the other hand all democratic governments neeed strong minorities to keep those in power aware of their ultimate responsibility to the people of the country. It is to be hoped Republican Negroes will, in the next four years, continue to work for and be articulate concerning the defects in the policies of the Democratic party in regard to the Negro. The New Deal must be kept aware of the fact that the Negroes of the country gave it no such sweeping mandate as it did in 1936."

Atty. S. R. Redmond of St. Louis, Republican western director, asserted, "The Negro in America thinks and acts very similarly to his white fellow man which explains in part our vote. It is enccouraging to note that in most states in the western division the Republican candidates got at least 50 percent of the Negro vote. The future course should be to keep up the educational fight. In the central west alone we captured states with one third the nation's votes. With Mr. Roosevelt's plurality cut down 7,000,000 the Democrats are on their way out."

FDR Election Aids Negro

A Democratic editor, J. E. Mitchell of the St. Louis Argus thinks, "The election of Roosevelt assures Negroes a more substantial place in the body politic. The President's election for a third term also gives assurance of the continuation of his social legislation which has meant so much to the poor, especially to the Negro. However, it is a sig nof progress to see Negroes divided politically just as other races and groups are."

In a letter written to the White House, Dean William Pickens of the N. A. A. C. P. said he was opposed to the third tearm but congratulated Roosevelt on his reelection with Wallace as running mate and added, "With most of your domestic policies we of the masses agree—and are enthusiastic about your foreign policy, as we understand it." He also mentioned dismay at "the hold which undemocratic southern oligarchs have had on the administraotion for the last eight years or so. This condition begins its self remedy by your new vice-president and we hope will be further remedied when the new department heads are selected."

Atty. Homer Brown of Pittsburgh, Democrat reelected to the state legislature, proclaimed, "Negroes must not now be misled, for although they have benefitted greatly from the laws enacted by the New Deal, they still have ahead the fight against discrimination in public offices, the right to participate equalyl in monies appropriated for public use, segregation of all descriptions, and the right to work, particularly in privatet employment, especially in the public utility fields."

Factor in Political Setup

Pointing out that Negro voters could have changed the results in certain key states where Roosevelt received small majorities, Atty. T. Gillis Nutter of Charleston, W. Va., stated, "From now on the Negro is going to be a factor in the political setup and his vote will be eagerly sought by both of the major political parties as it was in the recent election. He should look well to the interest of his group."

After reminding that Willkie carried his native state and as head of the party he must continue his crusade, Atty. Cornelius Richardson of Richmond, Ind., went on, "The fight for American ideals has just begun. It is well that both branches of congress and the chief executive are of the same political faith. However, regardless as to politics, race, creed or color, we shall all strive for national unity. We must make a fight for our people to have a place in the building of a strong national defense. We shall have to sacrifice. Taxes are bound to rise higher and higher. The national debt will continue to increase. All groups in America must share in baering the burden. But the American way must prevail."

NOV 17 1940

In Louisville, according to I. Willis Cole, editor of the Leader, there is no bitterness after elections. Negroes there were impressed with two housing projects and relief. But Tuesday's vote showed the race is part and parcel of the two-party system. However, if the Negro is going to reap full benefits from the two-party system he "should become practical where the race is concerned, must be more wisely and strongly led, and his economic, political and moral foundation more soundly and solidly built."

Negro Test of Democracy

The Negro still remains the test of a "strong, determined, confident, united democracy," opined Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Washington, Republican publicity director, who pointed out the race must still fight against discrimination and for full citizenship rights. "It was for these things Wendell Willkie was willing to pledge himself," he asserted, "and it is for these things all true friends of democracy qmust contend."

Virginians, sharing in the New Deal's social gains, have been heartened by Roosevelt's reelection, according to P. B. Young, Sr., editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, who added, "There are no indications in this area that the outcome of the election will have other than a stabilizing effect upon blsiness, industry and agriculture, if the people unite in their support of the President in his efforts to continue recovery and keep the nation at peace."

More Negro Texans voted in this election than ever before with between 60 and 65 percent for Roosevelt, said Carter Wesley of the Houston Informer, who asserted, "I believe that the Negroes nationally have grown in status politically by their work in the election. I think that the future course of the Negro should be along the same lines that it took in this election, namely to support both parties according to the whims of the respective leaders."

Show More Interest in Ballot

Negroes in that section are jubilant over four more years of the New Deal, according to C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World, and are showing a tremendous interest in the franchise. "It seems to be the concensus of racial opinion that President Roosevelt now has no further political ambitions and will show less restraint in tackling questions that are vital, not only to the 9,000,000 Negroes in the South but to this section as a whole. They are hoping the President will now see through the antilynching bill and will make more secure the political and economic position of the race in the South where his party is in power."

Most cynical was C. A. Franklin of the Kansas City Call, who said Kansas City, Mo., Negroes were so interested in electing white Democrats they did not cast their full vote for the two colored Republicans on the ballot.

"Election results hereabouts are past comprehension anyway," he opined. "To the west of the state line, in Kansas, the voters went strongly Republican for president and then chose a Democrat for governor. In Missouri to the east of the state line it was the reverse, their vote going to the Democratic nominee for president, yet, they favored the Republican for governor. Maybe Negroes have the same right to be illogical as was the average voter. Evidently, this section needs a campaign on educating Negroes how to get the most out of their ballot."

Continue Court Attacks On White Primary--Walden

Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

NOV 15 1940

Speaking on "The Negro and Party Politics" at the Wednesday night session of the Alanta University forum, A. T. Walden, Atlanta attorney, questioned "the fetish of allegiance" by Negroes to the Republican party and put squarely up to the group the question of allegiance to and participation in the Democratic party as a "flank attack" for more political power locally and nationally.

As another "flank attack," Attorney Walden recommended that Negroes who have political power in the east, middle west and border states and who support the Democatic party "use their power and influence upon the state national leaders of that party to compel their fellow Southern Democrats to eliminate the nefarious poll tax and send into deserved political oblivion the iniquitous white primary."

In making his recommendations of political allegiance as contrary to that suggested through "alien Yankee domination," Walden said: "We all agree that socially it is eminently desirable that we be on speaking terms with our neighbors. Politically, it is no less desirable."

The speaker said the group must continue court attacks on the "white primary," the poll tax and bars to registration.

William Pickens

Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

NOV 23 1940

THAT BALANCE OF POWER" BUNK

Perhaps "all is fair in politics and war". At least, many men act that way whenever they are fighting military battles or political battles. Many shams and feints and bluffs are used, and many direct and indirect plain lies are told. Sometimes the speakers and writers do not even realize that they are bluffing or shamming, or lying: they are so worked up over their wishes that they actually believe what they would never believe if it came from the opposing side.

For example, we often state that 'the Negro holds the balance of power" in so many and so many states, or even in the nation. Of course, any one voter in the nation, anywhere, of any race 'holds the balance of power" in any election, IF the other voters are equally divided between issues or candidates. That is the ultimate in democratic vote. So that a Negro vote of one out of 20 does not hold the balance of power in any way in which all the other 19 do not hold it. What is perhaps meant is: That if we could get the Negroes all united, all organized and sitting on the fence ready, and then, IF again, we could get the whites about equally divided, fighting each other and both seeking the Negro vote to break the tie, then could the Negro say: I will vote for you if you give me thus and so, and if not I will vote for him". Of course, the Negro could say this to either side, and of course again, both sides could agree not to yield to him,—just about as easily as the Negroes could ever agree to stand together.

Now, you see, how many IFS this thing is conditioned upon: if you could get the whites equally divided, or nearly so; if you could get the Negroes NOT to divide in the same manner; and if you could get the whites NOT to agree on the one thing in this world on which they can most easily agree—AGAINST the Negro. IF it were not true that the Negro people, normally, are just about as much divided on all major issues as are the white people A RACIAL balance of power is therefore very difficult for the Negro to achieve, or to use, in this country; If the white and the colored voters were not divided in exactly the SAME PROPORTION among themselves in the last national election, they were divided in similar fashion on the same issue. Once all the Negroes voted the Republican ticket; but that was because the Democrats did not want them, did not bid for them, and really thrust them out when they even tried to enter the Democratic ranks. The Negro then belonged" to the Republican party. He was not a balance' of power or of anything; he was nullified, and mostly lost. Can't you see, then, that as soon as he becomes independent in action, he will NOT belong all to any party: he will be Republican, Democrat Communist, Socialist, and Careless. When he 'belongs', is placed, put and set, he is not likely to balance anything, except in the rarest event of a white 50-50 division,—and WHEN and IF there is such a white division, both sides will let down their bars to him, and being put human he will divide and go both this way and that,—like other humans.

Sometimes, locally and temporarily, he can be the real balance of power in the election of some individual or some bond issue. But in such cases he must have a keen selfish interest, and still the whites must be equally or almost equally divided. Each one of such cases must stand alone, on its own feet; we cannot make arrangement that will leave a free Negro vote as a perpetual "balance" of power". And if that could be done it would prove that he is different from any other race Minorities may succeed in local and temporary battles, but they are not likely to become permanent 'racial' blocks in politics, and it's a darned good thing for them that they do not so become.

A Spur to the Fight Against The Poll Tax System

Daily Worker

NOV 26 1940

In reversing the conviction of Edgar Smith, a Texas Negro, on the ground that Negroes were unlawfully excluded from the jury, the Supreme Court reflected the fact that the American people are increasingly concerned over the citizenship rights of the Negro.

This is not 10 or 15 years ago. The Negro people are more and more assertive for their constitutional liberties. The unity between white labor and progressives and the Negro people is growing apace. The labor movement, symbolized in John L. Lewis' fight against the poll tax, is taking its rightful place in the leadership for Negro rights.

This decision against jury discrimination itself grew out of the Scottsboro case which the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense exposed and fought as a frame-up against the Negro people, and which the Daily Worker first blazoned forth to the world. Such development and potentialities of the labor and progressive movement cannot be ignored by the Supreme Court.

New York, N.Y.

But a whole flock of reactionary laws, particularly the poll tax and the "white primary" statutes, exist in the South with the blessings of this same court. The poll tax alone in eight Southern states denies the vote to ten million Americans—four million Negroes and six million whites. Texas itself has a fascist "white primary" law—comparable to Hitler's Nurenberg laws—which the Supreme Court has upheld just recently.

Such unconstitutional laws nullify the 15th Amendment and permit poll tax officials and their illegal jury system to remain in power. But while the Supreme Court is forced to make concessions in cases of individuals as in the Smith case, it keeps intact the whole poll tax system against millions of citizens.

It is only through the greater unity between the Negro people and the labor and progressive movement that the Supreme Court can be compelled to outlaw the network of jim-crow and undemocratic laws, particularly in the South. The Smith decision should spur the independent action and solidarity of the Negro and white common people of the nation, to that end.

The Poll Tax Budget

Daily World

Announcement by Georgia's Attorney-General Ellis Arnall that every male citizen of the state is under obligation to pay the poll tax for the support of the common schools whether he votes or not should serve to increase the number of registered voters in the state. 7-30-40

As a matter of fact, it has been only negligence on the part of thousands of taxpayers to take advantage of what is already included in their tax bills. For all of them, it is simply the matter of stepping to the next window or across the hall and registering for the privilege of casting the precious allot. The dollar is automatically placed against all male resident taxpayers. This should serve to open a lot of sleeping eyes.

As the attorney general state, Georgians in general both white and colored, are too lethargic in the wielding of that noble gift of the democracy—the right to vote public servants into and out of office and the right to decide upon what shall be the laws. There is but one way to retain any essence of our loved form of government and that is to see by voting that it is continued or changed by and for the people.

Even were the one dollar poll tax in total fact a tax of burden and power curb (some may still contend that it is), that small item would not disrupt too many family budgets. It's returns far outstrip many a dollar that is spent for amusement for one night and for numerous other personal satisfaction reasons.

Now the attorney general has ruled that every man is due the dollar whether he votes or not. Since the ballot is the most desirable privilege under a democracy and since our group has so many grievances which may be corrected by a proper use of the voting power, it would be wise for us to start spending and using that dollar we MUST pay anyway as taxpayers in a good direction.

Geyer Says He'll Push Big Fight

SEP 21 1940

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Labor Unions Are Said To Be For Passage Of Bill

More than 40 Representatives have signed the anti-poll tax discharge petition, it was announced Thursday by Congressman Lee E. Geyer (Dem., Cal.) Mr. Geyer is the author of H. R. 7534, which would abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections in the eight states where the tax still exists: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Texas.

Those who have signed the petition which would bring the poll tax bill to the floor of the House include:

George H. Bender, Rep., Ohio; Usher L. Burdick, Rep., N. Dakota; Joseph E. Casey, Dem., Mass.; John M. Coffee, Dem., Washington; Samuel Dickstein, Dem., New York; John D. Dingell, Dem., Michigan; Matthew A. Dunn, Dem., Penn.; Herman P. Eberharter, Dem., Cal.; Bernard J. Gehrmann, Prog., Wis.; Lee E. Geyer, Dem., Calif.; U. S. Guyer, Rep., Kansas. J. Francis Harter, Rep., New York; Franck R. Havenner, Prog., Calif.; Kunte Hill, Dem., Washington; Frank E. Hook, Dem., Michigan; George W. Johnson, Dem., W. Va.; Noble J. Johnson, Rep., Indiana; Kent E. Keller, Dem., Ill.; Gerald W. Landis, Rep., Indiana; William Lemke, Rep., N. Dakota; Raymond S. McKeogh, Prog., Ill.; Clarence J. McLeod, Rep., Michigan; Vito Marcantonio, American Labor, N. Y.; Arthur W. Mitchell, Dem., Ill.; James W. Mott, Rep., Oregon; Abe Murdock, Dem., Utah; Mary T. Norton, Dem., N. J.; Caroline O'Day, Dem., N. Y.; William A. Pittenger, Rep., Minn.; Jennings Randolph, Dem., West Va.; John C. Shafer, Rep., Wis.; William T. Schulte, Dem., Indiana; Pius L. Schwert, Dem., N. Y.; Robert T. Secrest, Dem., Ohio; Thomas V. Smith, Dem., Ill.; Rudolph G. Tenerowicz, Prog., Michigan; Lewis D. Thill, Rep., Wisconsin; H. Jerry Voorhis, Dem., Calif.; Charles A. Wolverton, Rep., N. J.

LIST FROM MEMORY

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If not enough signatures are secured to discharge the anti-poll tax bill from Committee before Congress adjourns, Mr. Geyer plans to re-introduce his bill at the next session. Already, the victor in his primary fight in California, Mr. Geyer's re-election is practically certain. The Republican Party is weak in his district.

"Topmost among the organizations supporting the anti-poll tax bill," said Representative Geyer, "are the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railway Brotherhoods."

Gadsden, Ala., Times
September 9, 1940

Democrats And Racial Equality

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"However, he went ahead with the speech, and here is one quotation from it: 'Almost all, if not all, the propaganda about superior racial stocks has no basis in scientific fact. There is little scientific evidence to show that one racial stock is superior to another'."

The speech attracted little attention in the South, but was widely reported in the negro press.

Southern Democrats fought the nomination of Wallace with great vigor at the Chicago convention, unaware that he was an exponent of racial equality, and had they known this their fight would have been far more stubborn.

It is indeed an astounding situation when Southern Democrats, who have been the backbone of the party for years and have furnished most of its brains and most of its character, are placed in a position when in voting their own ticket they must vote for a man who stands against everything in a racial way that they have stood for throughout generations.

Again the South "is sold down the river" for negro votes and there seems nothing can be done about it—not at the present anyway. Yet something can be done in the future and can be achieved by a determined and united fight on the part of Southerners for a restoration of the two-thirds rule and Democratic control over Democratic conventions.

Meanwhile they must bear the humiliation of knowing that if their vice-presidential candidate is elected and should become president in time the White House would be occupied by one who rejects the thought that there is any inequality in races.

This embarrassing situation could have been avoided had a sufficient number of Southern Democrats fought to the last in Chicago for a straight Democratic ticket and not a half-and-half proposition.

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Atlanta Ga

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Determining Factor in 1940 Election Will be Negro Vote

Washington Tribune
Washington, D.C.

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

As the Presidential campaign draws toward its close, it becomes increasingly evident that the 2,250,000 colored men and women of voting age in Northern, Western and Border States are to be the determining factor in deciding whether the Third-Term-Candidate, or Wendell Willkie, is to be the next President of the United States.

This vote, formidable in numbers, is distributed as follows: New York and Pennsylvania approximately 300,000 each; Illinois, 250,000; Ohio 220,000; New Jersey, 145,000; Michigan, 180,000; Indiana, 80,000.

OCT 12 1940

New England supplements with 65,000 to 70,000; Delaware, 25,000; Kansas, 50,000; Maryland, 180,000; Missouri, 165,000; Kentucky, 140,000; West Virginia, 75,000; Oklahoma, 105,000.

Concern of Both Parties

With political polls indicating small percentage differences between the two parties this so-called "Negro vote" has become the special concern of both parties. More directly, this "special concern" should be a matter of the utmost moment to these Colored citizens themselves.

For them, for weal or for woe, the die will be cast on November 5.

By Constitutional right they are citizens of the Republic. Every right and privilege granted every over citizen of the country is presumed to be theirs. They look with no favor upon being referred to as a "minority", or "special" group.

Victims of Exploitation

And yet, after all this has been said, they are forced to accept injustices, oppressions, exploitations.

In the South, where the majority of Negroes live, they are denied that equal protection of the law freely granted other citizens, and efforts are deliberately made to break their spirit, their morale; to discourage them, and to thwart those hopes and aspirations others are earnestly counselled to realize.

We refer to the South because there live the great majority of the Negro population of the United States. Also, we refer to the South because it represents the bone and sinew, the backbone of the New Deal-Democratic Party.

The South Controls Congress

Practically every powerful committee of the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives is presided over by a Southerner committed to the tradition and practice of keeping the Negro in his "place," and otherwise to discourage him from venturing to think that he is, in truth, a citizen of the Republic.

The New Deal administration has not sought to overcome the prejudices and the unfair practices of that section where so many colored men and women are still the victims of a system designed to oppress and all-but dehumanize them.

New Deal Bars Liberties

There are certain liberties colored men and women are determined to secure. These librtis cannot be achieved with a continuance of the Third-Term Administration with its present Southern leadership and influence.

Among these liberties is the free integration of colored men and women into the industrial life of the nation; and full equality of treatment in all the agricultural programs of the government,—because in these fields they find opportunity to earn a living for themselves and their families.

Also, the right to exercise a freeman's ballot; the right without the terrorism of KKK bands and other illicit organizations to enjoy life, liberty and happiness, the complete abolition of that system of segregation and discrimination which seeks to stigmatize them as a pariah group in both Federal employment and residential domicile,—in fact the removal of all those handicaps which prevent them from freely enjoying the citizenship for which they have fought during all of the wars of the Republic and in those peace-time periods since their emancipation.

Die Cast on November 5

We have said the die will be cast for the Negro people of the United States on November 5, 1940. If willingly, or servilely, they help to maintain an administration which has not once through the Head of the Government said one single, solitary word during nearly eight years, either to rebuke the leaders of that party in the Southern section, or elsewhere where the injustices of which we complain obtain, undoubtedly we shall be turning back to our clock of progress for the next twenty-five or thirty years.

In this land of great fertility and potential industrial enterprise, the Negro people are entitled to jobs, jobs, that they may regain their self-respect that they may, as in the past, contribute to the upbuilding of America.

Roosevelt Depression Has Brought Despair

The Roosevelt depression of the last seven years has brought discouragement and despair to the great masses of the middle class of our population, black and white alike.

During these seven years, with many promises of a "more abundant life," nearly 10,000,000 men and women still remain unemployed, and what social gains we have achieved have been all most er rely achieved through the use of borrowed monies.

These billions and billions of dollars are still to be paid back in heavy taxes, great suffering, and many sacrifices. Excluding a 20-billion-dollar appropriation for National Defense—a back-breaking item in itself—we are not burdened with a national debt of 45 billions dollars, a debt which has more than doubled during this administration of nearly eight years, aside from the millions of other dollars for which the Government has become responsible as underwriters.

We are face to face with that 'bankruptcy" to which Mr. Roosevelt referred in 1932.

Folly to Expect Help from Democrats

It is folly to expect that the New Deal in the next four years will be able to solve the great economic and social problem it has failed to solve during the past eight years. It is folly to expect that any of the Southern-New-Deal Democratic-leadership is thinking in terms of the more abundant life for Negroes.

The destiny of the Negro people of the United States for generations to come is in the hands of colored voters this year. There are definite and affirmative reasons why they should refuse to perpetuate a third-term-candidate who has failed them in office, and at the same time increased the power of the Southern oligarchy which has no sympathy with their welfare, or their hopes and aspirations.

OCT 12 1940

If ever America needed a business man in the White House—That hour is now.

If ever we needed to turn from defeatism to bouyant optimism and hope and confidence in our country.—That hour is now.

If ever class hatred needed to be blotted out in this country along with intolerance, prejudice and bigotry.—That hour is now.

Willkie Understands the Negro's Plight

The freely-chosen nominee of a great National Convention, Wendell Willkie, in contrast to the so-called "drafted" candidate of the Democratic Convention, has freely faced the conditions which environ the Colored people of the United States. He has spoken without evasion or reservation of his purpose, if elected, to do away with discrimination of all kinds; to eliminate jim-crow departments from the Federal Government, and to see that no discrimination shall exist in America because of race, creed, or color in appointments to Federal positions, under his administration.

The ballot freely given by the great Republican Party to Negro citizens, without which they could vote for neither party this year, should everwhelmingly be registered for that candidate who takes them into account in his thinking, rather than one who has disdained, during all of eight years, to say even one word against the abuses and inequalities they have been and are being subjected to.

Register!

Globe and Independent

This Friday, October 11, is the last day of the Supplemental Registration.

Persons not already registered have their last chance to do so today (Friday.)

Nashville

Young men and women who have just reached 21, or will be 21 before November 5 should register.

They will be privileged to vote without having to pay a poll tax.

Sem.

Persons 50 years old and over also can register and vote without paying a poll tax.

OCT 11 1940

Persons who have changed their places of residence since they last registered must register again.

With one of the greatest elections ever held in this state and nation to take place on November 5, it is a very thoughtless citizen indeed who will not vote on that day.

REGISTER, IF YOU MUST!

DO IT NOW!!

Race Vote May Determine Outcome Of '40 Election, Says NAACP Secretary

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

OCT 12 1940

NEW YORK, Oct. 10—Because the "Negro vote is so distributed that it can hold the balance of power in any reasonably close contest in 17 States with a total electoral vote of 281, 15 votes more than the 266 required to elect a President and Vice-President," it is a factor that will have to be reckoned with by the major parties in 1940.

"This," says Walter White, in the current issue of Liberty magazine, "and the fact that the Negro voter is politically far more mature today than ever before, means that he is increasingly ignoring party labels, preferring to study candidates and issues."

Writing on "How Will the Negroes Vote," the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said, "If the decision is close, their 2,500,000 votes may be decisive in such key States as New York New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana Missouri and Michigan."

Editor Says Press and the Ballot Are Greatest Weapons Negro Possesses

The Call
Kansas City, Mo.

BY GENE RAY

OCT 4 1940

CLEVELAND. — By Gene Ray—(ANP)—"The Negro Press and the ballot are the two great weapons of the Negro in these United States," said Clarence L. Simmons, veteran newspaperman, in an address here recently to a large gathering of Garveyites of the city, Youngstown and Warren at Cleveland's Liberty hall.

Simmons interested and impressed his vast audience by his presentation of the review of the Negro press after paying tribute to the memory of the late Marcus Garvey, founder-president general of the Universal Negro Improvement association, and expressed his confidence in the future of the organization now in the hands of James R. Stewart, successor of Mr. Garvey.

In his address, Simmons mentioned pioneer publishers and their attitude towards the Negro who were very instrumental in securing better treatment for the race just emerging from slavery. He intimated that the pioneer publishers had a goal and a purpose and went about their work faithfully.

"Shortly before the birth of some of our leading newspapers of today," Simmons said, "a few sheets used 'yellow journalism and agitation' as a means to promote and increase circulation, a tradition being followed by a few publishers today."

Says Papers Proefficient

Then the former Associated Negro Press representative told his hearers how the Negro press fought Booker T. Washington and other leaders, only to learn that a more beneficial purpose of the press was to protect and promote the general welfare of the race in every community. He intimated that outside of a few "Uncle Tom" publishers the Negro press in general was fighting for the Negro people of the world in every sphere of life and was doing a very effective and proficient job.

"They are putting the situation up to the masses in bold print so that the question as to the Negro's stand may be thoroughly understood, not only by the Negro, but other races as well," he declared. "It was Frederick Douglass, through the Liberator, who fought for the abolition of slavery," Simmons shouted, "and the late Robert S. Abbott, through the Chicago Defender, who fought against prejudice in the South and advised his brother to come North."

Asserting that in the year 1918 when Mr. Garvey came to these shores bent on conferring with Mr. Washington, who died during 1915, Mr. Garvey turned to the only real source of securing a picture of the deceased educator . . . the Negro press—only to find a group of conflicting stories, which were the outcome of yellow journalism.

"Put regardless to those conflicting stories," Simmons blazed, "Mr. Garvey launched his dream, the Universal Negro Improvement association, amidst the opposition of publishers who did not understand his purpose or platform. Therefore the great modern emancipator published the Negro World and later the Black Man as official organs of the association and the African Communities league.

OCT 4 1940

"Despite the opposition of the Negro press of those days, the organization advanced and increased its number, and of about 16 millions of us, more than 2 112 millions became Garveyites within about 14 months. And it is safe to say that had the Negro press supported rather than fought the man's program, he would not have suffered the difficulties he did, and the race internationally would not be in its present predicament.

"But it is refreshing and comforting to note the Negro press today," declared Simmons, "for it is giving the race all it can in support of the welfare and promotion the Negro press and a few white The Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier, The Kansas City Call, Amsterdam News, The Louisiana Weekly, the locals of our city, the Associated Negro Press, Capitol News Service, Ted Yates Service, the Southern News Syndicate and numerous other publications and services are supporting the ideals for which Marcus Garvey gave his life."

In his final remarks, Simmons stated that he was glad to see that the Negro press and afew white publishers are turning the tide of the former publishers and is presenting the Negro problems to the masses in a straightforward manner, thereby obtaining the desire results.

THE VOICE OF THE SOUTH

OCT 3 1940

The South has always dominated politics in the United States. From the days of the Federation and the adoption of the Constitution when it was agreed that three white men were the equal of five black men the plantationists controlled the government. From James K. Polk to James Buchanan a southerner or a doughface sat in the White House. The voice of the south was heard in the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas and Nebraska Act, the Missouri Compromise, and the famous Dred Scott Decision. It set the stage for Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in 1859, and the raid of John Brown in the same year. What the South thot and said is preserved in the work of Thomas R. Dew. The great Daniel Webster was lulled to sleep by the dulcet tones of that hypnotizing voice. Calhoun and Davis lead the country to war. When it was over Andrew Johnson and leaders in the "Lost Cause" wore the mantles of those who died to perpetuate slavery.

OCT 3 1940

Philadelphia Pa.

Today the voice of the south rules the nation. It was regnant in the Chicago Democratic Convention. Presidents cater to its slightest inflections. Legislation is colored by it. The church is ruled by it. However "the mills of the gods grind slowly."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 21, 1940

The Third Termers Own Them

Time and again The News and Courier has said that the national Democratic and Republican parties threaten the South and that the Southern States should organize and carry on a party for the protection of their state affairs, especially in respect of negro aggression. Now comes The Columbia State quoting Wendell Willkie that he stands for equality of the races "within the law"—as if "Eddie" Flynn of the Bronx (national Democratic chairman), Harold Ickes, "Ed" Kelly and Arthur Mitchell of Chicago, Julian Rainey of Boston and Candidate Roosevelt of New York stood for anything else.

Never has The News and Courier said that there is now a national white man's party. That is why The News and Courier wants a Southern white man's party.

Candidate Roosevelt courts the negro vote. So does Candidate Willkie.

The main and pertinent fact is that the "Democrats" have captured most of the negroes (Senator Byrnes has said that they "have come into control of the party"), and necessarily Roosevelt must continue to give them an occasional judgeship or other fat job. The Democrats will give them more and more offices.

Does not The State know that since Mr. Taft took office in 1909 the Republicans have not stirred the "negro question" in the South? Is not that one of the reasons that the negroes have deserted the Republican party? Do they not say that the Republican party has deserted them?

If The State has any guaranty from either "great party" that it will not interfere with Southern affairs, what is it? The safety of the Southern states is in protecting themselves, in dictating to both parties, in asserting independence, in making the best terms they can. The people do not elect presidents—the presidential electors elect them.

The Southern Democrats should welcome the negroes to their party or reject them. The News and Courier is for rejecting them it is for an exclusive white primary to choose state and county officers. It does not object to the colored people being Democrats and holding their own primaries; then they may vote "Democratic" if they wish.

In Southern states is problem enough with the corruptible whites. Surely The State is informed that among the whites are numerous mangy and unscrupulous white demagogues. They often play the devil with South Carolina by misleading whites, herding ignorant and dependent people to the polls. Better than any other South Carolina newspaper The State should know that.

If the negroes were voting, these white rascals would be their bosses, and The State's influence, except with the few negroes of high intelligence and character, would be nil.

We know Willkie. We are sure that the Indiana countryman has better understanding of Southern questions than the Groton and Harvard product has.

The last president to annoy and worry the South in respect of the negroes was Theodore Roosevelt. He was honest, but he did not understand. Candidate Roosevelt's wife is his niece. She aggressively carries on in the way of her uncle. She is honest—and able. We think she is a superior person to her husband, but that is matter of opinion and unprovable.

If Candidate Franklin Roosevelt has ever uttered a syllable indicating that he was not in warmest sympathy with Mrs. Roosevelt in her cultivation of the colored voters, we wish The State would quote it.

The News and Courier is for separation of the races. The Republicans and the Third Termers are for the political amalgamation of them. The Third Termers lured the negroes from the Republicans—and they have used, they are using, the national treasury, the money of the taxpayers, to control them. That is why the Rooseveltians are now the ascendant negro party in the United States. White Southern Democrats are paying taxes to buy negroes in Harlem and the second ward of Chicago for the "party."

Maryville, Tenn. Times
September 23, 1940

REPUBLICANS PLAN SPECIAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEGRO VOTE

By HOWARD HANDLEMAN

International News Service Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO—America's minority groups, holding important blocs of votes, are receiving particular attention in the current political campaign.

Chief of the minority groups is the Negro population, of nearly 15,000,000 persons. To win the votes of the Negroes political parties are forced to conduct a campaign separate from the regular campaign which is aimed at the general populace.

Sidney R. Redmond, head of the Negro division of the Republican campaign, explained the need for a separate campaign by saying:

"You could talk all day to a Negro audience about the budget, the war, national defense and that sort of thing without making an impression, or winning votes. can anyway.

"The Negro is necessarily interested in his own peculiar problem. He wants to know this. What are you going to do about his civil rights, about unemployment, about race dscrimination and about letting the Negro take his place alongside the white man as a soldier, sailor or military aviator?

Has Separate Problems

"That is what he wants to know and on these issues depend the Negro vote. Politicians are just wasting their time discussing general issues with the Negro. The Negro has pressing problems because of his race, and he wants an answer to these problems in return for his vote."

Redmond, a Harvard graduate, has been active in Negro work for years. He is a member of the national board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and head of the association's St. Louis branch. He also is president of the National Bar Association, an organization of Negro attorneys.

Under his leadership the Negroes are winning the right to conduct their own campaign within the Republican party. Redmond recommended to all state chairmen that Negro newspapermen be employed in the publicity department of every state headquarters, so that the Negro problem would not be lost in the maze of general problems.

His particular contribution to the 1940 campaign will be method. In the past, he said, 90 per cent of the budget of the Negro division was spent for speakers.

Points to Fallacy

"That is wrong," he explained. "Republican speakers talk at Republican meetings, where everybody was going to vote Republican anyway.

"This year we are spending about 10 per cent of the budget on speakers. Most of our budget will be spent to pay party workers to canvass their neighborhoods."

In his letter to state chairmen he said:

"The fight will be taken to the homes of Negroes. Special workers will ring doorbells, distribute literature and tell the people why it is to their advantage to vote the Republican ticket".

In his letter Redmond urged state chairmen to give Negro speakers time on radio programs in larger cities. He suggested that Negro speakers be given two or three radio programs a week during the campaign to fight directly for the Negro vote.

He also recommended the use of recordings of Negro speakers in the 15 sound trucks that will travel over the country for the Republicans his year.

Will Use Paid Speakers

A few speakers will be paid to talk for the division, he said.

"These men," he said, "will be sent across state lines to speak at the major meetings.

"These men must have two qualifications, however. First they must have national reputations. Second they must have a national viewpoint."

Most of the Negro press in America, Redmond said, has refused to commit itself to either the Republican or Democratic party so far. There are three major exceptions. The Pittsburgh Courier and the Baltimore Afro-American have endorsed President Roosevelt for a third term.

Negroes Condemn Effort To Deny Communists Place On Ballot; Say It Endangers Minorities Rights

Newspaper Day
New York, N.Y.

SEP 28 1940

A group of prominent Negroes, including Paul Robeson, Richard Wright, Arthur Huff Fauset, Aaron Douglas, warned Monday of the danger confronting the twelve million Negroes in the United States in the increasing attacks against racial, political, religious and other minority groups, and protested with the interference of the right of a minority party, the Communist Party, to a place on the ballot. Defending the electoral rights of the Communist Party, they pointed out, does not commit them to support the Communist Party or its candidates.

"We deem it an ill omen for the entire American people that attacks are increasing agains racial, political, religious and other minority groups," the statement read. "We know that when any minority is deprived of its democratic rights, it is particualrly a threat to the largest single minority group in the country, the twelve million Negro Americans.

"In these days of war and heightened reaction, we are wholeheartedly concerned in defending our democratic institutions and in keeping our country at peace. For this reason we are profoundly disturbed over the war hysteria which is jeopardizing constitutional liberties. These attacks against the ballot rights of the Communist Party—the largest minority party—are all the more alarming because the Communist Party is legal under federal laws, as well as under the laws of the respective states. It represents a point of view, as do other political parties, which the American people are entitled to hear and decide for themselves," the statement goes on to say.

Say Rights Endangered

Fearing that the efforts in various states to remove the Communist Party from the ballot in the November elections will not only, they add, endanger democratic rights, but since the Communist Party is the only party with a Negro as a national candidate, it also threatens directly the Negro people and their right to hold a public office. "We cannot help believing that interference with the lawful election rights of the Communist Party," the statement reads, "would be utilized by those who would like to prevent all Negroes from holding office, irrespective of party affiliations."

The statement calls upon all Americans "to speak out for free constitutional elections in accordance with the democratic traditions of our country," and states that "in urging the lawful r[illegible] of the Communist Party to the ballot, we are raising our voice for the liberation of all Americans regardless of their political inclinations."

The statement was signed by: Paul Robeson, internationally famous Negro actor-singer, New York; Arthur Huff Fauset, distinguished educator and historian, Philadelphia, Pa.; Aaron Douglas, noted artist and mural painter, New York; Max Yergan, director of the International Committee on African Affairs, and president of National Negro Congress, New York; Richard Wright, novelist and author of best-seller, "Native Son", New York; Doxey Wilkerson, educator, Washington, D. C.; Hope R. Stevens, New York attorney and West Indian leader; John P. Davis, national secretary of the National Negro Congress, Washington, D. C.; George B. Murphy, Jr., director of publicity of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York; Marc Moreland, Ph. D., journalist, New York; Dr. Richard M. Carey, physician, New York; Dr. Ferdinand Forbes, New York; Dr. Arnold Donawa, prominent community leader, New York; Joseph L. Pierce, special representative, North Carolina Insurance Company, Washington, D. C.; Attorney John S. R. Bourne, chairman, Eastern New England Congress for Equal Opportunities, Boston, Mass.; William Harrison, executive secretary, Eastern New England Congress for Equal Opportunities, Boston, Mass.; Dr. J. J. Jones, physician, New York.

How To Stop Lynching

It was more than 20 years ago that the first anti-lynching bill was introduced in the United States Congress. Agitation for its passage has gone on unabated since that time and until now it has been impossible to get the measure past both Houses.

SEP 28 1940

Obviously an anti-lynching bill would serve a useful purpose, and should be passed, but we doubt seriously if any measure designed to prevent lynching would be the most effective weapon with which to stop the evil if it became a law, and further we doubt if such a bill will ever be enacted as long as Dixie senators and representatives are not haunted by the Negro vote.

Newspaper

The effect of the Negro vote in the states above the Mason and Dixon line is reflected in many ways. Its power determines what treatment he is to receive in the courts, to some extent the opportunity he is to get in the employment field, in education and in civil liberties.

Though jim crowed and discriminated against in the North, the Negro is able to make his demand for redress of grievances felt. Police don't run roughshod over him in northern communities with impunity. Negroes can and do demand official agitation against terrorism and more often than not they get results. A similar situation would prevail in the South if the Negro had the ballot.

New York

When it is considered that in states like South Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia and Texas, the percentage of the adult population which votes ranges from 14 per cent to 26 per cent, while the figures for northern states range from 64 per cent to 92 per cent, it is no wonder that it is next to impossible to get through Congress any measure to give relief for the Negro.

We stand solidly for the early enactment of an anti-lynching bill, but we believe, meanwhile, that Negroes in Georgia or any other Southern state can do as much to stop lynching and other evils caused by racial prejudice, by voting out in-

different public officials, as the federal government can do by attempting to punish a crooked sheriff.

Let's pass the anti-lynching bill—but let's also abandon the pernicious poll tax.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

Newberry, S. C. Observer
October 1, 1940

WITH OTHER EDITORS

WHITE SUPREMACY ATTACKED

The white civilization of the South is in danger. Both "great parties", the Third Termers and the Republicans, are courting and coddling the negro voters. The Third Termers, the Kelleys, Hagues, Wagners "Eddie" Flynns, have the negro voters i nthe Big Towns and hope to reelect Candidate Roosevelt with their votes.

In the Roosevelt administration champions of the negro voters are influential. Secretary Ickes, a Chicago man, in a letter to former Senator Blease, committed himself to advocacy of the admission of negroes into the Democratic party everywhere.

Candidate Roosevelt's appointee for vice president Mr. Henry Wallace, once came into the South speaking for and defending "racial equality."

The president's wife has been conspicuous in advocacy of negro measures. She was openly working with Walter White, colored, for the passage of the so-called "anti-lynching bill."

Unless the Southern white people shall organize and assert their position, it is only a question of time when negroes will be admitted to a "Democratic party" in South Carolina controlled by officeholders. It is nonsense to suppose that they can hold out against the powers in Washington now subservient to the negro voters.

Candicate Roosevelt is in favor of the "anti-lynching bill." He has never declared for it, that has been left to Mrs. Roosevelt, but never has he said that he would veto it if passed. He could have killed it with a word. With a word he could kill it now. He won't speak it. It is not an anti-lynching bill. It is a Northern negro anti-Southern bill.—News and Courier.

SPLIT IN LABOR VOTES MAY DEFEAT FDR NOVEMBER 5

OCT 26 1940

The announcement that John L. Lewis will support Wendell L. Willkie has created a panicky situation and has greatly upset the Democrat bosses. It is understood that efforts have been made to get the CIO leader to forget the differences with the President and give him his support or not back Willkie.

Nogales Daily News

Lewis announcement has dispelled the idea prevalent that labor is solid behind Roosevelt. The first evidence that labor was divided over the presidential election was when William L. Hutchinson, head of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, announced against the third term. Along with Hutchinson came fourteen other strong organized labor groups.

Some observers say they doubt Lewis will be able to carry all of his followers in the CIO and Non-partisan League, but many of the non-laboring groups who have the impression that Lewis is a power in political issues and has always been lucky to pick the winner, may use his decision as a guide.

Other groups working for Willkie are the independents and "company" unions.

Houston, Texas

Lewis will make a political radio address from 8 p. m. to 8:30 p. m. Friday C. T. S. which will be heard over 113 stations on the Columbia Broadcasting network.

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
October 8, 1940

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, will speak on "The Negro as a Factor in the 1940 Presidential Election" at 7:30 o'clock tomorrow night at the university.

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
October 13, 1940

Toward the Lunatic Period

About this time, in all presidential campaigns, the political temperature begins to make serious inroads on sanity. The main issues have been developed. On both sides of the fence everything has been said in the way of reasoned argument that can be said. Yet the campaign must go on. Out of this necessity grows the temptation of the partisans to begin shrieking—to present the election alternatives as a choice between salvation and disaster, between sanity and panic, between white and black.

Signs that the lunatic period of the campaign is approaching, if not actually at hand, are found in the theatrical use that is being made of the suggestion that Hitler and Mussolini desire the defeat of Roosevelt, both by Democratic spell-binders on the affirmative and Republican orators on the negative; in the offer of Representative Bruce Barton, now Republican candidate in New York, for the United States Senate, to bet Secretary Wallace (who started this nasty business) $1,000 that Hitler really prefers the election of Roosevelt to the election of Willkie; and in the distribution by the Colored Division of the Democratic National Committee of a pamphlet for the guidance of Negro campaign speakers in which attention is directed to Willkie's German derivation, and which compares his political rise in America to Hitler's in Germany.

The counterpart of these shenanigans is found in the rising accents of doom in which even Mr. Willkie speaks of what will be in store for the Amercian republic if he and his party are not given a mandate to rule. He is now flatly predicting that it would mean the end of democracy and the destruction of individual freedom. The same thing was said by the Landon people in 1936. Warnings to the same effect, we are certain, can be found in the last month of every presidential campaign since Andrew Jackson's.

There is no stopping these shindies. They are part of the lunatic period of every election. The important thing is to recognize them for what they are—the present-day counterparts of the "rum, Romanism and rebellion" campaign cries that have rung through our presidential contests since the early days of the republic, sometimes with venomous results as in 1928's Holy War, more frequently to the wry disbelief of the American electorate. The present output of sub-lunacies, we are certain, will leave the people undisturbed. They know enough about Willkie to dismiss the suggestion that he is pro-German as pure campaign boloney. They know enough about Roosevelt to dismiss the suggestion that he aims to wreck America's democracy and to substitute for it an anti-capitalistic dictatorship, as campaign applesauce.

Spartanburg, S. C. Herald
October 26, 1940

NEGROES BECOME BIG FACTORS IN HEATED CAMPAIGN

One Promotion Termed Move In Politics; Lewis Makes Appeal Also to Race

Washington, Oct. 25 (AP).—The following events concerning members of the negro race took place today and tonight:

1. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, U. S. A., was promoted to brigadier general of calvary. The first negro to be advanced to the grade of general officer in army history, he is a veteran of 42 years of military service. He was assigned to command a brigade of negro troops in the Second Cavalry division.

Called Political Move

2. Francis E. Rivers, director of colored activities of the Republican national committee's eastern division, said in a statement in New York that President Roosevelt's action in promoting Colonel Davis was a "desperate" effort "to impress colored citizens."

"Two weeks ago," Rivers said, "Mr. Roosevelt jumped 100 colonels over Colonel Davis. Colored newspapers and colored citizens have protested so loudly over this injustice that he now, on the eve of the presidential election, makes this promotion. The intent is clear."

3. Selective service headquarters announced tonight the appointment of Major Campbell Johnson as executive assistant to Director C. A. Dykstra. Johnson, a negro, formerly was professor of sociology at Howard university here.

Lewis Appeals to Them

4. John L. Lewis, appealing on the radio for support for Wendell L. Willkie, said: "To the members of the negro race in our northern states, I say your incomes as a group are the lowest; your living conditions are the poorest; your unemployment is the highest; discrimination against you is the worst. Surely, you have no cause to believe that President Roosevelt is an indispensable man; and surely you believe that Wendell Willkie can, and will do more for you than has been done in the last seven years. As a proven friend of the negro race, I urge you to vote for Willkie."

5. The war department announced tonight that President Roosevelt had appointed Former Judge William H. Hastie, now dean of Howard university law school, as civilian aide to the secretary of war. Hastie, a negro, will be concerned, the announcement stated, with "the development and administration of policies looking to the fair and effective utilization of negroes in all branches of the military service."

Opposes Discrimination

The announcement stated that Hastie, in accepting appointment, explained that "he has consistently expressed his opposition to any policy of discrimination or segregation in the armed forces and that it is his belief that in this position he will be able to work effectively toward the integration of the negro into the army and to facilitate his placement, training and promotion."

Hastie, a graduate of Amherst college and Harvard law school, was at one time a federal district judge for the Virgin Islands and a former assistant solicitor in the interior department.

UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

NOV 7 1940

By E. WASHINGTON RHODES

SOUTHERN ELECTIONS FRAUDULENT

I HAVE a burning desire to see the masses of my people who live in the South have the right to vote the same as other citizens. I want to see the 15th Amendment to the Constitution enforced before I go on that last long sleep. Since this is being written before the great battle of ballots on Tuesday, November the 5th, no one can accuse me of playing politics. I do not know as I write this whether the great humanitarian, Roosevelt, or the great apostle of liberty, Willkie, has been chosen by the people to guide the destinies of America for the next four years.

RHODES

Philadelphia Inquirer

Regardless of whom is elected, I think American colored citizens should test the sincerity of the next President by demanding that he live up to his oath of office by enforcing the Constitution of the United States. I mean all of it. And any President, whether it is Willkie or Roosevelt, who permits the continuance of the system which disfranchises millions of citizens is not sincere when he speaks of liberty, freedom and democracy.

Phila., Pa.

The South is permitted to practice the greatest election fraud, with the blessing of law enforcement agencies. It is ludicrous for the Hatch Act to say how much money can be spent in a Presidential election, in order to prevent fraud, when absolutely nothing is done to prevent the deliberate stealing of elections in the Solid South. Every electoral vote in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Florida, Virginia and Oklahoma is fraudulently secured by the rankest kind of stealing. If the F.B.I. wants to investigate election stealing that tops anything Hague has done in New Jersey, let its agents go South.

The Constitution specifically provides that no citizen shall be denied the right to vote on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Despite that mandate, millions of Americans are disfranchised. As a result of that disfranchisement, men are elected to office. Their election is un-constitutional. Their election is fraudulent, the result of the purest kind of stealing. And they get away with it in the name of democracy. Even Presidents of the United States have accepted proudly these electoral votes secured by fraud and threats of bodily harm.

NOV 7 1940

I am for an anti-lynching law to stop the bestial crime of lynching. But I think the enforcement of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution is more important than the enactment of any law. Let those who prate about liberty and democracy prove themselves worthy by enforcing the greatest plank in democracy's platform — the 15th Amendment. Let those who are having fits because Hague packs ballot boxes in New Jersey or a magistrate in Philadelphia attempts to buy votes, get a few fits when a whole group of states win an election by fraud, intimidation and disfranchisement.

I grow weary and sick of reformers, liberals and humanitarians whose only desire is to reform that which hurts them; who are liberal only to the extent that it meets with popular approval; humanitarian only to the point where it catches votes. No man high or low, President or man in the street, can call himself a lover of democracy who observes the greatest and most flagrant Nazi practices in his own country and keeps his mouth shut. No man, President or average citizen, can be sincerely honest if he accepts the benefits of an election obtained by wholesale disfranchisement of his fellow citizens. Colored Americans and white Americans have a job to do before they can say truthfully that they believe in the principles of democracy. They must clean out that system of disfranchisement which obtains in the Solid South; clean out the rotten system which is poisoning the blood stream of American democracy. The political machines in other sections are saints by comparison with the downright wickedness of those who roll up the votes down South.

A DEMOCRACY AT WORK

Since the election of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt for a third term, not only will his duties and responsibilities be increased if this country is to be a real democracy, but the responsibilities of the citizens will be equally as great if they are to help make this democracy work.

NOV 15 1940

In this connection we are thinking of the part the 12,000,000 Negroes may play in helping to hasten the day for a real democracy in this country. It is our thought and judgment that as a group we have focused our attention and the major part of our efforts in the wrong direction for many years. Therefore, it is time that we should play our game in a different way, namely, directing our fight for the enforcement of the Federal Constitution, particularly the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, respecting our civil and political rights. Anyone can see that once we are in a position to enforce the rights and immunities found in these amendments most of the other injustices from which we suffer will be easily taken care of. The enforcement of the Thirteenth Amendment will take care of peonage in this country. In the Fourteenth Amendment is found our civil and citizenship rights. For instance, it was under the Fourteenth Amendment that the Lloyd Gaines case was prosecuted before the United States Supreme Court, and won. The enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment would take care of our franchise.

St. Louis, Mo.

It does seem to us that wisdom would suggest that if we, the colored people of the United States, including all of our organizations, societies, etc., would concentrate all our efforts toward the enforcement of these amendments (for instance, just as we have worked for an anti-lynching bill) we would get somewhere.

Then, too, the time to strike a blow in this direction is most propitious because we have a friend in the White House and the opportunity is his to make democracy work. We do not regard it as a wild gesture to state here and now that the people of the nation are willing to follow President Roosevelt in making this democracy work. This suggestion to change our modus operandi does not come as a criticism of any efforts that we as a group have made in the past to help our condition, but it is intended to be in keeping with the time in which we are living—moving forward under a democracy; nor are we arguing in favor of abandoning all other efforts on our part to help ourselves, but rather to make the fight for the enforcement of these amendments our MAJOR objective—our blitzkrieg, if you please.

As a general reminder we herein reproduce excerpts from the amendments to the Federal Constitution, above referred to:

Amendment XIII

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Amendment XIV

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Amendment XV

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

NOV 7 1940

By E. WASHINGTON RHODES

SOUTHERN ELECTIONS FRAUDULENT

I HAVE a burning desire to see the masses of my people who live in the South have the right to vote the same as other citizens. I want to see the 15th Amendment to the Constitution enforced before I go on that last long sleep. Since this is being written before the great battle of ballots on Tuesday, November the 5th, no one can accuse me of playing politics. I do not know as I write this whether the great humanitarian, Roosevelt, or the great apostle of liberty, Willkie, has been chosen by the people to guide the destiny of America for the next four years.

RHODES

President, whether it is Willkie or Roosevelt, who permits the continuance of the system which disfranchises millions of citizens is not sincere when he speaks of liberty, freedom and democracy.

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NOV 7 1940

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A Score Who Act as a Unit Can Always Beat Hundreds Who Scatter Their Energy

OCT 22 1940

By ROBERT QUILLEN.

While minorities in Europe are persecuted and deprived of all rights, an American minority of 12 million may select the next president and thus makes itself arbiter of the nation's destiny.

The power is new, and the development of it is the saga of a race that rose from slavery to become the balance of power in the world's greatest nation in less than a century.

A few years ago the Negroes, who voted were still loyal to Lincoln, and their reward was a few menial jobs in Washington.

Then things began to happen. Negro athletes won contests of international importance and were treated as heroes. A Negro poet was lionized in Russia and Negro artists won fame in Europe, and white people honored them when they came home. Books by Negroes won national praise. Negroes were befriended by the wife of the President. Negro dances and Negro music set the standard for the nation. Colored people were climbing.

But it was relief that taught them their power. The depression hurt them worse than any other group, for they were the poorest, and when relief enabled them to survive and in many instances made them more prosperous than they ever had been before, they were correspondingly grateful. They quit Abraham Lincoln and idolized Roosevelt. Their vote, which was almost solid, did much to complete the landslide of '36.

Politicians began to court them as no race had ever been courted before. Walter White, a Negro who easily passes as a white man, sat in the gallery in Washington and scared congressmen into voting for a measure that many abominated.

Life magazine, discussing the Negro's new political power, said: "If the decision is close, their 2,500,000 votes may be decisive in such key states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan."

White himself says in Liberty that the vote of his people is "so distributed that it can hold the balance of power in any reasonably close contest in 17 states with a total electoral vote of 281."

Thus, the next president may be elected by the Negroes of the north and the white people of the south, where the Negroes don't vote.

Columbia S. C. State
October 21, 1940

Thinks Roosevelt Man for Country

To the Editor of The State:

Time is drawing near when this country has to go to the polls and vote for a president. We have carefully listened to radios, read Northern and Southern newspapers, both Negro and white, read various kind of magazines and have discussed this election with open mindedness with scores of persons who claim they understand the political significance of both parties.

After checking very carefully all we have read and heard from all angles, we have fully decided that Franklin D. Roosevelt is the right man for the presidency of the United States, for the next four years at least.

If the readers of The State would recall, under Hoover thousands of people lost their homes, hundreds of school teachers were given for their monthly salary a white paper, called "certificate" to hold, with no statement when pay day would come. Hundreds of banks were forced to close with the people's money in them, etc.

When President Roosevelt came on the scene in 1932, Mr. Hoover had called out his little militia to evict the half-starved World war veterans who had invaded the capital for help in order to keep out of the bread line. Though Mr. Hoover was reported to be a professional philanthropist, he did nothing about it.

Look what Mr. Roosevelt is doing for the farmer, look what he is doing for the poor and laboring men and women, look what he is doing for the unemployed and look what he is doing for the industrious person who is trying to buy and own a home.

We have studied this man Roosevelt from every imaginable viewpoint and have fully decided his garment is clean and he is worthy to be re-elected for another term. Under his able administration, South Carolina can boast of better school houses, especially in the rural districts, better prepared teachers in the classroom. The NYA is helping hundreds of boys and girls to attend rural and high schools, otherwise they may not attend at all. There is the WPA that has given jobs to thousands of unemployed men and women, who otherwise perhaps would be on the charity list of the state. Coming nearer home, look what he is doing for Columbia people, both white and Negro. He has a heart for humanity regardless of race or creed. He built several terraces for both white and Negro and the Negro terrace is named after Allen university and Benedict college.

If you doubt our statement about the president, ask Dr. S. R. Higgins, president of Allen university; Doctor Starks of Benedict college, Doctor Randolph of Claflin college; Doctor Garrett of Morris college and Doctor M. F. Whittaker of State college how many thousands of dollars the NYA through the president has given each college to help poor and worthy college boys to get through school.

Thousands of Negroes have registered this year to vote, and regardless of the division of a few men, the Negroes should vote 100 per cent for Roosevelt. When you go to vote, don't think about the party, it's the man we want and not the party. I have always voted Republican, but I am voting for Roosevelt.

It's the man, who has proven true, we need in the White House regardless of whether its the third or fourth term.

(REV.) W. R. BOWMAN, Pastor,
Ridgewood Methodist Church,
1523 Harden Street, Columbia.

Charleston, S. C. Evening Post
October 15, 1940

VICIOUS CAMPAIGNING

The Democratic national committee, in justice to itself and to millions of Americans who are party followers, should do more than repudiate and "deplore" the pamphlet calling attention to Wendell L. Willkie's German ancestry, a pamphlet which justifiably aroused the rage and indignation of the Republican candidate. It should contrive, for the brief period of the campaign yet remaining, to prevent the circulation of vicious and underhanded attacks on Mr. Willkie by agencies or affiliates of the national committee. The committee cannot control the slanderous whisperings of individuals or unaffiliated groups, but the Willkie pamphlet which was "repudiated" by both National Chairman Edward J. Flynn and Julian D. Rainey chairman of the negro division of the Democratic national committee, bore the imprint of the negro division. Mr. Flynn says merely that it was not submitted to the committee's publicity division for approval. Strict instructions to all branches of the campaign organization to indulge in no such attacks would probably be obeyed.

Such instructions might well be given by Chairman Flynn from a selfish viewpoint, since a pamphlet like the one under discussion may react unfavorably for the Democrats. It sets out that Willkie's father and grandfather and mother's parents were born in Germany and that Mrs. Willkie has German parentage and then quotes what Hitler says of the negroes. The necessary and intended implication of course, is that the Willkies sympathize with the present German regime. Mr. Willkie has made his attitude on this subject clear over and over during the campaign and Chairman Flynn's remark that no one questions Mr. Willkie's Americanism is an understatement. The attack is one calculated to anger all loyal Americans of German descent of whom there are millions, and make them bitter and determined in their opposition to a party that would seek for campaign purposes to arouse suspicion of their loyalty. Moreover, such campaign tactics—and Mr. Willkie has been the victim of quite a collection of them by now—may disgust large numbers of independent or undecided voters and incline them to vote for Mr. Willkie in protest. Chairman Flynn's sincerity in his repudiation of the latest incident in the smear-Willkie campaign will be tested by the appearance or non-appearance of similar attacks between now and November 5.

Charleston, S. C. Evening Post
October 15, 1940

NEGRO VOTERS

Statements compiled by various persons on the supposed strength of negro voters in the present election call attention, among other things, to the fact that there are now more than 5,000,000 negroes living north of the Mason and Dixon line. At the rate at which negro population in the North has been increasing in recent years, it will not be long before that part of the country has as many negroes as there are in the South, although it will be much longer before negroes form as large a percentage of the population of any Northern State as they do of many Southern States and perhaps they never will. The distribution of the race in the North is such that in some of the doubtful States negro voters are numerous enough to constitute a balance of power if they vote together.

William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia under the Roosevelt administration and head of the National Colored Democratic Association, claims that the negro vote holds the balance of power in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, West Virginia, Michigan, Oklahoma and California. If negro registration figures published in a Washington dispatch to the New York Times are correct, his claim as to a number of these States may be justified. A few of the States listed are among those commonly regarded as Southern such as Maryland and Kentucky.

According to the dispatch referred to and contrary to what might be generally expected, the State with the largest negro registration is Illinois, which has 475,000 negro voters. New York is second with 340,000 and Pennsylvania third with 330,000. Registration listed for other States is as follows: California, 64,000; Colorado, 1,100; Connecticut, 22,000; Delaware, 24,000; Indiana, 88,000; Iowa, 1,200; Kansas, 59,000; Kentucky, 155,000; New Jersey, 101,000; Ohio, 240,000; Oklahoma, 115,000; Tennessee, 288,000; West Virginia, 90,000; Massachusetts, 26,000; Maryland, 190,000; Michigan, 113,000; Missouri, 175,000; Minnesota, 5,000. It is not indicated whether these figures are official or merely those compiled by the Thompkins organization or some other private survey. It would make a difference, of course.

Gadsden, Ala. Times
October 20 1940

Appeals To Minority Groups

THE importance of the negro vote in doubtful states is being greatly overemphasized as Washington goes practically hog wild on the subject of catering to this element among the citizenship. A few negro politicians have simply thrown a scare into the boys and they are losing all sense of proportion.

The latest gesture to round up the negro vote is embraced in the proposal to have a mural in the Interior Department commemorating the concert given by Marian Anderson, negro singer, at Lincoln Park, on Easter Sunday of last year. Through the years thousands of talented performers have given beautiful concerts in and about Washington and nobody thought of spreading pictures of these stars over the walls of public buildings. Yet becausue of a desire to appeal to a group of colored voters, an exception is made in this instance.

The singer in question happens to have been denied the use of the hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution on one accasion and now certain politicos in Washington conceive that it would be "good politics" to take an indirect slap at the D. A. R. while showing a special courtesy to the colored singer.

Persons whose viewpoint is not biased by political aspirations or expectations, know full well that in this free country a man's home is his castle, and the same goes for the women. They know also that the hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington is the home of that organization. Therefore, the D. A. R. is wholly within its rights to invite whom it pleases and to exclude whom it pleases when it comes to the conduct of its home.

But this is a minor phase of the issue as it has again been raised by the politicans as they seek to line up a certain element among the voters. The big question is how far shall this thing of appealing to minority groups be carried in this country? It has been carried to excess in the appeal to such elements as that represented by the CIO and is now being carried to excess in the appeal to the negro voters.

Sound government implies thinking in terms of all the people and not in terms of small segments of the people merely because these segments happen to be more thoroughly organized than the great body of citizens.

SOUTHERN PROGRESSIVES CALL POLL TAX 'TYRANNY'

OCT 2 1940

By Nancy Blake
(Special to the Daily Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 27.—The right to vote is an important and hard-won right of the American people, guaranteed in our Constitution, but Bob Mason of Alabama can point out that elections are not free for him. If he wants to vote in November, he has to pay a poll tax of $1.50, plus $12 for eight years back poll taxes. If he can't pay it, the tax will go on adding up till he's 45 years old. From then on he won't have to pay to vote, provided all his back taxes have been turned in. Free elections?

There are eight poll tax states: Alabama, Arkansas Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The tax varies in each state from $1 to $2 a year and is often cumulative. In Georgia, it goes on adding up till the voter is 60. In most states you must pay the tax in advance and show your receipt when you go to cast your ballot.

75 PER CENT CANNOT VOTE

Bob Mason hasn't ever voted. A sharecropper who makes 10 cents a day cannot afford to vote in Alabama. Neither can his wife or family. For the Masons, the price of the ballot means the difference between Bob Jr. going to school or not, for it will buy a pair of shoes.

The Masons are by no means exceptions. In the last Presidential elections, only 24 per cent of the adult citizens in the poll-tax states voted, while the average in the non-poll-tax-states was 66 per cent. In Bob Mason's Alabama, only 20 per cent voted; in South Carolina, a meager 14 per cent. In Kentucky, which has no poll tax, 79 per cent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. Despite the increase in population and the winning of the suffrage by women, the number of voters in the eight southern states has declined since the start of the century.

Because of the poll tax, 75 per cent of the people in these states are denied the ballot.

These people are the sharecroppers, tenant farmers and city workers. They pay the taxes, work the army, share the burdens of citizenship, but one of the main rights of citizenship has been taken away from them, the right to elect their representatives in government, the right to have a voice in the running of their nation.

The big farm owners, industrial bosses, bankers and businessmen can afford the poll tax. They can and do pay it many times over. It is a common and publicly recognized practice of candidates for office and political bosses to buy up large blocks of poll taxes before elections and distribute the receipts at the polls, to those who will vote "right."

Employers often pay the taxes of their workers on the same conditions, and as Bob Mason knows, in most communities he's ever lived in, the ballot is not secret. Apart from being just plain dirty politics, this buying of votes leads to another situation. Many good candidates, Thomas Jeffersons from Virginia, leaders of the people, are never nominated because they do not have enough money to run the expensive machine of poll tax politics.

The men that these eight states send to Washington are "misrepresentatives," chosen by a small wealthy minority back home. As long as they remain faithful to the employer and money interests, they are sure of remaining in office. They serve their backers well, for one-half of the long-timers in the House and the Senate are from the poll tax states.

Take the spectacular record of Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith. In 1938 he was elected to his third decade in the Senate by just 5.5 per cent of the potential ballots in South Carolina. Long service means power in Congress. Seniority places Senators and Representatives from the eight states on the committees which do the main work, and we find them wielding the balance of control there. Did we send them to Washington?

Martin Dies, who serves on the vital House Rules Committee and is chairman of the ill-famed Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, represents but 7.7 per cent of the voters in his Texas district.

Thus in a Congress, supposedly representing the will of the people of 48 states, we have over us a great concentration of power in the hands of a reactionary minority—the "misrepresentatives" of the southern poll tax states.

Two main arguments are given in defense of the poll tax. It is claimed to be necessary for school revenue. Bob Mason says that the way politicians spend money on other people's taxes at election, they must be mighty interested in education. Actually, authorities point out, the revenue from poll-taxes is negligible. In Virginia poll tax proceeds amount to less than two cents on the dollar of the state's education bill.

The other argument, used to appeal to those poisoned by race prejudice, is that the tax prevents Negroes from voting. This anti-Negro statement doesn't hold water, for although it is true that the Negro is kept from the polls (and by other methods beside the tax), 64 per cent of the white people in the eight states are also prevented from casting their ballots.

The arguments merely attempt to hide the motives of those who would maintain the **status quo** in the South. The real purpose of the poll-tax is to deprive the vast majority of the people, Negro and white, of their right to vote. The minority who control the economic and political life of the South fear the progressive will of the working people. The poll tax alone has kept them in power. Their power has kept the eight states behind all others in social and labor legislation. Their representatives in Congress have voted almost consistently as a bloc against all progressive measures. They support anti-alien drives and anti-labor legislation.

The poll tax affects not only the civil rights and welfare of Negro and white people, like Bob Mason in the South, but the lives of all of us. A long time ago President Roosevelt spoke for its abolition, but he's been very quiet about it in this campaign. So has Mr. Willkie. Recognizing it as a stumbling block to democracy, labor and progressive forces everywhere join in the fight to abolish the poll tax. This restriction on the right to vote has been carefully "frozen" into the constitutions of the eight states, so that only action by the federal government can repeal it.

The Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill, in Congress now, would prohibit the tax as a condition for voting in federal elections. It has the support of AFL and CIO unions, railroad brotherhoods, branches of the Farmers' Union and the Grange, the League of Women voters, the Workers Alliance and many other groups and individuals. Our battle cry might well be taken from another great progressive movement in American history — "unrepresentative government is tyranny."

Daily Worker
New York
Atlanta, Ga.
OCT 28 1940

Pulse of Public

The Constitution invites expression of opinion by its readers. This column is open for that purpose. All communications must be signed and all are subject to editing for conservation of space. Brevity makes argument effective and impels attention.

NOV 7 1940

NEGROES NOW VOTE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

Editor Constitution: In your issue Nov. 4 the caption of an editorial was "The Negro Vote." Upon reading this article I could not help but congratulate your paper for treating this issue without bias, and in the meantime tending to acquaint the public with some of the truths about our politics.

The Constitution

It is not only the voice of a 127,000,000 minority group that may determine the next President of the United States, but also a group that has long ago found that the "strong-lunged" soapbox politician can no longer hide those cheap antics by which he sought to buy votes.

Hereafter, what ever bait is used to catch the Negro vote had better be good. The Negro now votes for the preservation of democracy and not for one party.

J. ROBERT SMITH.
Hampton, Ga.

72nd ANNIVERSARY OF 14th AMENDMENT ADOPTION POINTS NEED OF UNITY TO GET FRANCHISE IN SOUTH

Daily Worker
7-27-40
New York

By Angelo Herndon

The fight to enfranchise 12,000,000 people of the South through the passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill, and securing the protection of the Negro people against a new wave of mob violence that is sweeping the country by the enactment of the federal anti-lynching bill, are two burning fundamental problems facing all the American people.

On this 72nd Anniversary of the adoption of the 14th Amendment, the struggle for Negro rights should be uppermost in the minds of Americans.

This is especially true at a time when the world across the seas is set aflame with war and when the leaders of our own country are trying to effect a "national unity," which, they allege, is the only guarantee of safeguarding American democracy. But this "national unity" is a united front of Wall Street against the people.

CONVINCING PROOF

If any convincing proof were needed to show how the Roosevelt administration and the money kings, who flout the law and throw the Constitution out of the window, are united in their determination to destroy the civil and democratic rights of the people, the shameful treatment of 15,000,000 Negro Americans is sufficient.

For more than 22 years the Negro people and their sympathizers have been fighting for the passage of federal legislation which would protect them against mob violence and lawlessness. But the leaders of the government and those who are parading about the land behind the false banner of "national unity," have sought at every turn to block and head off the fight for anti-lynching legislation which is so essential to the protection and extension of democracy to all citizens.

The right to life, citizenship and political franchise, specifically guaranteed to the Negro people in the 13th, 14th and 1'th amendments to the Constitution, form the very basis of a broad genuine democracy.

AFFECTS ALL THE PEOPLE

If the fundamental concept of democracy as written into these amendments over the bitter opposition of the representatives of the Southern landed aristocracy and the Northern industrialists, is withheld and denied to the Negro people, it is likewise withheld and denied to all the people.

There can be no real democracy for some of the people while it is denied to others.

When the reactionaries are doing everything in their power to involve America in another imperialist war to make the world "safe for democracy," the fight for the full realization of the rights vouchsafed to the Negro people by the 14th amendment, adopted in Congress on July 28, 1868, is of the greatest importance to the entire nation.

There is not only the great need of waging battle in defense of and for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. The fight to abolish the undemocratic poll-tax system in the South and the wiping out of the evil and barbarous crime of lynching, is a test in the fight for the preservation of democracy and keeping America out of war.

NEED SAME SPIRIT

The courageous efforts put forth by the progressive and really democratic Americans for the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, represent the kind of spirit and determination needed today to preserve the fruits of their life work and to go ever forward in the building of a truly democratic nation.

In the fight for the passage of these amendments the country was fortunate to have such men as Thaddeus Stevens, Frederick Douglass and many others, who championed not only the cause of the newly emancipated slaves, but the rights of all the people.

How determined the opposition was in preventing the Negro people from participating in the government as equals, is seen in the struggle which developed when the 15th amendment was up before Congress for debate and passage. The progressives had attempted to include with the right to vote, the right also for Negroes to hold public office. But an amendment offered by the reactionaries struck out of the original clause: "the right of the citizen to vote or hold office," the words "or hold office."

PATH OF REACTION

By that act, the way was paved for a series of reactionary decisions handed down by the Supreme Court infringing upon the rights of the Negro people.

In the case of U. S. vs. Williams, (193 U. S., 632), the Supreme Court ruled that "the privilege to vote in any state is not given by the Federal Constitution or by any of its amendments."

The exclusion of Negroes from the ballot and the right to hold public office is symptomatic of a growing cancer eating at the heart of American democracy. It is just plain hypocritical deceit for the super "patriots" who talk about saving democracy in Europe by draining the taxpayers dry, when ten per cent of the population has no representation in the government, though they are made to pay more than their share of all public bills.

If America is so democratic, why not a few Negro governors in some of the democratic states, especially in those states where Negroes constitute the majority of the population? By reason of their numbers Negroes are entitled to hold ten per cent of all elective and appointive positions in the federal government, beginning with Congress on down. But why do not Negroes occupy such offices? Certainly there is no excuse that can be given in accordance with the concept of real democracy.

The recent lynchings of Negroes in Tennessee who attempted to exercise their democratic right to register in order to vote in the 1940 Presidential election, is indicative of the cold-blooded determination of the ruling class to force the people to accept its rule of terror and suppression.

With the Communist Party having already blazed the trail in ten years of struggle for the enforcement of the rights guaranteed to the Negro people in the Constitution, the 72nd anniversary of the adoption of the 14th amendment should be the occasion for a renewed and vigorous fight for the passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill and the federal anti-lynching bill.

Unity of labor, the Negro people and all Americans opposed to tyranny and oppression, will soon make impossible the day when the capitalist rulers of our land can subvert the constitutional liberties of the people into instruments of repression and slavery.

GOP Universal Suffrage Plank Strongest Statement In Platform

Tribune 7-23-40 Philadelphia Pa.

COLORED AMERICANS can elect a President of the United States in November. That is not a reckless statement. Keen political strategists admit it. And the fact that both major parties took pains to bid for the colored voters by putting planks in their platforms proves that both parties need the colored voters to win.

The election will be won in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Maryland and Missouri. And in each of these states the colored voters hold the balance of power.

The New Deal can not win in New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois without the colored vote. Neither can the Republicans.

We have studied the planks in both the Democratic and Republican platforms. Even the most rabid colored Democrat must concede that the Democratic plank is mere verbiage. It says absolutely nothing. The Republicans have the best start insofar as the platform is concerned.

The Republican Party condemns mob violence. The Democratic Party refused to advocate an anti-lynch law specifically.

The Democrats said: "We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed, or color."

The Republican platform reads: "Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted." That is a clear-cut declaration for a Federal Anti-Lynching Law.

But by far the strongest statement in the Republican platform is this: "To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen." In other words the platform makers have put their fingers on the most glaring defect in American democracy—the disfranchisement of millions of citizens. If not the only cause, it is surely the chief cause for the suffering of millions of citizens, black and white, in the "solid South".

Men are elected to the Congress of the United States from these states by a handful of voters, while the great masses are disfranchised. These voteless citizens have absolutely no voice in their government. They must accept what is handed out to them.

And THE TRIBUNE wants to make it clear that during many Republican administrations the party of Lincoln neglected and refused to enfranchise these citizens when it had the power so to do. And if the New Deal has wrecked America, as many Republicans seem to think, the New Deal never would have arisen to power had the Republicans done what they should have done to insure the vote to the multitude of poor whites and blacks who live below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Assuming, however, that the Republicans have learned their lesson and now realize that worse things can happen to America than the enfranchisement of those colored citizens who are now denied the right to vote, and that Republicans now intend to enforce the United States Constitution, which gives all citizens the right to vote, it will be the greatest single blessing which democratic government has received since the Civil War.

If that plank is enforced vigorously, there will be no question concerning the enactment of an anti-lynching law. In fact, if colored citizens had the full right of franchise in the South, there would be no lynching down there.

The Democratic Party talks about the inclusion of colored citizens in the benefits of social legislation. That is a debatable question. True it is that colored people have participated in the New Deal legislation. But the chief question is how? Colored people participate in the public schools of the South—But, how? Few people other than those who are the direct beneficiaries—job-holders, et al—will argue that colored citizens have enjoyed equal benefits under any of the New Deal projects.

Surely no one can say that colored citizens have been given any of the top jobs in W.P.A., C.C.C., and NYA. It is true that sufficient crumbs have been dropped to keep them from starving. But colored people have reached the point where they are entitled to and are demanding more than crumbs. And if the heavy handicap of disfranchisement is removed, they will have meat and bread and enjoy the full fruits of their labor the same as other Americans.

LONS OPPOSE LEGISLATION TO BAN POLL TAXES

Times-Picayune 8-18-40 New Orleans, La.

Midsouthern Congressmen Appear Against Geyer Proposal

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Aug. 18.—Mid-Southern members of Congress appear to be overwhelmingly opposed to enactment of federal legislation to prohibit the collection of a poll tax as a prerequisite to qualification for voting.

The sentiment among representatives of Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi apparently is unanimous against a petition filed by Representative Geyer, Democrat, California, to discharge the House judiciary committee from consideration of his bill and thus bring it directly to the floor of the House.

The petition would require 218 signatures. Several hours after Geyer formally offered it, there were only 13 signatures, including his own, and there wasn't a Southerner among the signers.

Eight states, all in the South, require payment of a poll tax to qualify for voting.

The Southerners give a number of reasons for refusing to sign the petition. Some of them say they favor the elimination of the poll tax, but that it should be eliminated by state Legislatures, and not by the federal government.

Others contend Geyer's aim is to increase the Negro vote in the South.

Still others say they oppose the signing of petitions to take any legislation out of the hands of committees to which bills are referred for study and recommendation.

"Of course, I'm not going to sign such a petition," remarked Will Colmer, Democrat, Mississippi. "It is aimed at one purpose, and the author admits it that is to enfranchise the Negro in the South."

Wall Doxey, another Mississippian, said "You can't make my opposition to this bill too strong," and he described Geyer as "an enemy of the South." Doxey said he thought the bill "absurd" and told Geyer so.

"The poll tax," commented W. F. Norrell of Arkansas, "is a matter for determination by the states concerned. There ought to be some rights left for the individual states."

Another Arkansan, Fadjo Cravens, said that if enacted, the law would be "no good."

"The supreme court has held that the qualifications of a voter are to be determined by the states, not by the government."

"I don't sign discharge petitions," Representative Will Whittington of Mississippi declared. "I am opposed to the policy of discharging committees from consideration of legislation. In addition, all poll tax legislation should be left to the states."

Wilbur Mills of Arkansas described the proposed legislation as "an encroachment upon states rights." Representative Wade Kitchens of Arkansas said he agreed.

Bill Against Poll Tax Strikes Tough Going With House Members

Only 12 So Far Have Signed Petition Asking For Vote On Measure

BY BEN GRANT

Memphis Press-Scimitar Aug 18 1940

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Only 12 House members have signed a petition demanding a vote on legislation to outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections in the first 10 days they could have done so.

To accomplish its purpose, the document must get 218 signatures, a majority of the House membership. Representative Geyer (D., Calif.) filed it with the speaker Aug. 7 and issued a call for signers.

The measure is aimed at the poll tax in eight Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. On their own accord, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida have abolished the voting levy.

Geyer's bill would make it a federal offense for any official to require the payment of a poll tax as a condition of the right to vote in a presidential or congressional election.

Southern congressmen promptly declared war on the plan, branding it an attempt to invade states' rights. Chuckling over the slow response to Geyer's petition, they asserted this week-end the bill would die on the judiciary committee's shelf.

But Geyer wrote a letter to House colleagues reminding them the petition was awaiting signatures, and added: "Largely because of the poll tax, 75 per cent of the adult citizens in these states (the Southern eight) are denied access to the ballot."

The petition appeared when a judiciary subcommittee failed to act on the Geyer bill. If a sufficient number of signatures were obtained, the bill would be taken from both the judiciary and rules committees and brought directly to the floor of the House for a vote.

The Californian has started publishing a monthly organ called the "Poll Tax Repealer." The August issue called on organizations supporting the bill to "develop a letter-writing, telegram-sending, button-holing, lobbying drive to get the anti-poll tax bill before Congress."

It said Representative Hobbs (D., Ala.), a member of the judiciary committee, was "in Congress on the strength of only 10 per cent of the votes of the adult citizens in his district." On the Geyer bill, Hobbs had told the House, "Do not kill democracy in America and the last vestige of states' rights by seeking to punish those with whom you disagree as to how they run their internal affairs."

One after another, Southern congressmen have taken the floor to condemn the Geyer bill and to chide the author for "meddling" with the affairs of Southern states. Every speech draws a reply from Geyer.

THE NEGRO VOTE

NOV 27 1940

There have been all kinds of analysis of the vote on November 5; some have dealt with the Negro vote in an attempt to analize its trend away from the Republican or Democratic party.

In making such analysis, the 1940 vote must be compared with that of 1936 and not that of 1938. In any election we must take in consideration the heads of the respective tickets. For instance in 1936 and 1940 the straight votes indicated the strength of the heads of the tickets which in those instances were the candidates for president. In 1938 the straight vote indicated the strength of the candidates for governor. Wilson was far more popular than Krashel and the straight vote that year indicated the strength of the former which w e n t strongly republican.

Here in Des Moines, the precincts east of Twentieth street whether thickly populated by Negro or white people went solidly democratic. The reason is obvious. Practically all the people on WPA, relief and laboring class of people live in these precincts. And conversely, all precincts west of Twentieth street went Republican. The reason is obvious. Practically all of the wealthy, business and the middle class group not classed as laborers live in that district.

The case load of Polk County for 1936 had not decreased in 1940. And even though the Democrats did little campaigning through headquarters, the fear of possible loss of relief and WPA, which in many cases amounted to outright intimidation, was more than sufficient to hold the beneficiaries of these government subsidies in line.

In other words, the Negro voted not on the basis of race interest, which the Bystander believes is Republican, but on the theory that the Democrats under Roosevelt had provided WPA relief and other gratituties which they feared would be dropped if the Republicans were elected. Nothing else mattered.

It was just another instance of arraying one class of people agaist the other. The Bystander does not believe that anything else played a major part in the Negro vote. The governor's race had practically no weight in the net results.

Breaking down the vote by precincts, the results showed no consistent gain either way. Democrats gained 10 percent more votes in 1940 over 1936, in precinct 26, 7 percent in 52, 3 percent in precinct 59. On the other hand, the Republicans gained 2 percent in precinct 33, 6 percent in 27 and 3 percent in 63. Peculiar to say the Republicans polled the exact number of votes in several precincts in 1940 that they did in 1936.

All in all, the Republicans have nothing overwhich to be discouraged with the Negro vote. And it will improve as Republicans close some of the gaps that tended to lose them votes.

EDITORIAL OF THE WEEK

NEGRO SELF-RESPECT AND POLITICS

NOV 28 1940

Thoughtful members of the Negro race cannot feel happy over the treatment accorded them during the recent campaign. Both major parties in their efforts to win the colored vote resorted to maneuvers which should have been regarded as an insult to the Negro's self-respect. The first obvious effort to snare the Negro vote came when President Roosevelt, disturbed by Negro anger at the announcement that members of the race would be segregated in the new conscript army, promoted Colonel Benjamin O. Davis to the rank of brigadier general. The promotion was a too long delayed recognition of the military abilities of colored soldiers. But "Time" correctly appraised the political implications of the appointment by acidly remarking that the army would leave General Davis in nominal command of a paper force until he reaches retirement age next July, knowing that "by then the election will be over." However, the uproar which the Republicans, in their effort to find some means of offsetting the political effect of General Davis' promotion, raised at the reported roughing of a Negro policeman in New York by one of the President's secretaries was even more shameless in its political motivation. The episode itself was indefensible, if the press reported it accurately. But Republican leaders made spectacles of themselves in the apparent glee with which they tried to exaggerate it out of all proportion as a means of catching the Negro vote. The Negro is rapidly coming into a new political importance in the north. He may soon hold the balance of power in key cities and states. But this very growth of the importance of his vote should put leaders of the race on their guard against such crude attempts to exploit racial feeling as marred the recent campaign.

NOV 28 1940

—The Christian Century

Poll Tax In America

NOV 30 1940

It is not reasonable to presume that the present Congress will bother about discussing the Poll Tax dispute during the few remaining days it is in session. Whether or not it is true, in fact, legislators opposed to the abolition of the vicious system, will argue that there are other matters more pressing, and that to bring up any measure of so controversial a nature would hamper action designed to defend America.

Existence of the Poll Tax system in the South, not only deprives a vast proportion of citizens of their right of franchise, but it prevents any fair estimate of public opinion because of the forced silence of so many people who are affected by executive, judicial and legislative acts.

Retiring President John L. Lewis of the Congress of Industrial Organizations took a hefty slap at the evil last week in his "swan song" at the organization's national convention in Atlantic City. It is clear now, the fight must be taken up and continued until the battle is won. In its struggle for the extension of Democratic ideals throughout the world, America must first learn the true meaning of Democracy by seeing it work at home. Before it can successfully destroy intolerance, bigotry and oppression in Europe and Asia, the United States must suppress jim crowism, discrimination and enslavement on this continent. We must prove our sincerity by practicing what we preach.

The Poll Tax And Democracy

DEC 7 1940

THE recent death of Senator Key Pittman, of Nevada, vacated the chairmanship of the important Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and because of the seniority rule the mantle fell upon Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia. It would have descended upon Senator Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, but that gentleman is chairman of the equally important Senate Finance Committee, which he chose to keep, in view of the rule that no senator can have two committee chairmanships.

By the usual standards of measurement Senator George is an able man. He is one of the most conspicuously able men in the United States Senate, from the standpoint of cultural background, academic and legal training and experience in statecraft. So, we are not suggesting any objection to Senator George on the score of eligibility. Rather we are using the incident of his elevation to the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee to point out that most of the important committee posts in both the Senate and House are now held by southern men because of the seniority rule, and that this rule is working to the advantage of the southern men in Congress because of the poll tax, which prevents free elections in the broad, democratic sense, in the southern states. There are one or two exceptions—North Carolina and Florida, for example—and the record shows that members of Congress rotate with more frequency in these states than is true of the eight southern states which retain the poll tax as an entrance fee to the ballot box.

* * *

Where the poll tax operates as a prerequisite to voting the aggregate vote is small, and where the vote is small it is easy for a state political organization to perpetuate itself in power and thus keep in Congress the men of its choice, who are usually the men who built and who control the organization. These permanent "representatives" of the people sometimes demonstrate a good deal of inconsistency. Much of the opposition to a third term for President Roosevelt came from men who had been serving continuously in the Congress for 20 to 30 years.

We have this situation as a result of the self-perpetuating poll tax dynasties: In the next session of Congress in 17 out of 33 chairmanships in the Senate and 18 out of 48 chairmanships in the House will be filled by men from 13 out of the 48 states. In addition this minority group of states will furnish the Speaker of the House, the Senate majority leader and the leader of the Democratic caucus. The south relinquishes the important post of presiding officer of the Senate because Henry Wallace, who is a midwesterner, was elected Vice-President.

DEC 7 1940

The poll tax hits Virginia particularly hard. Representative Geyer, (Democrat) of California, revealed in a recent statement that 80 per cent of the people of this state took no part in choosing a President. Approximately 20 per cent of the people of voting age in Virginia expressed their choice at the polls as against 57 per cent in North Carolina where there is no poll tax. Against Virginia's 20 per cent, 94 per cent of the West Virginians of voting age exercised the democratic function inherent in the franchise. In Virginia, 350,000 out of 1,683,000 adults voted. And what is significant, only 26 per cent of Virginia's population is Negro, and the poll tax was designed and put into the election laws to keep Negroes from voting. While it was aimed at the Negro it hit the white man and woman, as the statistics accurately show.

* * *

There may be some who maintain that true democracy can be had in Virginia without the benefit of free elections, but there are a great many evils growing out of continuous political control by a political dynasty which dispute the fact. One of these evils is the fact that while the state has a treasury surplus of $2,500,000, the school teachers, white and black, the essential factor in the maintenance of an educational system, have worked for the past three-quarters of a cent[illegible] at ridiculously low wages with[illegible] benefit of a sound or beneficial retirement system. Although the teachers have not been able to provide for their old age from their meagre earnings, the state has refused to assist them with an insurance plan which would give them moderate support when they were no longer able to serve the state.

Still, there are those who hold that Virginia's state government is above reproach—that it is a model. They hold that position because the government can show, from year to year, a balanced budget, a cash surplus. They fail to see the unbalanced human needs. They fail to see, that when in the long run the people are impoverished and frustrated the state will collapse.

75 Per Cent Of South's Voters Disfranchised Investigator Says

NOV 23 1940

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (CNA)— Pointing to the disfranchised ten million voters in the eight poll tax states of the South, Joseph S. Gelders, secretary of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, urged the people of the entire country this week to enter the struggle to abolish the poll tax.

The committee is now conducting a test case in the federal courts in an attempt to prove the unconstitutionality of the poll tax requirement for voting. The eight poll tax states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

"Seventy-five per cent of the adult citizens in these states are deprived of the right to vote," Mr. Gelders pointed out. "The issue of suffrage, so closely bound up with the whole question of free election, must be met if our country is to survive as a democracy."

In addition to contesting the constitutionality of the poll tax through the courts, the committee is the sponsor of the anti-poll tax bill introduced in Congress last Spring by Congressman Geyer of California.

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
SUFFRAGE

OUR GREAT DEMOCRACY

(By William Pickens for Anp)

NOV 22 1940

A general national election in the United States, where over 22 million people disagreed with over 25 million, and yet we all stand united behind the choice of 25 million That is because we are a democracy. No totalitarian state could stand such a division of votes. Nearly half the voters of the great republic were for Wendell Wilkie, and sightly more than half were for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt wins, therefore, and is the President of the Republic. That is order, civilization, democracy.

Chicago Defender

If there were proportional representation in this government, Willkie would have received nearly half the electoral college; there would be about 40 Republican senators in the congress, and nearly half of the representatives in the house would be Republican. For an outsider, working against relief psychology and war-scare, Willkie did as much as any human could have done.

Independent

But what interests us now, and what will continue to interest us, is the sinister exhibition of undemocracy. Look at those election figures: Alabama cast around 200,000 votes in all, and Alabama had 11 votes in the electoral college.

Iowa cast about 1,200,000 votes, nearly one million **MORE** votes than Alabama,—and yet Iowa had only 11 votes in the electoral college.

Nashville

Alabama's 11 went to Roosevelt. Iowa's 11 went to Willkie.

Tenn

That is: Two people in Alabama outweigh 12 people in Iowa.

There are other comparisons of the same sort: for example, Connecticut cast nearly 800,000 votes, but Connecticut has only 8 votes for president, while Alabama, cast only 200,000 votes, has 11 votes for president.

That is **NOT** democracy. That is a disgrace to democracy. That is cheating plain and simple.

Alabama is a poll tax state, a device to prevent democracy. What will the overwhelming democratic congress do about this? There are other problems with which the coming Congress will have to deal,—but none more vital to the essence of democracy in America than is this problem.

There is blessed South Carolina, for example, with the same number of electoral votes for president as has Connecticut, but while Connecticut was casting 800 thousand votes, South Carolina was casting 80-odd thousand. Democracy is made a byword in South Carolina.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt is our president, even though only a small margin of popular votes put him ahead. With the rotten borough situation in Dixie, he could actually have been elected by a few million **LESS** popular vote than Willkie received.—That, too is a threat against democracy.

Will a Democratic congress and a democratic administration move to remedy this evil thing? We shall see.

Nation's Oldest Voter In Plea For National Unity

Courier Pittsburgh Pa

Uncle Mark Thrash of Chickamauga, Ga., 119-Year-Old Ex-Slave, Parries Questions As to How He Voted, But Asks For National Unity—Has Married Five Times and Is Father of 29 Children, 18 Living.

NOV 23 1940

By JASPER T. DUNCAN
(Staff Correspondent)

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 21—The country's oldest voter, Mark Thrash, of Chickamauga, Ga., endearingly referred to as "Uncle Mark Thrash," made a straightforward plea for "this nation to be united and never be divided again," on an interview over a nationwide hookup election night, which featured also three white persons from New Hampshire, and Washington, D. C.

Mr. Thrash has been featured before as the nations' oldest voting citizen, and in 1936, when he was 115 years old he was similarly interviewed over the radio in a nationwide broadcast.

Wearing his customary white apron, which he adopted in slavery days," when his 'master' ordered him to wear it in order to distinguish him from the other slaves on the plantation," Mr. Thrash told the world last Tuesday night that, "I was a slave for 43 years, and interviewer, could not draw from the 119-year-old veteran any statement except that "I am pleased mightily to be the nation's oldest voter, and hope to be here at the next presidential election."

"I am the father of 29 children, 18 of whom are still living," he said, and "I am a twin. My brother, born 16 minutes ahead of me, is a missionary in Africa, and has been for the past 16 years. His family resides in Norfolk, Va."

Mr. Thrash lives in Chickamauga Park, (Ga.) just a few miles from this city, and is visited by more than 10,000 persons each year, who come to the government park, to listen to his sageful yarns and experiences. He is as active as a man 50 years his junior, and in an interview stated that the only thing that seems wrong with him as "a little stiffness in his knees at times."

He was a slave for 43 years, he said, and was in the "War between the States, but did not carry a gun. They had me busy running in order to stay here." He is the nation's oldest pensioner as well as voter, and in this section is revered and honored as one of the south's first citizens.

Sea View Hospital, Staten Island New York, is visiting Mrs. Ora Moore on Fifth street . . Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Huddleston, Jr., were seen among the football fans on Alcorn College campus and had with them Mrs. Elizabeth Huddleston, Mrs. Mahalia Guice and Miss Ethel Huddleston . . Mr. T. J. Huddleston, Sr., custodian of the Afro-American Sons and Daughters, is guest speaker at a banquet at Tennessee State College, Nashville, Tenn. He will relate some of the high points on the organiza

The Poll Tax

The Black Dispatch

Reprinted from The Teacola (Jacksonville, Ala., Teachers' College Paper).

NOV 30 1940

The fact that actual draft registration in Alabama was tens of thousands short of the anticipated turnout leads to same interesting conclusions. One might be that publicity for Oct. 16 was insufficient. A second would maintain that Alabama patriotism is off. Still a third might assert that the estimates on which predictions were based were in error.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Our own conclusion is that the fault should be laid to the poll tax. Curiously, the degree of shortage in registration turnout was almost in direct proportion to the ratio of colored population to white in the country. To us who have taken the ballot as a matter of course, a trip to the polling place to register held no mystery. To the ignorant Negro, always "advised" not to vote, a differentation between voting and draft registration is difficult. If he knew his non-registration by the tenets of the American Revolution. "Taxation without representation" might easily be cited by "advised" non-voters as a corollary of "conscription without a voice."

The above may unintentionally give the impression of attempting to justify darft-dodging. Nothing could be further from our intent. We confidently expect to be called, and will go gladly. We merely take this opportunity to cite a shortcoming of our state that we believe to be fundamentally wrong. Free men require a free vote, and in Alabama it costs $1.50—The Teacola (Jacksonville.)

Official Election Returns Show Negro Has Strong Claims on Both Parties

Amsterdam News

New York, N. Y. DEC 14 1940

TRENTON, N. J.—Official presidential election returns in New Jersey, released last week reveal that at least half of President Roosevelt's plurality came from the Negro vote. At the same time it was disclosed that the Negro Republican vote for Wendell Willkie rose about 49 per cent.

As a resut of these disclosures, general opinion is that the Negro in this state is in position to demand substantial patronage from leaders of both parties.

According to the official tabulation, of the 71,528 plurality which carried the state for Roosevelt, approximately 48,750 votes were Negro. Estimates of the Negro vote for Willkie set it at about 16,250, the ratio of Negro voting being about 3 to 1 for Roosevelt.

Thus although the 1940 Negro Democratic vote was actually about 14 per cent lower than the 55,700 in 1936, its importance as at least half of the plurality far overshadows that of four years ago when the total Democratic plurality of 363,528 rendered the Negro vote itself negligible in proportion.

On the Republican side, the 1940 returns show an enormous increase over the 10,900 Negro votes for Landon, can logically be interpreted as a handsome increase in the GOP ranks.

Therefore, political observers point out, Negro patronage demands in either party c ouncil must be given full consideration, among the Democrats because they owe at least half of their plurality to the colored citizenry and the Republican because only thus can they hope to retain or encourage the gains they have made among the Negro voters.

Comparison of the Negro vote figures with those for the entire state, where the GOP showed a total vote gain of only 17 per cent and the Democrats a loss of 14 per cent is also cited as indication that the Negro vote cannot be counted upon to follow the general trend but must be reckoned independently.

Further encouragement is seen in the fact that figures indicate the Negro's tendency to vote as a bloc, thus retaining the race's strength as a balance of power.

The Ballot

DEC 8 1940

RUMOR has it that the New Deal administration contemplates a move designed to restore the Negroes and poor whites of the South to full citizenship rights by making it possible for them to vote. One method by which the result will be achieved is the abolition of the poll tax, if and when the Geyer anti-poll tax bill is passed. The poll tax is the most potent weapon used by the South to prevent Negroes from voting. So vicious is its operation that many poor whites are disfranchised by its operation. It is not very difficult to understand how a person with little money may hesitate to vote when he has to lay a dollars and a half on the line before he has an opportunity to exercise his right to suffrage. Some of the states make the poll tax accumulative in that you pay for the number of years your arrearage has accumulated before you are given the ballot.

Another method by which the South denies the right of suffrage to Negroes is the intelligence test. The prospective Negro voter must be able to interpret any portion of the constitution. Prejudice is invariably high enough to fail any Negro voter in qualifying for the ballot when he takes this test.

In some states a voter must own so much property. The operation of this law also disfranchises a large number of poor whites and Negroes.

Chicago Bee

The Constitution bases the number of representatives to Congress from the various states upon the number of voters in those states. When the Constitution was adopted this country approved slavery. In order that the South had enough representatives Negro slaves were to be counted although they had no right to vote. Each slave constituted three fifths of a person for the purpose of ascertaining the number of representatives a state should have. In many states more than half of the voting population do not go to the polls. They are denied the right to vote by state law or by threats and intimidation. But somehow nobody in Congress has seen fit to challenge the right of southern states to the number of representatives that it sends to Washington although the number far exceeds the constitutional limit.

Chicago, Ill.

It is said that the New Deal will use the latter technique for the restoration of the ballot to four million Negroes and whites of the South. It is hoped that immediate steps be taken to restore the ballot to Negroes.

If Negroes are to enjoy democracy the ballot is indispensable. The South has consistently denied us the ballot through the years. In so doing it has kept us out of public offices. It has kept us from participating in the affairs of the nation.

It will be a new day for the Negroes throughout the nation if they are given the ballot in the South.

Home

DEC 22 1940

A President Is Elected

The next President of the United States was elected this week. Though the results won't be announced officially till January 6, it was revealed that FDR won easily.

Technically, that general election in November was just a preliminary in which you chose Presidential electors. In that contest, FDR nabbed 449 electors, Wendell Willkie 82. These electors voted on Monday in the 48 state capitals.

Nothing prevented an elector from casting his vote for a candidate who lost in his state. But it hasn't happened since 1796. Texas electors called the system obsolete, urged that it be polished.

Final official figures this week showed these results in the popular vote:

Franklin D. Roosevelt (Dem.)	27,245,422
Wendell L. Willkie (Rep.)	22,333,801
Norman Thomas (Soc.)	116,796
Roger Babson (Prohibition)	58,674
Earl Browder (Com.)	49,028
John Aiken (Soc.-Labor)	14,861
Others	413
Total	**49,818,995**

As a group, minority parties polled less than in any Presidential election since 1924.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
SUFFRAGE

Gadsden, Ala., Times
October 28, 1940

Light Voting In The South

THE Associated Press furnished its clients Friday with a table showing the number of potential voters in the United States, the number of votes cast in the 1936 election and the estimated vote in the 1940 election.

This table was published in newspapers all over the country and every such publication carried humiliation for the South because of the utter indifference, indicated among voters in this portion of the United States.

First on the list is Alabama, with a potential vote placed at 1,676,000, an official vote in 1936 of 275,744 and an indicated vote in November of 280,000.

By contrast, the list, while giving Connecticut a potential vote of only 1,002,000, records an actual vote in 1936 of 690,000 and an indicated vote in November of 774,000.

This means that Connecticut, with a potential vote 672,000 less than the potential vote of Alabama, is expected to poll 449,000 more votes than will be polled in Alabama.

From this New England state, one may turn to one of the states of the corn belt and find a parallel condition. In Iowa with a potential vote of 1,722,000—or only 46,000 more than the potential vote of Alabama—the indicated vote in November is 1,250,000, or 970,000 more than the indicated vote of Alabama.

But Alabama is no more guilty than the average state in the deep South. Georgia, with a potential vote of 1,915,000, is given an indicated vote of only 308,000. Contrast that with Wisconsin, with a potential vote of 1,817,000 and an indicated vote of 1,232,000!

One looking for an easy excuse for this amazing situation might refer to the large negro population in the South and blame conditions upon the fact that these negroes are not voters. But this, while true, does not tell the whole story. Literally millions of white voters in the South consistently fail to vote in national elections and every informed person knows it.

Another excuse is that the South doesn't vote because it is Democratic and Democratic votes are not needed, but this is merely to evade the issue. The truth is that these millions of voters have become too indifferent to bother about going to the polls, and that is one of the penalties of the one-party system existing in the South.

Yet the fact that there are plausible excuses for the failure of Southern citizens to vote does not remove the reflection that is implicit in such figures as those just made public through the Associated Press which, of course, has done a thoroughly impartial job. Millions of American citizens, keenly alert to the grave issues involved in the coming election, will scan these figures and wonder what is the matter with the South. And it is a subject over which Southerners themselves well might wonder.

Meanwhile, it may be well to remember that while Etowah County citizens can't help what happens elsewhere in the South, they can make a glowing exception to the general rule by turning out in overwhelming numbers on November 5 and prove that they, at any rate, are awake to the importance of the issues involved and are not indifferent to the duty of going to the polls and casting their ballots. Let's have a record vote here, regardless of the fact that a great Democratic victory seems assured and the votes are not needed.

DENY 4 MILLION RIGHT OF VOTING IN SOLID SOUTH

Chicago Tribune

Chicago, Ill.

Big Majority Are Negroes and Poor Whites.

NOV 26 1940

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Nov. 25.—Nearly 4 million persons of voting age have been disfranchised by the dominant Democratic régimes in the 11 southern states. Most of those disfranchised are Negroes and poor whites, who hitherto have been overwhelmingly Republican.

Whether they would vote Republican today, if permitted to exercise the franchise, is problematical. The Negroes in the north have swung conspicuously to the New Deal, and the New Deal politicians are confident the southern Negroes and poor whites would do likewise, if given the chance.

Would Outlaw Poll Tax.

That is the reason the New Dealers, with the blessing of President Roosevelt, are promoting a movement in congress to outlaw the poll tax, which is the principal device in eight southern states for disfranchising colored citizens and poor whites. With the support of these elements, freed from poll tax payments as a voting qualification, the New Dealers calculate they would be strong enough to unhorse the present dominant conservative faction of the Democratic party in the south.

This proposed legislation probably has less chance of getting thru the United States senate than has the antilynching bill, for the conservative southern Democrats do not intend to let down any of the bars to the registration of colored voters. Senator Carter Glass [D., Va.], in a rejoinder to the President's disparagement of the poll tax, quoted figures to prove that it is not the poll tax but apathy that accounts for failure of citizens in the south to exercise the franchise.

Estimates by States.

A conservative estimate of the number of citizens of voting age disfranchised by various devices in the south follows:

Alabama	450,000
Arkansas	250,000
Florida	100,000
Georgia	500,000
Louisiana	350,000
Mississippi	450,000
North Carolina	350,000
South Carolina	375,000
Tennessee	225,000
Texas	375,000
Virginia	300,000
Total	3,725,000

The 14th amendment to the constitution provides a penalty for disfranchisement of citizens. It provides that if a state denies a person 21 years of age or over the right to vote "except for participation in rebellion or other crime" the number of its representatives in congress shall be reduced in the proportion that the number disfranchised bears to the whole number of voting age.

Penalty Loss in Congress.

If this provision were enforced the southern states would lose at least one-third, possibly one-half or more of their representation at Washington. Some northern states also would be penalized to some extent, for while none has a poll tax qualification, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming impose literacy tests. Michigan, Montana, Nevada, Rhode Island, and Utah impose property tests, and Arizona both property and literacy requirements.

To disfranchise the Negroes and poor whites Arkansas and Tennessee rely upon the poll tax payment alone. Louisiana and North Carolina effect the purpose by a literacy test. Texas and Virginia impose a property test as well as a poll tax payment. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina invoke all three tests—property, literacy, and poll tax. In almost all cases these qualifications of voters are provided for in the state constitutions.

No Restrictions in Florida.

Florida alone has no statutory restriction today on the right to vote. Its sole prerequiste hitherto, the poll tax payment, was repealed by the state legislature in 1937. The immediate effect was an increase in the total vote in elections. In the 1938 primary 415,000 votes were cast, compared with a previous high water mark of 300,000. In the national election this month the total vote was 485,541, compared with 327,365 in 1936. Such disfranchisement as obtains is accomplished by intimidation of Negroes to deter them from registration for general elections.

Negroes are barred from the Democratic primary in Florida by the rules of county and city Democratic committees limiting participation to white persons. Similar state-wide Democratic party rules barring Negroes from primaries exist in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia.

The "white primary" device has been sanctioned by the Supreme court. A 1923 Texas law forbidding participation by Negroes in Democratic primaries was struck down by the Supreme court in 1927. Five years later a subsequent Texas law authorizing state party committees to determine the qualifications of primary voters, under which Negroes had been barred from Democratic primaries, was invalidated by the court in a five to four decision, on the ground that it violated the constitutional guaranty of equal protection of the laws.

In 1935, however, the action of the Texas state Democratic committee in barring Negroes from the party primary was upheld by the court on the ground that the discrimination had been exercised by the Democratic party, not by the state.

In all of the southern states the Democratic organizations proclaim it a "gentleman's obligation" that the participant in a Democratic primary shall vote for the nominees of the primary if he goes to the polls in the general election. If he should vote for a Republican after participating in a Democratic primary he is subjected to social and business ostracism or otherwise disciplined. The Democratic machine has abundant means of keeping tab on his vote.

HOW DEEP SOUTH KEEPS G.O.P. VOTE FROM THE POLLS

Chicago Tribune

Chicago, Ill.

Methods of South Carolina and Others Shown.

NOV 27 1940

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Nov. 26.—South Carolina, in which Willkie received 4,478 votes, and Mississippi, where he got 7,364, have attained almost 100 per cent perfection in the suppression of the Republican party, which in the deep south is composed chiefly of Negroes and poor whites.

Actually these figures are misleading, indicating that there are that many registered Republicans in those states. The fact is that less than 2,000 Republicans have been permitted to vote in South Carolina, less than 5,000 in Mississippi. In 1936 Landon received 1,646 in South Carolina, 4,443 in Mississippi. Willkie got more votes because anti-third term Democrats voted for him.

A Senator Is Shocked.

Former Senator Cole Blease of South Carolina deplored the laxity of the authorities in his state in permitting any Republican votes to be recorded. When President Coolidge received 1,123 votes in South Carolina in the 1924 election, Blease, then in the senate, said:

"I think Mr. Coolidge received 1,100 votes in my state. I do not know where he got them. I was astonished to know they were cast and shocked to know they were counted."

Under the South Carolina law a citizen to qualify to vote must be possessed of $300 worth of property on which he has paid taxes in the preceding year or he must be able to read and write any section of the constitution. Few Negroes and poor whites are able to meet the property qualification. And the literary test is even more insurmountable for a Negro or for a poor white who happens to be a Republican.

Reading and Writing.

It is up to the Democratic registrars to decide whether the applicant for registration is able to "read and write" any section of the constitution. The registrar himself may be unable to read and write any section of the constitution, but he is an unerring judge of the capability of others. There are few recorded instances of a Negro or a white Republican having been able to read and write the constitution to the satisfaction of the registrars. White Democrats qualify easily. If the applicant is turned down he can appeal to the courts, but that process is prohibitively expensive.

Then there is the poll tax as a prerequisite to the voting privilege. South Carolina is one of eight states in the union, all in the south, which require the voter to present a certificate of payment of poll taxes of $1 to $2 a year per capita before being allowed to deposit a ballot. In South Carolina the poll tax must be paid six months before the election.

A Dixie Inspiration.

Many years ago the intrusion of colored Republicans into the Democratic primaries of South Carolina was a problem until some one had an inspiration. It was that a Negro applying for Democratic party enrollment must, under the party rule, bring an affidavit of 10 white men that he voted for Wade Hampton for governor in 1876 and had voted the Democratic ticket continuously since. A Negro who could do that was thoroly trustworthy to vote the Democratic ticket. There were few of them able to qualify. The rule is still on the party books, tho it now applies only to Negroes 85 years of age or more.

The election procedure in South Carolina is extremely informal and great latitude for the disallowment of ballots by the Democratic clerks of election exists. There is no official ballot. There are individual party tickets with separate ballot for federal officers, state and county officers, and referenda, each with its own ballot box. If a ballot is placed in the wrong box it is not counted. A Negro or a white Republican who has passed all the other hurdles has to be mighty sharp to get his ballots in the right boxes.

Mississippi Regulations.

In Mississippi the voter must be on the registration books and must produce evidence of payment of the $2 annual poll tax.

To get on the registration book in Mississippi the citizen must satisfy the registrars that he is able to read any section of the constitution or be able to understand any section when read to him or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof. Virtually none but white Democrats are able to pass these tests. The Democratic party bars Negroes from its primaries. No Republican primary is held.

Louisiana law prescribes that the voter must present evidence of a payment of a $1 annual poll tax for two years before the election, provided the payment is made by the preceding Dec. 31. Few Negroes and poor whites are able to pay $2 for the privilege of voting and still fewer take the precaution of paying 10 months ahead of the election.

To get on the registration books the applicant must demonstrate his ability to read and write or, if illiterate, must prove that he is of good character and reputation and well disposed to the "good order and happiness" of the United States and must take a special "understanding" test. That is, he must demonstrate that he understands the duties and obligations of citizenship under a re-

publican form of government and hemitted to participate in primaries and into effect, there were 130,344 Ne-
must give a reasonable interpretation the party rule bars Negroes from groes registered. In 1900, after the
of any section of the constitution. Democratic primaries. constitution became effective, only
That stumps most Negroes and white Ninety-six per cent of the Negroes 5,320 Negroes were registered.
Republicans who go up against the were disfranchised by the Louisiana
Democratic registrars. constitution fixing the electoral tests.
Only registered voters are per-In 1896, before the constitution went

BAR NEGRO VOTE IN SOUTH THRU DEVIOUS MEANS

Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Ill.

Thousands Disfranchised Despite Constitution.

NOV 29 1940

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Nov. 28.—In Alabama the disfranchisement of the Negro is proclaimed proudly by the Democratic party on the official ballot in all elections.

At the head of the Democratic column on the ballot appears the emblem of the rooster. Arched over the rooster's head are the words: "White Supremacy." Below the rooster appear the words: "For the Right."

"The right of a citizen of the United States to vote," declares the United States constitution, "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The Alabama constitution declares suffrage not a right but a privilege, and devotes 20 sections largely to restricting and abridging that privilege. It imposes a poll tax of $1.50 a year due each Oct. 1. To qualify to vote the citizen must pay not only the current poll tax, but all arrears from his 21st birthday. After 45 the citizen is exempt from the poll tax.

Must Own 40 Acres.

The applicant for registration must show that he or his wife is possessed of 40 acres of land assessed at $300, or must be able to read and write any article of the United States constitution.

In addition he must establish that he has had regular employment for the greater part of the preceding year, unless disabled. Registrars may require an oath to 5 years' previous residence and names of employers during that period. For false oath the penalty is imprisonment from one to five years.

Few Negroes and poor whites are able to meet these requirements as administered by the Democratic registrars. White Democrats invariably are able to qualify under the literacy test.

If a Negro or a poor white suspected of Republican sympathies should get his name on the county poll list despite these precautions to keep him off, the county registration board, named by the Democratic state executive committee, may remove his name under the form of "purging" the list. Thereupon the citizen's only recourse is to the courts, to a trial by jury in a state where no colored person is allowed to serve on a jury.

Barred from Primaries.

Only registered voters may participate in party primaries. The Democratic party bars Negroes from its primaries.

NOV 29 1940

Mrs. Cora Trotter, the first colored woman to attempt registration in Birmingham, Ala., was told to write what she knew of the Constitution of the United States. She did so. The registrar decided that it was not enough, and refused to enroll her. William Pickens, a colored college instructor at Talladega, Ala., testified: "I was told that I could not register unless I just wrote off a number of sections of the Constitution."

Georgia accomplishes disfranchisement of the Negroes and poor whites by means of the following qualifications of voters:

Taxes: All poll and other taxes for which the citizen is liable must be paid six months before election.

Property: Forty acres on which applicant for registration resides or $500 tax assessed property. Education or character alternatives.

Education: Applicant must be able to read in English any paragraph of the United States or state constitution and to write same when read by the registrar, or, if disabled, to give reasonable interpretation thereof when read by the registrar. Property or character alternatives.

Character: Applicant must be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government. Property or education alternative.

Chicago, Ill.

Scheme in Constitution.

Only qualified and duly registered persons are permitted to vote in the primaries. The Democratic party bars Negroes by specific rule from its primary.

The Georgia disfranchisement scheme was incorporated in the 1907 state constitution. There was considerable opposition on the part of white Democrats to the adoption of so elaborate and formalized a plan for the exclusion of Negroes from elections. These opponents contended that the Negro already had been eliminated from politics by means of the party rule excluding colored citizens from the Democratic primary, which virtually was and still is the equivalent of a general election in the north.

Arkansas there is no statutory registration of voters, the state constitution forbidding it. There is a $1 annual poll tax payable from January to July preceding the election. The voter must pay any poll tax arrearage from the age of 21 to date. The poll tax list and the presentation of poll tax receipts at the polls provide the check on the eligibility of voters. An effort to repeal the poll tax in 1938 was defeated.

Must Read and Write.

North Carolina relies on the administration of an educational requirement to hold down the Negro vote. The voter must be able to read and write any section of the state constitution in English to the satisfaction of the registrar. A form is prescribed for an oath of loyalty and attestation to qualifications. An applicant for registration must answer "any material question." Negroes are barred from the Democratic primary by county committee rule in nearly all counties.

In Tennessee there is a $1 poll tax, receipt for which must be exhibited by the voter. There is registration in the towns and cities, with the applicant required to take oath to complicated qualifications under heavy penalties of fine and imprisonment for false swearing. Negroes are barred from the Democratic primary in certain counties. There has been considerable voting by Negroes for years in Memphis, where the colored vote is a pawn of Democratic boss Ed Crump. The Crump organization is reputed to pay the poll taxes of the colored voters.

In Texas payment of the $1.50 annual poll tax constitutes registration. The receipt is in affidavit form with oath to applicant's qualifications, the penalty for false swearing being imprisonment from two to five years. The Democratic party rule, sustained by the United States Supreme court, bars Negroes from the Democratic primary.

VIRGINIA KEEPS G.O.P. IMPOTENT BY INTIMIDATION

Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Ill.

Poll Tax, Prison Threat Disfranchise Negroes.

NOV 28 1940

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Nov. 27.—To suppress the traditionally Republican Negro vote in the south the Democrats rely not only upon the disfranchisement provisions of the state constitutions but upon intimidation.

Few Negroes are able to pass the literacy tests as administered by the Democratic election registrars, but few Negroes ever apply for registration. It has been made known to them in unmistakable manner that life will be made extremely unpleasant for them if they attempt to vote.

In the Virginia convention that framed the state constitution of 1901 it was admitted that the purpose of the suffrage tests provided was not only disfranchisement but intimidation of the Negro. The chairman of the committee that framed the test told the convention that it was not ideal.

No Friendship Expected.

"But it would not be frank of me," he went on, "if I did not say that I do not expect it to be administered with any degree of friendship by the white man to the suffrage of the black man. I expect the examination with which the black man will be confronted to be inspired with the same spirit that inspires every man in this convention.

"The people of Virginia do not stand impartially between the suffrage of the white man and the suffrage of the black man. If they did, the uppermost thoughts within the hearts of every man within the sound of my voice would not be to find a way of disfranchising the black man and enfranchising the white man.

"We do not come here prompted by an impartial purpose in reference to Negro suffrage. . . . Again I expect this clause to be efficient because it will act 'in terrorem' on the Negro race. They believe that they will have a hostile examination put upon them by the white man, and they will not apply for registration."

Fraud Is Charged.

It was then suggested that the plan provided for disfranchisement of the Negro by "fraud and discrimination." The author of the provision, Carter Glass, now senator from Virginia, responded:

"By fraud, no; by discrimination, yes. But it will be discrimination within the letter of the law. Discrimination! Why, that is precisely what we propose; that exactly is what this convention was elected for—to discriminate to the very extremity of permissible action under the limitations of the federal constitution, with a view to the elimination of every Negro voter who can be gotten rid of legally without impairing the numerical strength of the white electorate. It is a fine discrimination, indeed, that we have practiced in the fabrication of this plan."

NOV 28 1940

The Glass plan of disfranchisement is still the law in Virginia. It imposes a poll tax of $1.50 a year which must be paid by the voter for three years preceding the election, and must have been paid in full six months before the election date. It imposes a complicated literacy test.

Demand Written Application.

Chicago

The applicant for registration "must make application to register in his own handwriting, without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, in the presence of the registration officer, stating his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the next preceding year, and whether he has previously voted, and if so the state, county, and precinct in which he voted last."

The applicant must answer any and all questions affecting his qualifications, on oath, the answers to be made a part of the registration record. This provision is employed as an "understanding test." For perjury in the registration oath the penalty is imprisonment from 1 to 10 years or a fine not exceeding $1,000 or both. These provisions have proved sufficiently horrendous to deter most Negroes from attempting to register.

Such Negros as have had the hardihood to present themselves for registration have been disposed of in most cases by the registrars. Altho the "understanding" clause expired in 1903 the Democratic registrars have not hesitated wherever necessary to their purpose to put such questions to applicants for registration as, "when did the United States buy Alaska, from whom and at what price?" and "give the boundaries of the smallest republic in the world."

Trick Question Used.

The purpose of the expired understanding test is now served by that provision of the Virginia constitution requiring an applicant for registration to "answer on oath any and all questions affecting his qualifications." Under this clause a Negro is asked: "who is an elector?" "who is disqualified from voting?" or "can a minor hold office in Virginia?" If the applicant should answer the last question in the negative, and nearly every one has, he is informed that he has failed to qualify, because a person need be only 18 years old to hold the office of notary public in Virginia.

The universal testimony is that white voters are registered virtually without examination while Negroes are questioned rigorously until they are stumped and ruled out.

Chicago, Ill.

In Florida the poll tax was repealed in 1937, but intimidation is widely practiced by Democratic registrars to hold down the colored vote. The applicant for registration must swear to his age, residence, and noncriminality. The penalty for perjury is imprisonment up to 20 years. Warned of this penalty the average Negro would rather not vote than risk a charge of perjury based on an incorrect answer to the questions of the registrars.

Only registered voters may participate in Florida primaries and the party authorities are empowered to make further qualifications. Negroes are barred from the Democratic primaries by rules of Democratic county committees.

POLITICAL- 1940
SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

Holds Negro Voters To Be Key Factor In '40 Campaign

Daily World
6/25/40
Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(S N S) —The Negro may well be the determining factor in the preservation of democracy in this crucial 1940 campaign, overshadowed by war abroad and dark threats of war and possible dictatorship at home.

With these words Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago alderman, told the 31st annual conference of the NAACP Wednesday, June 19, here that the Negro people in America should make the two major political parties understand once and for all "that we shall hold them strictly accountable for the enactment of the following national program for the Negro people:.

"Immediate passage of the federal anti-lynching bill to protect the Negro and other racial minorities in America;

"Immediate enactment of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill plus a federal uniform election law to prevent any further restrictions of suffrage.

Ald. Dickerson Stresses Great Importance

NEED JOBS

"A comprehensive public works program to employ at useful work and fair wages every American unable to find a job in private industry, regardless of his race, creed or color. (Why is it that American can find almost six billion of munitions and less than one billion dollars for relief?)

"Legislation forbidding any corporation, refusing to hire Negro workers from obtaining government contracts, whether the contracts relate to the national defense program or otherwise.

"Extension of the Federal Social Security Law to include agricultural workers and domestic servants.

"Adequate housing [illegible] tions to guarantee not only decent homes for all citizens of low income but with the provision that adequate provision shall be made for people dispossessed in the constructing of new housing projects.

ASK HEALTH PROGRAM

"A federal health program with adequate appropriations for the establishment of hospitals and clinics for citizens of low income.

"Special appropriations for Negro education in the South with the provision that any state denying equal facilities to all children shall be barred from federal educational benefits.

"Strengthening of the Wagner Labor Relations Act to insure Negro workers the right to organize for the betterment of their conditions, by denying the privilege of collective bargaining to any union which forbids membership to applicants on the basis of their color, race or creed."

Poll Tax – Pro And Con

Daily World
6/11/40
Atlanta, Ga.

Columnist John Temple Graves, the South's most liberal writer, continues to [illegible] poll tax modification or elimination fight before the public.

In his column in the Birmingham Age-Herald recently removed the fringe of Communism from the issue and went on to list those favoring Alabama and American citizens and organizations favoring changing the poll tax system.

Those who believe in total democracy as against totalitarianism must make democracy work. Scare of the Negro vote has, like Communism, been injected at times, quite unfortunately, into this question. The Negro is a native American and loves his country too fervently and patriotically to harm it by ballot or otherwise.

Here are the words of Mr. Graves:

The state superintendent of schools wants the poll tax abolished. The Alabama Congress of Parents and Teachers wants it abolished, too. So does the Alabama Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. So do the Alabama Branch of the American Association of University Women and the Alabama Methodist Women's Missionary Society. So do The Birmingham News, The Birmingham Post, The Anniston Star, The Anniston Times, The Blount County Messenger, The DeKalb Times, The Lee County Bulletin, The Huntsville Mercury, The Pell City News, The Winfield Journal, The Moulton Advertiser, The Houston Herald, The Centreville Press.

The governor of this state is committed to modification if not repeal. So is The Montgomery Advertiser. So is Mark Hodo, who led the ticket from Jefferson County. So are the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs and the Alabama Council of Home Demonstration Clubs. So are many members of the Legislature, and thousands of sober citizens of Alabama. The opposition of all these people to the poll tax doesn't prove that the tax is wrong, of course, but it proves there is nothing more demagogic than calling poll tax reformers radicals.

The case against the poll tax is shaken, we confess, with some logic in The Centreville Press: "We know of no better argument in favor of the poll tax than the vote buying wave that is now on in Alabama," it declares editorially. "Buying votes is now bad enough even with our poll tax laws, but if the laws were repealed and everyone allowed to vote, then it would cost $10,000 to elect a probate judge in this county." What with the high cost of living already, if abolition of the poll tax is going to increase the expense of buying up elections, that is something to be considered. The call is for economy in this state!

—Birmingham (Ala.) World.

Equal Rights

To The Editor of The Telegraph:

I would like to know why is the colored man denied his rights to vote? Is not he a citizen of this United States of America? Why is he SEGREGATED? DISCRIMINATED? DISFRANCHISED? and the last to be hired and the first to be fired?

And why is he not allowed to go in your picture shows other than to scrub or do cleaning?

And why is he segregated on your trains?

After he has fought, shed his blood and died in the defense of this country as any other man did and then to be denied the rights and privileges that the other or the white man enjoys, why is that? Isn't the colored man recognized as a citizen of this United States of America? If so, then why is he denied all these things?

After a man pays his taxes to his state, county and his country doesn't that give him a right to all of the things that I have already mentioned?

And why is it that a colored man can't get a chance in life just the same as a white MAN?

I being a colored man is why I want to know these things will you favor me with answers to the questions I have asked.

Poll Tax Doom Draws Nearer

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The movement to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections by act of Congress has received considerable impetus recently through added support given the Geyer bill by influential leaders and organizations.

Senator Thomas (Democrat, Utah) told the House judiciary subcommittee that the eight southern states still requiring a poll tax of voters prevent "the average man . . . a voice in selecting those who represent him so that through the democratic process the greatest opportunity and security could be retained by him."

A representative of the CIO, Dr. Walter N. Polakov, branded the poll tax as "class legislation aimed to suppress the will of low-income groups" and as a "threat to the existence of organized labor." The CIO has four million members.

EPERTS QUOTED

Experts were quoted to show that the poll tax is not even a good revenue producer, by Mrs. Florence Fletcher of the Women's Trade Union League.

She said: "It offends every standard of good taxation, and the revenue derived from it is so small that it hardly constitutes justification for the levy of a tax with such distributional shortcomings."

It is Congress' duty to eliminate the poll tax, said the national legislative chairman of the Descendants of the American Revolution, Henry H. Collins, Jr.

Among those who had been asked to testify but were unable to be present, and who instead sent statements or resolutions was J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the I. B. P. O. E. of the World.

NO OPPONENTS

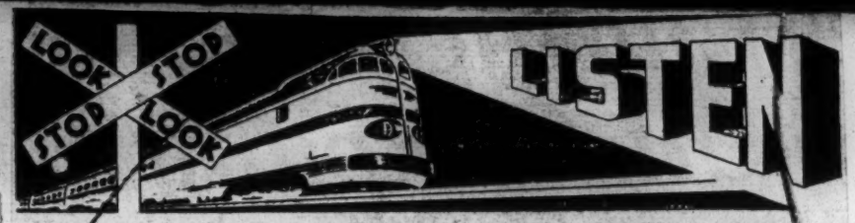
Not a single witness appeared to oppose the bill at the hearing in question, hedl on May 17.

A full morning was devoted to consideration of the bill by the judiciary subcommittee of the House. The bill (H. R. 7534) was introduced by Congressman Lee E. Geyer (Democrat, California).

Senator Thomas emphasized that: "In order that our republican form of government may continue undiminished it is essential that political power be distributed widely so that the interests of all groups in the population can be adequately represented."

Sidney R. Katz, secretary of the Washington CIO Council, said that giving of the ballot to the people of the South would make easire the fight of Washingtonians for this same right to govern themselves. Suffrage is now denied residents of the District of Columbia.

In addition to the Elks resolution, Mr. Geyer filed with the committee supporting statements submitted by: the Rev. Fred E. Maxey of Leeds, Alabama, president of the County Council of the Workers Alliance of Jefferson County (Alabama) and member of the national executive board; Alton Lawrence, southern representative of Labor's Non-Partisan League, Spartanburg, South Carolina; and J. G. Lurhsen, executive secretary of Railway Labor Executives' Association.



Weekly Column Devoted to Interests of Rail Labor

POLL TAX OPPOSED BY F. & O. CONVENTION

We are printing below two resolutions adopted by Lodge No. 451 of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, East St. Louis, Ill., at its meeting June 3, 1940. These similar resolutions were adopted by the national convention of the Brotherhood held in Chicago July 8 to 11. A brief review of the convention as a whole will be carried in this column in the near future.

"WHEREAS, the Poll Tax is a method used in the Southern States to deny the democratic and American right to vote to millions of Negro and white workers in the South, and

"WHEREAS, through this vicious, undemocratic and un-American practice, Southern reactionaries have wormed their way into the hall of Congress, usurping most important places on committees in Congress and thereby placing themselves in a position to obstruct and defeat important labor and social legislation,

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Local No. 451 go on record condemning the poll tax and in support of the passage of the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill, and be it

"FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be taken to the convention of our International Union for passage, and be it

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate and to Congrssman Lee E. Geyer, and be it

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the press, to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and to the Railway Employees' Department for action and support behind the passage of the Geyer Bill."

Disfranchised Americans

The District of Columbia made a greater population gain in the last decade than any state. The city of Washington gained more than any large city.

These facts have stimulated the demand in the district for the right to vote. The injustice that district residents see in the prohibition against their representation in Congress is emphasized by the large increase in population.

Today the District of Columbia has a larger population than either Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont or Wyoming. Under the present apportionment legislation the district would be entitled to two representatives in Congress.

Of course not all the 663,091 residents of the District of Columbia are denied the right to vote. Persons residing in the district by reason of appointment to government positions do not give up their voting residence in the states. The laws of various states permit them to vote as residents of such states. There are many Alabamians living in Washington who keep up their poll tax payments in this state and vote here in both local and national elections by means of absentee ballots.

Nevertheless, many residents of the district are disfranchised by reason of living there. Perhaps they were born in Washington or have found it impracticable to maintain their legal residence elsewhere. Indifference to local affairs with which they were out of touch has been a factor in causing many to lose their franchise. The existence of a poll tax in the eight states which still impose a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting has been another factor.

Moreover, forbidding district residents the right to vote affects many thousands who live in Washington for other than political reasons. The existence of a great city means stores, offices, doctors and various establishments and lines of work not connected with the government. People in these activities live constantly in Washington. To deny these people the franchise is contrary to the purpose of the original ban on residents of the district participating in either local or national elections.

The old reasons for not granting District of Columbia residents full participation in the affairs of the government largely have passed away with the change of circumstances. The present position of the nation's capital in the country's system of government is anomalous. What once seemed wise and best now has come to appear an unwarranted discrimination against the nation's eleventh largest city and its environs.

Birmingham, Ala.
Daily Worker
DEC 9 1940
Birmingham, Ala.

Woozy Logic

Some opponents of poll tax reform in Alabama have been citing Louisiana as a bad example of what follows removal of the poll tax as a requisite for voting.

Huey Long, they say, had the poll tax eliminated in Louisiana, and state government in that state has been corrupt ever since. Therefore, runs the strange logic, any state which does away with the poll tax will have a corrupt government.

That line of reasoning is little higher than superstition. It falls victim to the old, old fallacy that a thing which follows another thing in time is the result of the former. A black cat crosses your path. Shortly afterward your wife leaves you. The black cat caused it. You walk under a ladder. The next day your house catches on fire. The fire came because you walked under the ladder. You break a mirror in the Summer of 1929. For seven years after that your business loses money. The mirror-breaking was the cause of it all. Of such order is the idea that the corrupt government in Louisiana is necessarily a result of the poll tax change.

To reach the logical conclusion that elimination of the poll tax brings corruption in government, one should examine the records of all the 40 states that have no poll tax requirements for voting, as well as the records of the eight states that still retain the tax as a requisite for voting. If the 40 states all have bad government and the eight states good government, and if in every case corruption followed the tax elimination, then it would be sound to conclude that eliminating the poll tax brought on bad government.

We doubt if any such conclusion is possible. Huey Long's control of Louisiana politics began when the poll tax was still collected, remember. Furthermore, Florida in recent years has had a better government on the whole than it had before it did away with the tax. North Carolina is no worse off that we can see than it was in its poll tax days. Tennessee, which retains its poll tax, has been the scene of political shenanigans for many years. Alabama has had good governments and bad governments under the present cumulative poll tax.

It may be that tampering with the poll tax in Alabama would result in corrupt government. But that is a conclusion not proved by the isolated example of Louisiana.

Let's be reasonable about this matter, and not fall victim to hazy thinking or demagogic emotionalism. Thinking clearly is more important than having a poll tax or not having a poll tax.

Governor Ratner's Words

In a recent radio speech Payne H. Ratner, the Republican Governor of Kansas, uttered these words: "Machine politics and bossism is a cancer on the body politic which if not checked in time will be as serious to American system of government as a malignant cancer is on the human body.

"Machine politics and bossism result from indifference on the part of good citizens to what is going on in our government—leaving government entirely to the professional politician."

The writer of this editorial agrees with Governor Ratner on every word uttered in that statement but wonders if the Governor was really aware of what he said. The fact that Ratner is a Republican machine Governor places a question mark behind that philosophical statement. This writer does not see how any man could advocate one principle and live by another. To make such a statement in a radio address to the intelligent people of Kansas when they are aware of what the political set up is causes one to be reminded of a statement once made by Abraham Lincoln. "You can fool some of the people all of the time but you can't fool all of the people all of the time". Turning back a few pages in the book of memory we find that two years ago when Mr. Ratner was running for Governor of Kansas in the Primary those who did not support him were looked upon as people out of line and out of harmony with the Republican program. However we do not mean to charge this up to Mr. Ratner, but it was the set up, especially in Wyandotte County. After the primary those who did not support him who made gestures and demonstrations that they were still Republicans and willing to support the republican party did not get much consideration because the machine apparently had to take care of those who had been loyal in the primary election. During his campaign Mr. Ratner promised the Negroes that he would recognize Negro leadership but apparently the machine got between the Negro leadership and his promises.

So when we see such a philosophical statement made by our Governor we cannot help but agree with him because it is the Negro race that suffers most at the hands of the political machine. It is the Negro race that is subjected to regimentations of rigid bossism of take it or leave it, the awful "lug" method and being denied by suffrage a right to exercise what they really think and want to do. Now it may be that the Governor is really sincere in what he says but we are forced to put a question mark behind it when all evidence points to the fact that he is a machine man.

Negroes in Kansas, although comparatively small in number with such states as Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania and others have one of the greatest opportunities west of the Mississippi but that opportunity is fast vanishing because of second rate cheap Uncle Tom Negroes masquerading as leaders, because those who take the lead are interested in themselves, their brothers and sisters, their mammas and papas, and God can help the rest if he so desires. They are leaders not because the Negroes make them leaders but because a few leaders of the political machine can best use them in in their program to divide the solidarity of the Negro race We earnestly hope that the Negroes of Kansas will read the Governor's statement and take it at its face value because it is solid all the way through.

Machine politics does not advance the causes of Negroes. As Mr. Ratner says it is like a malignant cancer on the human body. There maybe those who do benefit from a political machine, but they are certainly not Kansas Negroes. We get political patronage as a reward for our political work on election day in the precincts and our loyalty to party regularity, to which Negroes are rightfully entitled regardless of a political machine. Political workers and precinct captains get very little for their activity in a poliical machine, and they are the ones who bring in the vote and make the big boys powerful—the boys whom they must obey when the appointed Negro sub-bosses come out and give the machine's orders. Precinct committeemen and political workers don't make enough in a two year period to justify them for their honest labor and support. The big stuff goes the other way, to the big boys and the Negro sub-bosses.

Machine politics where the Negro race is concerned is similar to the Dixie peonage system and the feudal system of the old days back in Europe. He does not have a chance to advance economically, politically and socially. The Negro must keep his mouth closed on vital issues; freedom of speech becomes as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymble. The Negro builds a complex in his group that either we must obey the Negro sub-bosses or we will miss our reward that comes every two years on election day. They forget that their votes are the determining factor on any issue.

When Mr. Ratner said that, "Machine politics and bossism result from indifference on the part of good citizens to what is going on in their government—leaving government entirely to the professional politician," he indicts every Negro in Kansas who believes in "democracy." He infers that we as citizens are responsible for the existence of political machines. He infers that we leave our civic interest and political welfare to the professional politician. Now that our governor has warned us about the menacing evils of machine politics, why not do something about it? Are we not the voters? Are we not interested in the future of our state, our investments, our rights to earn a decent living, the education of our children, the right to be heard in a democratic form of government, the right to share in on all tax paid enterprises and the right to have a voice in the government which you are a part of. These fundamentals of life are ours, but they can only come through the action of every

citizen doing his duty as a voter and taking the matter out of the hands of the professional politicians and professional crooks.

We think that the Negroes of Kansas should congratulate Mr. Ratner for his mastearful words of advice, because we feel that he should know something of the evils of "machine" politics.

Thomasville, Ga., Press
March 15, 1940

The Poll Tax Question

When Governor E. D. Rivers announced recently that he favored the repeal of poll tax, he aroused a great deal of comment. Most of the more liberal newspapers of the state applauded the statement, while the reactionary journals condemned the plan.

As a recent article in the Survey Graphic points out, opposition to free suffrage is an outgrowth of the Civil War, when the dark days of Reconstruction made restrictions necessary. However, years have passed and conditions have changed, and the acute need for such severe restrictions has vanished. It is now time for the southern states to consider whether or not the poll tax laws have not done more lasting harm than good.

The southern poll tax states have the most pitiable voting record in the United States. In fact, the voting record in these eight seates is the forst in any part of the world where even a pretense of a democratic system is maintained. In Mexico, which we consider to be a backward nation, twice as many voters cast their ballots (based on population percentages) as in the south. In West Verginia 92.1 per cent of persons of voting age go to the polls, and the average for the United States is 64 per cent. Figures released by the Survey Graphic show a different story in poll tax states. In the south a comparison between free suffrage states and poll tax states shows a big discrepancy.

Poll Tax States

Tennessee	33.5 per cent
Texas	26.2 per cent
Virginia	25.7 per cent
Alabama	20.4 per cent
Georgia	19.6 per cent
Arkansas	18.5 per cent
Mississippi	16.2 per cent
South Carolina	14.1 per cent

Other Southern States

Louisiana	29 per cent
North Carolina	50 per cent
Florida	38 per cent
Kentucky	64 per cent

It is disgraceful that Georgia should be in this list. To think that less than one fifth of the eligible voters shold register and vote. South Carolina is even worse. For all the interest shown in elections the average South Carolinian might as well be living under a dictatorship.

There are several reasons for this indifference to the privilege of voting, but the cost of poll taxes is one of the major causes. It is an iniquitous restriction on the constitutional right to participate in control of the government, and it should be abolished.

The Negro Question

A stock argument against removing the poll tax is that it would throw the balance of power to the negro voter. As one subscriber of this paper recently said, "On ethical and legal grounds I believe in discarding the poll tax, but for reasons of expedency I think it should be continued."

In other words, fro ma logical and just viewpoint the negro should be allowed to vote, but from a selfish viewpoint he should be disfranchised. But this attitude is understandable. It goes back to the hectic years after the Civil War, when untutored negroes did violate the sanctity of the ballot. However, under existing conditions this reason is not valid.

Only in Mississippi does the negro outnumber the white man, and the next census may show this to be changed. Furthermore, in those states that have abandoned the poll tax the negro has demonstrated a remarkable inaptitude for voting. In Louisiana less than one per cent of the Negroes vote. In North Carolina the record is about the same. Other states that dropped the poll tax found that Negroes showed a minute increase, while the white vote rose astoundingly.

Poll Tax Discriminates Against Poor

As this paper has pointed out in the past, the poll tax is a powerful measure to prevent everyone in the low income group from voting. It is easy to say that $1.00 a year is not much of a tax, but it just doesn't work out that way. The average income for the farmers of Georgia amounts ti little more than $300 a year. This means approximately. $6.00 a week. The poll tax cannot be considered as one-three hundredth of the annual income; it must be considered as one-sixth of the weekly income, as it must be paid from the small amount of cash available at the time the tax comes due.

At the same time, many persons let a year or two elapse between registrations. As the tax is cumulative, the full sum for all years must be paid at one time. This means that a farmer, who has not voted for four years, must pay $4.00 tax, plus interest and other charges. Very rarely will a man want to spend two-thirds of his week's income for the privilege of voting. Not when flour, sugar, shoes, and other necessities must be bought.

Looking at the poll tax in this light, it can easily be seen that it is a distinct burden on a large part of Georgia's population.

Poll Tax Produces No Revenue

It has been often said that "a person who does not think enough of his schools to pay a dollar for their support does not deserve to vote." Georgia has never voted over 350,000. This number, translated into terms of dollars, means that the schools of the state derived only a small part of their income from poll taxes. $350,000 is a drop in the bucket when figured in the total expenses, and no one can deny that it would be far better to have all citizens taking an active interest in the affairs of the state than to let a small number contribute $1.00 each and vote.

Poll Tax Conducive To Bad Government

With so few citizens voting, it is a simple matter for unscrupulous public officials to pay the tax for persons that they can control. It is common knowledge in one county of Georgia that the sheriff each year pays for several hundred persons, enough to swing an election in his favor [illegible] been known to happen in Thomas [illegible]

the past, and the results were rather unsavory.

Many arguments can be cited against the poll tax, but, as far as this paper can determine, not a single reason that will hold water can be used in favor.

Eventually the poll tax, as a restrictive measure, will be abolished, and Georgia will benefit.

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Solons' Attack On Poll Taxes In South Fails

Constitution

Hatch Bill Rider Making Collection of Levy Illegal, Rejected

7-11-40

By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS.
Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, July 10.—Determined efforts on the part of western and eastern congressmen to attach a rider to the Hatch bill making it unlawful to collect poll taxes in Georgia and seven other southern states met with failure in the lower house today.

Backed by a sizeable group of supporters, Representative Lee E. Geyer, California Democrat, sought to have the poll tax rider incorporated in the bill. No sooner was the amendment offered than a half dozen southern members scrambled for recognition.

Representative John W. McCormack, Massachusetts Democrat, who was occupying the chair, recognized Representative Sam Hobbs, of Alabama, to make the point of order. Then the presiding officer sustained the parliamentary objection.

Climaxes Drive.

Offering of the amendment climaxed a drive in the house for some time to force legislation eliminating poll taxes.

Representative Geyer has organized a bloc built around this objective. After defeat of the amendment he announced the fight would be taken to the Democratic convention.

Besides Georgia the other southern states having poll taxes are Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, Texas, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

"The fight to abolish the poll tax in eight southern states now moves on to Chicago, where the Democratic party will hold its national convention," said Representative Geyer. 'Many organizations are urging the party to include a plank for the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The importance of swamping the resolutions committee with letters and telegrams on this point cannot be minimized.

"Those anxious to see poll taxes abolished are urged to write or wire Senator Robert F. Wagner."

Sustains Point.

Representative McCormack in sustaining the point of order declared that the amendment violated the constitutional rights of the individual states to make such regulations as they saw fit in determining the qualifications of voters.

Urging his amendment before the house, Geyer said:

"The percentage of voters to the total population for the year 1934 in Alabama was 10.15 per cent. The percentage of voters for the 40 states that charge no head tax as a prerequisite for voting was 31.24 per cent—10 as against 31. This is for the primary election.

"Now, let us look at some general election figures. In 1936 (a presidential election)—adult population.

Poll Tax States.

	Pct.
Virginia	25.7
Arkansas	18.5
Texas	26.2
South Carolina	14.1

Non-Poll Tax States.

	Pct.
West Virginia	92
Missouri	80
New Mexico	94
North Carolina	75

"About 64 per cent of the white voters in these states are disfranchised. Is this democracy? Can any member of this body who believes in our government refuse to support this amendment? Let's do our saving of democracy right here at home, or rather let's get it ourselves first.

"We have 78 representatives from these poll tax states. If we enforced our fourteenth amendment and cut down our vote as provided therein, do you know how many we would have from the poll tax states, only 13—13 instead of 78 by the 1936 figures.

"Even Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin are not more secure in tenure of office under their one-party system than is the representative from a one-party state if reinforced by the poll tax restrictions on the ballot.

"Our friend from Alabama asks us not to punish our colleagues. Now I do not blame any representative for not wanting the political equilibrium disturbed in his district, especially if he has been here so many years as to be chairman of his committee. I claim that no feudal lord was more secure behind his stone walls than the congressman fortified behind his poll tax barricade.

"The other 387 of us must consider labor, the unemployed, the slum dweller, the share cropper, and racial minorities, for these groups may reward or punish at the polls in our states.

Politically Astute.

"I am sure the politically astute will easily make the proper adjustment in his thinking and in his voting if such adjustments are necessary. Surely we can't be wavering as to our proper duty as between asking our colleagues to make such an adjustment, and the denying to this vast army of people the right to vote.

"They will tell you it is a local matter. Did they say that when they asked us to tax all the people for the benefit of the TVA?

"Were my people concerned when the high lord executioner of the WPA came out of Virginia, or the leader against the wage-hour law came from Georgia? Was it the concern of the people of Illinois when the state of Tennessee furnished the leader of the fight to kill the slum clearance program? Was it a local matter only when the impetus to weaken the National Labor Relations Act sprang from the 'cradle of democracy,' Virginia?

"Let the opponents of this amendment answer these questions before they say the poll tax is of local concern only. Let us have a real democracy here in the United States. Let us give people the right to adjust their wrongs in the American way—at the ballot box—so there will be no temptation to settle them some other way. How long before the trodden worm will finally turn?

"Let's cast our vote for democracy and scuttle autocracy."

AGAINST THE POLL TAX

Editor Constitution: I have just read Ralph McGill's article deploring the fact that so few people go to the polls and vote. Mr. McGill is an able writer, and I certainly enjoy and approve most of his editorials. But I am surprised that he doesn't explain just why there are so few voters.

Certain interests believe that the only way to keep the ballot pure is to scrap certain parts of the American Constitution and disqualify the poorer citizens from voting. This is done by the unconstitutional device named the poll tax.

It is as hard for a tenant farmer or cropper to raise a dollar or two for poll tax at times as it would be for a city laborer to raise a hundred dollars. Is it any wonder that we get men in office at times who violate every principle of justice—who wallow in graft and openly cater to the criminal element?

7-10-40

There are others who refuse to vote because of this poll tax—who believe they are being robbed of their constitutional rights by such an unconstitutional act.

To keep the poorer citizens from registering, it is required that they pay all past-due poll tax. After the average city or rural worker has paid the taxes of his grocer, butcher, furniture dealer, clothier, barber, filling station operator, automobile dealer, gas and light dealers, transportation companies, theaters, etc., etc., how is he going to dig up those back illegal taxes? He doesn't! And that is the reason the criminal class and the middle and upper class alone elect public officials in Georgia.

CARL F. MORGAN.
Hapeville, Ga.

8 States Have Poll Tax Laws

Daily world
7-27-40
Atlanta, Ga.

3 Out of Every 4 Can't Vote In the South

WASHINGTON — (ANP) Charging that John N. Garner, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Theodore G. Bilbo, "Gene" Cox, Martin Dies, Howard Smith, and Tom Connally are typical Southern legislators who have opposed every progressive democratic trend in national legislation, a spokesman for the National Negro Congress declared this week that the results of the activity of these men in Congress are poll tax laws and other restrictions which keep three out of every four citizens in the South from voting.

Eight states, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, have laws requiring the payment of a poll tax of from $1 to $3 a year, it was pointed out. In four of these states the tax is cumulative for periods of from three to 39 years, records show, and in Mississippi a voter may be required to pay amounts of from $2 to $117 before he will be allowed to vote. In other states the range is from $1 to $39. The extreme poverty of the average southern Negro family makes the poll tax an effective bar to voting, it is further emphasized.

Poll tax laws were enacted after the Reconstruction Period, it was revealed, with the express purpose to disfranchise Negro citizens. In the eight states named in 1930 there were more than 3,185,000 Negroes of voting age, and less than one per cent of them voted, it was authoritatively shown. The poll tax also has disfranchised the majority of white voters, more than 6,000,000 of whom are denied the right to vote on the same grounds..

Author Of Anti-Poll Tax Measure Moves For Action In Congress

Would Take Bill From Committee

Daily World

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)— A resolution calling upon the Rules Committee to grant a rule for consideration of the anti-poll tax bill, H. R. 7534, was introduced at Thursday's session of Congress by Lee E. Geyer (Dem. Cal.). Prohibiting the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting at federal elections, the anti-poll tax bill has not been acted upon by the House Judiciary Committee of which Hatton Sumners (Dem. Texas) is chairman. Hearings on H. R. 7534 were held by a Sub-Committee of the Judiciary in March, April and May of this year.

7-31-40

Atlanta

In eight Southern states, payment of a poll tax is prerequisite for voting: Alabama, Arkansas Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Result has been the number of adult citizens exercising their right to vote has been cut down to less than one-quarter of the potential voters.

In the 1936 Presidential election the percentage of adult citizens who voted in the poll tax states averaged 24 per cent compared with the average of 66 per cent for the 40 non-poll states. In the average poll-tax district for 1936 only 32,400 votes were cast. In the non poll tax states for that same year an average of 119,500 votes were cast in each district election.

The Geyer Bill would make it illegal to require payment of a poll tax in connection with the election of President, Vice-president, and members of Congress.

Congressman Geyer's Resolution if favorably reported on by the Rules Committee, will bring the anti-poll tax bill to the floor of the House. If no action is taken by Rules Committee within 7 legislative days, Mr. Geyer plans to file a petition requiring 218 signatures to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill.

7-31-40

"Congressional action," said Mr Geyer, " is necessary if we are to get rid of this unfair, unjust, and undemocratic tax. All states which were able to remove the poll tax requirement for voting through their own legislative enactments have done so: North Carolina in 1920, Pennsylvania in 1933, Louisiana in 1934 and Florida in 1938. In the remaining 8 poll tax states the provision has been 'frozen' into the State Constitution and can only be removed by an act of Congress outlawing such statutes."

Gaining in Citizenship

Call 7-30-40

Negroes took a part in the primary Tuesday that was most heartening. For years they have doubtlessly swallowed the politicians' bland explanation "The time has not yet come for you people." This primary they voted and they ran for office like real citizens. It is a change for the better which will profit everybody. It never was wholesome for a mass of voters to be putty in the hands of designing politicians because an ignorant vote cancels an intelligent one.

However Negroes stumble in their beginning efforts, they make a start when they vote and run for office like other people. Seventeen candidates on the primary ballot is a record, a promise of the day when through hard won advances in citizenship, they can contribute to the common good as they have been permittted to share it.

Candidates for elective offices get the most attention, but the relatively obscure candidates for party committeemen and committeewomen are the real underpinning of the Negro's political future. Even though they lose, these men and women who sought election to the party county committees, are notice to the world that Negroes want a share of government and will qualify for it in the regular way. A little more of this and the day will have passed when Negro voters are the practice material of whites in politics as the poor are the clinical material for budding medicos.

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Author Of Anti-Poll Tax Measure Moves For Action In Congress

Would Take Bill From Committee

Daily world

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)— A resolution calling upon the Rules Committee to grant a rule for consideration of the anti-poll tax bill, H. R. 7534, was introduced at Thursday's session of Congress by Lee E. Geyer (Dem. Cal.). Prohibiting the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting at federal elections, the anti-poll tax bill has not been acted upon by the House Judiciary Committee of which Hatton Sumners (Dem. Texas) is chairman. Hearings on H. R. 7534 were held by a Sub-Committee of the Judiciary in March, April and May of this year.

7-31-40

In eight Southern states, payment of a poll tax is prerequisite for voting: Alabama, Arkansas Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Result has been the number of adult citizens exercising their right to vote has been cut down to less than one-quarter of the potential voters.

In the 1936 Presidential election the percentage of adult citizens who voted in the poll tax states averaged 24 per cent compared with the average of 66 per cent for the 40 non-poll states. In the average poll-tax district for 1936 only 32,400 votes were cast. In the non poll tax states for that same year an average of 119,500 votes were cast in each district election.

The Geyer Bill would make it illegal to require payment of poll tax in connection with the election of President, Vice-president, and members of Congress.

Congressman Geyer's Resolution if favorably reported on by the Rules Committee, will bring the anti-poll tax bill to the floor of the House. If no action is taken by Rules Committee within 7 legislative days, Mr. Geyer plans to file a petition requiring 218 signatures to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill.

7-31-40

"Congressional action," said Mr Geyer, " is necessary if we are to get rid of this unfair, unjust, and undemocratic tax. All states which were able to remove the poll tax requirement for voting through their own legislative enactments have done so: North Carolina in 1920, Pennsylvania in 1933, Louisiana in 1934 and Florida in 1938. In the remaining 8 poll tax states the provision has been 'frozen' into the State Constitution and can only be removed by an act of Congress outlawing such statutes."

Gaining in Citizenship

Call 8-1-40

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Kansas City Mo

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POLITICAL 1940 GENERAL
SUFFRAGE

Strengthening Democracy

Florida newspapers are expressing elation over the fact that a record-breaking total of 726,480 Floridians are qualified to vote this year. The increase is attributed in part to a growing population, and to the fact that 1940 is a presidential election year with great interest being taken also in races for statewide offices, particularly for governor and senator.

The Tampa Daily Times, however sees still another reason for this unprecedented registration, and that is "the 1937 Legislature's repeal of the undemocratic poll tax requirement for voting."

As a result of this repeal, the Tampa paper says, "Florida's democracy has been strengthened by the tremendous increase in registration, not only because it is more difficult to corrupt a large vote than a small one, but also because more citizens are taking an active interest in their government and the election results will reflect more completely than ever before the consensus of its entire citizenry. Florida may or may not get any better government as a result but it has already become a stronger democracy when that many citizens prepare themselves to express their opinions."

If Alabama had registration in proportion to that in Florida, we would have around a million persons qualified to vote, instead of less than 500,000, as the figure probably is now. With a ratio of voters to population like that in Florida, Jefferson County would have far more than a hundred thousand voters instead of the 61,597 who are entitled to vote in next Tuesday's election.

5-2-40

Of course, those opposing poll tax reform in Alabama could raise the argument that mere numbers of voters do not mean improved democracy. That cry has always been raised against extensions of the franchise. It was used in the early history of the nation when restrictions were lifted that confined the right to vote to those who owned property. The cry was raised by opponents of woman suffrage. Making it easier to vote, has been the argument, lowers the quality of voting.

Perhaps it does. Lightening the poll tax burden in Alabama might lead to doubling the white voting population in the state. Those 500.000 white adults who might thus be admitted to the ballot box would probably not measure up to the mental or social level of those who have been able to meet the poll tax requirements. The average level of intelligence in the voters might be lowered. How much no one could tell, but it would probably be very slight.

But what if the quality of voting was lowered somewhat? Would not that injury be more than offset by the increased respect for democratic principles? Democracy is hurt more by restricting the ballot than by extending it.

Florida, as *The Tampa Daily Times* says, may or may not get any better government through this growth in the number of voters, but Florida is a better democracy as a result of the growth. And in the course of time, if there is anything at all to the idea that a people are capable of governing themselves, a better democracy should lead to better government. And that truth applies to Alabama as well as to Florida.

END OF POLL TAX URGED BY WOMEN

All Factions Support Plan —Voters' League Elects Miss Wells Again

Juriets

The League of Women Voters ending its biennial convention yesterday, re-elected Miss Marguerite M. Wells of Minneapolis president, adopted planks to be submitted to the political conventions and mapped out a program for its own members in sessions at the Hotel Commodore. Miss Wells presided and before adjourning the meeting introduced the new executives, who include among the directors Mrs. Francis Donaldson of Tuckahoe, N. Y., now president of the New York State League.

The planks prepared for the political parties repeat two points which the league has continually stressed: qualified personnel in government service and scientific tariff-making.

In planning its own work, which several delegates criticised as embracing too wide a field, the convention omitted one item calling for support of Federal aid to education. The topic received wide discussion, with the opposition maintaining that the receipt of funds did not guarantee improved educational standards.

High Levels in Small States

Some States with the smallest resources were said to have higher scholarship levels than those in which larger funds were available but poorly administered. Among opinions favoring Federal aid was one from the California delegation, arguing that with huge migration between the States Federal aid was essential.

Support of abolition of the poll tax was one of the new items adopted, with both Southern and Northern delegates speaking in favor of including it. The movement for the proposal was led by Mrs. Carl Stafford, president of the Tennessee league, and Mrs. William T. Gayle Jr. of Atlanta.

Mrs. Richard Field of Weston, Mass., who was elected first vice president, presided over a discussion on government and its operation, with a program of eleven items, including opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, opposition to discrimination in public employment based on sex or marital status, and organization of State Legislatures to promote efficiency and responsibility.

In the discussion on this last point Mrs. Herbert Knott Smith of Farmington, Conn., a member of the Connecticut House of Representatives, said:

"It is absolutely necessary to bring about greater efficeincy and responsibility in State Legislatures.

Discussion About Juries

In discussing a measure calling for improved methods of selection and procedure of juries, which also passed, the delegates agreed that juries need much more for their improvement than simply the inclusion of women among their members.

Another debate centered on a plank offered by the department of economic welfare urging "improved conditions of work, wage and hours, where substandard," and intended to include both men and women. The plank was passed on the contention that it would be inconsistent to work for the welfare of one sex only.

Opposition to interstate trade barriers, laws guaranteeing the right to bargain collectively, the manager plan for local government, suffrage for the District of Columbia and a full program of social welfare measures were adopted.

New officers are secretary, Mrs Paul Eliel, Stanford University Calif.; treasurer, Mrs. Walter T Fisher, Winnetka, Ill., and directors, Mrs. George Gellhorn, St Louis; Mrs. Ruric N. Smith, Tulsa Okla., and Mrs. Elliott R. Corbett Portland, Ore.

Suits In Courts Planned

NAACP Counsel To Probe Cases In Several States

Journal 12

NEW YORK.—A campaign using every resource of the courts, the federal Department of Justice, and public opinion is being launched actively by the NAACP to guarantee colored voters in the south the right to the franchise, it was announced here this week.

The campaign is a result of the activities of many of its branches in the southern states dating back a year and includes the spectacular fights in Miami, Fla., and Greenville, S. C., in which the Ku Klux Klan was defied.

The association's Birmingham, Ala., branch has also been active together with numerous units in Texas.

VIOLATIONS CITED

The NAACP barrage will include action by the Department of Justice, which has been consulted almost continuously since July.

The legal staff has forwarded steadily a stream of memoranda, briefs, and affidavits to the FBI on violations of the race's right to vote in the South and has cited both to the FBI and to the attorney general's office the general statutes which have been violated.

In addition to urging action by the attorney general's office, the NAACP plans to bring criminal and civil suits in the federal courts, and the ground work for several of these already has been laid in Texas and will be instituted in the next 30 days.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP will leave New York shortly for investigation of primary cases in Texas, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The court actions planned in Texas have special significance this year because of the candidacy of Vice-President John N. Garner for the presidency, and the campaign for reelection of Senator Tom Connally, foe of the anti-lynching bill. Congressman Martin Dies, who has refused persistently to investigate the Ku Klux Klan and mob violence, also hails from Texas.

ACTIVE IN RICHMOND

In Birmingham, the association's chapter has successfully obtained the right to register and vote thru numerous court actions.

In Richmond, Va., the NAACP branch working with other organizations over a period of two years, obtained the registration of 2,000 colored citizens who recently were the decisive factor in the defeat of Mayor J. Fulmer Bright.

Carthage, N. C., News
March 21, 1940

NEGRO BLOC HAS POWERFUL HOLD ON CONGRESSMEN

Through Influence in the North They Hold Club Over Southern Members Also

WANT PRIMARIES OPEN

By H. E. C. (RED BUCK) BRYANT

A recent editorial in Beasley's Weekly on the desire of 4,000 Negroes in Charlotte for the privilege of voting in primary elections is significant. The prod for it comes from the North where the colored voter has developed into an important factor in close contests.

Some of these days Southern people will realize just what is happening in Sates where race and color makes no difference at the ballot box.

That the Charlotte plan will be proposed in other North Carolina communities no one conversant with the program of colored leaders of the North, East and West can doubt.

For several years cases have been coming to the Supreme court from Texas where Negroes demand that they be allowed to vote in the Democratic primaries, but their demands have been ignored.

In the past, in the South, colored voters supported Republican candidates in national elections wherever they were permitted to vote. But in the North they have turned to the Democrats.

As a rule masses of Negro voters follow their leaders and vote in blocs. It is estimated that Charlotte has approximately 20,000 persons of voting age. About 4,000 of that number may be colored. During many years, in city elections, citizens of the Queen City have been divided into two very aggressive factions. In old contests over prohibition there were battles royal. The town was divided about fifty-fifty on that issue. Now suppose that 4,000 organized Negro voters, succeeded in voting in Charlotte. They will hold the balance of power as their brothers are doing in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and other states.

Demand Opening of Primaries

One of the planks of the platform of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls for the privilege of participating in primaries.

What if North Carolina said to all the Negroes of voting age in the State, "Yes, you may vote in the primaries—Democratic and Republican." That would add about 230,000 to the total vote in a closely contested election. If in the coming gubernatorial election that many new voters should appear at the ballot boxes and vote in blocs the candidate supported would have a very decided advantage over all others.

In the last Senatorial contest in Oklahoma Senator Thomas won by about 50,000 votes. Negro newspapers claimed that 60,000 of their race supported him, thereby making possible his success. They also claimed credit for the nomination of Senator Barkley in Kentucky over "Happy" Chandler. Disaffection of Negro voters in Pennsylvania and Ohio in 1938, it is contended, turned those states over to the Republicans, resulting in the elections of Governors Arthur H. James and John W. Bricker, Republicans.

Feeling Their Oats

That the Negro voters of the North and West are feeling their oats no party worker, Democrat or Republican, from any of the states where the vote is considerable will deny.

That the Association for the Advancement of Colored people, with headquarters in New York, and branches throughout the nation, has a club over Southern party leaders Democratic leaders here concede. Year after year the threat becomes greater. Just let a test vote come in either house of Congress and the influence of the powerful Negro bloc in the North is manifested.

Not many years ago Southern congressmen could get Democratic colleagues from Northern and Western states to leave the legislative halls on Negro measures, but that is not the case today. Every man is carefully watched, and, if he ducks, he may suffer defeat at the next election.

I once met an Indiana Democrat leaving the House to avoid a record vote on a matter of importance to colored voters. I asked him why he did not remain in and vote against it. "Why," said he, "I won my election by less than 100 votes, and 118 Negroes in my township supported me. They may beat me for running but it is the best I can do."

Dreadful Things Happened

North Carolinians who lived and observed during the fusion days in North Carolina know that when "bad" Negroes were in control dreadful things happened. They also know that "good" negroes suffered for the acts of the others. That is where the trouble comes. Several days ago a wild negro, an avowed communist, appeared before a Senate committee here to support the anti-lynching bill. He called Southern Senators names, and was impudent. The witness said Vice President Garner was "evil" and charged the President with helping to scuttle the anti-lynching bill. He denounced the Ku Klux Klan. He was permitted to appear, and assert that Southern members of Congress were "stooges for the landlords and mill owners who degrade white womanhood by refusing to pay them a living wage."

Supporters of the bill told him that he was hurting the cause of those who sincerely advocated the enactment of the pending measure but he did not mind that, he was having his say.

The arrogance of unwise leaders, in the North as well as the South, is brewing friction between the races. An editorial in The Afro-American, a leading Negro paper of the nation, says:

Up in St. Paul, Minnesota, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell spoke to an audience of citizens interested in improving racial relations. During the same meeting, Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., executive secretary of the St. Paul Urban League, read a report of the year's activities of that organization.

A St. Paul daily, reporting the meeting, stated that applause greeted both speakers, but that most of it went to Clarence Mitchell at the end of his report.

That the eloquent and forceful Congressman Mitchell knows how to stir an audience goes without saying. It is therefore all the more interesting to note the growing response of our audiences to consideration of cold facts and figures touching their daily life and struggle.

Clarence Mitchell's report showed that 778 families in St. Paul, or about seven out of every ten colored families in that city, are on direct or WPA relief.

It showed that even in that city, far removed from the deep South, there is job discrimination and the lack of vocational guidance in the schools.

Here was something that any audience could take to heart and translate into the simple matter of daily bread. Here was something that is beginning to hit the spot wherever audiences gather.

That many Southern cities are worried about Negroes on relief rolls one conversant with the facts knows. Leading Negro papers are constantly hammering discriminations, North and South. They are making an impression on a large bloc in Congress.

"10,000 women stormed a government agency to get 2,000 application blanks which may result in a few hundred jobs during the next twelve months.

It was certainly a dramatic refutation of statements we hear occasionally that citizens would rather be on relief than have real jobs.

But it was more than that.

The bitterness with which they fought to get those application blanks indicates a grim desperation which is becoming more and more apparent every day.

Everywhere men and women are showing increased dissatisfaction with work relief. They are chafing at the prospect of having to continue this kind of thing . What they want, as the Washington incident demonstrates, are steady jobs upon which they can count and plan, and not the spirit-breaking uncertainty of work relief.

As matter of fact, this very shifting and uncertain economic uncertainty of the New Deal is getting on the nerves of the people. They want to get settled and going. Nobody can chart just now where we are going and when the present situation will end.

How long will this uncertainty last? How long will labor uncertainty stall progress? How long will police have to quell riots?

One thing is certain. There is a growing and accumulative restlessness which cannot continue if we are to preserve American democracy.

Geyer Poll Tax Measure About To Die On Shelf

Petition To Force Vote Gets 12 Names—It Needs 218

By BEN GRANT
Associated Press Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17.—Only 12 House members have signed a petition demanding a vote on legislation to outlaw the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections in the first 10 days they could have done so.

To accomplish its purpose, the document must get 218 signatures, a majority of the House membership. Representative Geyer (D), California, filed it with the speaker Aug. 7 and issued a call for signers.

The measure is aimed at the poll tax in eight Southern States: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. On their own accord, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida have abolished the voting levy.

Geyer's bill would make it a Federal offense for any official to require the payment of a poll tax as a condition of the right to vote in a presidential or congressional election.

Southern congressmen promptly declared war on the plan, branding it an attempt to invade States' rights. Chuckling over the slow response to Geyer's petition, they asserted this weekend the bill would die on the judiciary committee's shelf.

But Geyer was not dismayed. He wrote a letter to House colleagues reminding them the petition was awaiting signatures, and added: "Largely because of the poll tax, 75 per cent of the adult citizens in these States (the Southern eight) are denied access to the ballot."

The petition appeared when a judiciary subcommittee failed to act on the Geyer bill. If a sufficient number of signatures were obtained, the bill would be taken from both the judiciary and rules committees and brought directly to the floor of the House for a vote.

The graying Californian, a former high school teacher, is running a one-man campaign on Capitol Hill. Day after day, he addresses the House briefly or inserts some statement on poll taxes in the Congressional Record.

He has started publishing a monthly organ called the "Poll Tax Repealer." The August issue, the third to appear, called on organizations supporting the bill to "develop a letter-writing, telegram-sending button-holing, lobbying drive to get the anti-poll tax bill before Congress."

It said Representative Hobbs (D), Alabama, a member of the judiciary committee, was "in Congress on the strength of only 10 per cent of the votes of the adult citizens in his district." On the Geyer bill, Hobbs had told the House, "do not kill democracy in America and the last vestige of States' rights by seeking to punish those with whom you disagree as to how they run their internal affairs."

One after another, Southern congressmen have taken the floor to condemn the Geyer bill and to chide the author for "meddling" with the affairs of Southern States. Every speech draws a reply from Geyer.

The Californian declares the Republican platform upheld his views in two places. One was the assertion that "universal suffrage must be made effective for the negro citizen," and the other a plank declaring against using "the taxing power as an instrument of punishment or to secure objectives not otherwise obtainable under existing law."

He appealed to the Democratic resolutions committee at Chicago for a direct endorsement of his bill. The proposal was rejected.

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SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

Bristol, Va., News-Bulletin
April 11, 1940

Negroes and Voting

The statement of W. A. Lucas, chairman of the State Board of Elections, that Negroes who meet the qualifications for voting must be registered if they present themselves for registration is no more than a statement of law and justice with regard to the voting of Negroes in North Carolina.

The qualifications for voting in North Carolina are qualifications which all men, white and black, must meet. There are no qualifications applying to Negroes which do not also apply to white men. Nor does there seem anywhere any threat today of racial antagonisms sharpened around the ballot boxes. The sad truth is that wherever Negro voting has caused trouble in recent years, the real trouble has been caused generally not by the Negroes, but by corrupt white men who herded them to the polls, taking advantage of the poverty of ignorant Negroes to create situations from which trouble might arise for all white men and all Negroes.

If the laws against corruption in elections are enforced there will be little reason to fear the voting of Negroes in North Carolina. Unfortunately most Negroes are very poor. To the shame of us all, after 75 years of freedom, too many Negroes are inadequately educated. There are always dangers to decency in democracy—and to democracy itself—where many men are ignorant and poor.

Safety from "black rule," which Southerners in the past honestly and desperately feared, will be in the future better assured by protection from corruption than by the attempted disfranchisement of a race regardless of the other qualifications of its members. It has been unconstitutional for 75 years to disfranchise a Negro merely because he is a Negro. The problem of the South is to give him a security and a training which will give him a value in his citizenshp. And to protect black men and white men from the political corruptionists who are ca-

less of the welfare of both in undertaking to herd poverty and ignorance in their immoral intent upon power.—Raleigh News and Observer.

Women Voters Back Fight On Poll Tax

NEW YORK, May 29 (CNA)—Two Southern white women, both from states where the poll tax keeps the vast majority of voters from the polls, led a successful fight for the adoption of a resolution denouncing the anti-democratic levy at the final session of the 40th annual convention of the League of Women Voters at Hotel Commodore here.

The resolution called for inclusion in the League legislative program for next year of a decision to fight for repeal of the poll tax bar on voting in state and federal elections.

It was introduced by Mrs. Carl Stafford, of Knoxville, Tenn., president of the Tennessee League, but was defeated by a majority of one in the League's program committee.

Sponsors of the resolution led by Mrs. Stafford then took their fight to the convention floor where a vote of two-thirds was required to bring the resolution out for consideration.

In the fight to bring the resolution out for a test, Mrs. Stafford was assisted by Mrs. Margaret Gayle of Atlanta, Ga., and by Mrs. John Thompson of Norman, Okla., Georgia, like Tennessee, is a poll tax state.

Projection of the resolution on to the convention floor provoked heated discussion and so much support that its foes in the program committee did not even speak against it. When the vote was taken women were lined up six deep at the microphones to speak for the resolution and against the poll tax.

The resolution was adopted without a record vote against it.

Would Outlaw Lily White Primaries

Hatch's Measure Would Affect Federal Elections

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A bill, which would outlaw disfranchisement on account of race, creed, or color in the nomination and election of Federal officers, was introduced in the Senate last week by Senator Carl A. Hatch, Democrat, of New Mexico.

The purpose of the bill is to remedy existing defects in the law pertaining to the nomination and election of Federal officers by denouncing as Federal offenses dishonest acts which affect the vote upon Federal officers, including the president, the vice president, representatives and senators.

It specifically provides that it shall be unlawful for any person "by force, bribery, reward, menace, threat, intimidation, trick, or knowingly, willfully, or fraudulently to hinder, delay, prevent, or obstruct any voter from doing any lawful act required to be done to qualify him to vote or from lawfully voting at any election."

"WHITE PRIMARY"

Inasmuch as colored people are effectively disfranchised in the South through the means of the "white primary" and the arbitrary refusal of registration officials to permit them to register to vote, it is believed that obstacles to their voting in primaries where United States Senators and Repersentatives are to be nominated will be removed, if the bill offered by Senator Hatch is enacted.

The proposed Federal elections law is the result of a study made by the American Bar Association. It provides in substance that an election held under the laws of any State or Territory or under the laws of the United States for the nomination or election of any Representative or Senator, any elector of or direct vote for the President or Vice President.

$5,000 FINE

The punishment provided for violation of its provisions is a fine of not more than $5,000 or imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or both.

None of the provisions of the proposed law would apply to State and local primaries and elections. The basis of the system of control provided in the bill rests chiefly upon its relation to elections at which Federal officers are chosen.

It is the opinion of the Committee on Federal Election Laws, appointed by the Criminal Law Council of the American Bar Association, that the Supreme Court would sustain the proposed act as constitutional. It took the view that the election process commences at the time a candidate first begins to seek nomination and continues until the votes in the general election have been cast and counted.

Poll Tax Makes South The No. 1 Problem

Dear Editor:

The South is supposed to be, and is, our No. 1 problem for adjustment. Why?

It is because they (the people) have no voice in the selection of our representatives in Washington.

Why do our leaders want to violate the Constitution of our country by taxing the people, but giving them no representation in our national or state governments? If it were possible for the farmer, the laborer, and all the horny-handed sons of toil to cast a vote, the war-mongers, the Judas Iscariots, who sell out to plunderbund, would be relegated to the trash heap or perhaps would go hang themselves.

It is a noteworthy fact that the South, especially the states that make it necessary to pay from one to three dollars before one can vote, are represented at Washington, as well as in the capitals of their own states, by men who do not care a curse for the common people. The law requiring the payment of a sum of money before we can vote just don't sound like equal rights to all, after special favors to a few have blocked the road to any progress for anything that might help to save democracy and the poor.

The capitalist press is always against the interest of the worker, and pretends to predict a collapse of our school system if the poll tax were eliminated. That is pure rot. They can always find a way to levy a tax on us for a war we don't want or some bureau that sucks the life blood from the people and are worthless except to force their masters into office at a big salary.

8-1-40

There is not one good thing that can be said in favor of the poll tax. The poor have to buy bread with their dollars and our leaders know it, hence, keep them poor and on bread and water. In fact the rich have us licking out of their hands for a crumb; poor blind guides leaders of the blind, can't we see we are headed for Armageddon? Can't our leaders see that their kingdom is about to end?

Jehovah will deliver us from our oppressors.

H. R. HAM.

Lake Village,
Arkansas.

Ask Willkie To Back South's Poll Tax Ban

WASHINGTON (CNA) — John P. Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress, this week challenged Wendell Willkie, Republican nominee for President, to make good the GOP platform pledge of "universal suffrage" for the Negro pepple by supporting the Geyer Bill to outlaw the poll tax.

Calling attention to the fact that the Republican platform promises "universal suffrage," Davis wired Willkie that the Geyer bill will be proposed as an amendment to the Hatch "clean politcs" bill and urged Willkie to use his influence to win full Republican support for the effort to attach the poll tax repeal measure to the Hatch Act. He told the Republican candidate that "no better opportunity offers itself to the Republicans to show proof that they mean the promises to the Negro people in their platform than to support the Geyer bill.

Now Is the Time to Prepare

Direct information and events give ground for the expectation that voting by Negroes will increase at an accelerated rate in the states which have kept them disfranchised. In northern Alabama Negroes were urged to vote in a local election. In Miami over the threats of the Klan Negroes registered a few months ago. In Texas there is a steady attack on the all-white primary.

These events, proving that disfranchisement no longer completely disfranchises, are supported by direct information brought to this paper by a farm adviser who knows the South. He says that the white owners, disappointed with returns from land, realize at long last that conditions of the workers must be improved to make business succeed.

The admission is significant. A white southerner defies custom when he puts the welfare of the community above doing harm to the Negro. Under the new order of things by trial and error, the South will work out its salvation. The ballot is the first step. It unlocks the door to all manner of reforms. On the heels of voting will come one standard of wage. With equal money in hand, Negroes will buy housing and everything else and profits will rise.

Slavery could not be destroyed by fiat of law. It took seventy-five years of disfranchisement, segregation and race prejudice to convince the more alert that society has been on the wrong course. But to overturn the old system there must be more than a few Negroes voting and a few white men realizing that good business is indissolubly bound up with a wholesome community life.

The time is ripe for Negroes everywhere and especially in the South to realize what the ballot means. In spite of skills inherited from their craftsmen fathers, and education acquired, they do not get equal opportunity to work though as consumers they spend every dollar they make in this country, and are entitled to an exchange of favors. The door of opportunity has not swung open to them, because the ballot, the key which unlocks the door, has been lacking.

Negroes can hasten the day of their voting like other citizens do. They can learn how to cast a ballot while they wait for the chance to put it into practice. At their freedom, though unprepared they were given the right to vote to save themselves from being legislated back into slavery. But there is no excuse for their being unready to vote when the time comes again. They have intelligence, experience and even organization enough to teach all how to vote.

Negro churches can "render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's" by teaching their communities the worth of the ballot. Dr. L. K. Williams, president of the National Baptist Convention, held a high party position in 1936. Good as far as it goes! It proves that politics has a place in the life of churchmen, but not good enough. There should have been a program. Churches and churchmen when they take a hand in politics must, if they would serve mankind, teach voting to all. Unless the churches help Negroes to vote, in effect they accept disfranchisement.

The Elks conduct an oratorical contest, the Constitution its theme. It would be more practical to invite the young people to discuss the means by which Negroes can exercise their constitutional rights, and teach them voting.

The women's clubs do a deal of charity, charity not needed if the Negro's industrial chance was equal. Helping enfranchise the race is the short road to the cure of the present distresses.

Most of all the political clubs and politicians among Negroes should educate all in voting. At present foolishly they try for partisan ends, failing to see that only as they raise all Negroes have they the leverage that will lift themselves. The Negroes registering in the South and increasing their vote there are real patriots as well as staunch race men. Any one of them is worth a handful of the so-called leaders who strut their importance each four years in Convention and do nothing to build up the vote even of the party they claim to love.

Social movements have their strength directly in proportion as they are from the hearts of the people. After all it is well that obscure Negroes spontaneously are regaining the ballot and that white men with no avowed social philosophies are sensing that universal suffrage makes for good business. The return of the ballot to the Negro is certain. The practical thing for him to do is to get ready now so he can use it intelligently when it comes.

Just One Little Vote?

The person who refuses to pay his poll tax for the privilege of voting because "my one little vote would do no good" very often underestimates the possible value of his small, single vote. In Jefferson County local races one or two extra votes for a given candidate in each box in the county could have changed the outcome of several important primary races.

But even in a presidential year, if you happen to live in the right state, your vote might become much more important than you might imagine, not in Alabama where the Democratic nominee will get such a whopping majority, of course, but in states where the vote is close.

Dr. John C. Stewart, of Princeton University, points out that New Hampshire's four electoral votes swung into the Roosevelt columns by a bare majority, and that 1,910 individual votes swinging to Landon could have changed it. And 2,000 votes in a whole state is chicken feed in a presidential election. Extra hard work by the New Hampshire Republican organization could easily have changed 2,000 votes from Roosevelt to Landon in the state of New Hampshire in 1936.

In 1884 only 575 New York voters have changed the result of a presidential election! If 575 Cleveland voters had swung over to Blaine in New York, Blaine would have received the Empire State's 36 electoral votes and thus would have won the election and the course of American political history would have been changed.

Just one little vote? Why your one little vote, with the votes of several friends, might some day decide a city or county election of the greatest importance.

The sovereign voter may feel at times that his ballot is a hollow privilege, but little votes, when there are enough of them, can make or break statesmen and demagogues, change history, put on or avoid taxes.

There are, in a democracy, few possessions that are more valuable to the individual than his one, single vote.

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
October 15, 1940

Smears, Eggs—and Voters

AFTER loud repercussions of public opinion Democratic National Chairman Edward J. Flynn disowned the scurrilous circular which sought to smear Wendell Willkie, through his German ancestry, with a baseless anti-Negro charge.

~~But~~ Boss Flynn's statement made no frank, direct, outspoken apology to Mr. Willkie. Instead it stressed the "disservice to our great President and party" and contrived to get in vague hints of alleged "vile" campaign material "put out by our opponents." Regrets—with acid therein! And straightway revealed is yet another Democratic smear-pamphlet, approved and in circulation, containing similar contemptible stuff designed to connect Mr. Willkie with Negro-haters! Boss Flynn bids fair to become so busy disowning smears that he will have scant time for anything but the "disservices" that are already inflicting serious damage on the Roosevelt campaign.

American voters, by and large, resent smears—just as they resent the egg-throwing and rock-hurling to which they have not been accustomed in Presidential campaigns.

Such things are bound to remind them sharply of the political machines that are openly backing the Roosevelt third-term ambition, machines that have always controlled the votes of their faithful without curbing methods or manners.

Smears and eggs don't stick to Mr. Willkie. On the contrary, they rebound significantly to their sources—which may well worry Boss Flynn. For they ought to make, if American fairness and decency are what we think they are, extra thousands of Willkie votes.

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America's Voteless millions

What Do Northern Negro Voters Intend To Do About This Situation; How They Can Help; Southern Democracy Is the Backbone of New Dealism

BY EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C. — This observer recently called attention to the fact that the Democratic South, the backbone of New Dealism, persists in its traditional mistreatment of the nearly 9,000,000 Colored men, women and children of the South, withholding from them the most elementary rights of democracy, and visiting upon them indignities comparable only to the brutalitarian tactics of Europe's totalitarian dictators.

Enumerated among these fundamental rights as American citizens were Disfranchisiement, Jim-Crowism, denial of Civil Liberties, and those numberless techniques employed to keep them intimidated while cherished liberties are trampled underfoot and their spiritual morale crushed.

Now comes the April issue of Equality Magazine, with an article by Helen Burlin, "America's Voteless Millions," discussing this same subject. So important is the article that it was reprinted in the Congressional Record of April 8th.

4-19-40

Miss Burlin calls attention to the fact that in our country, despite the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, millions of citizens are robbed of their right to vote These millions live in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia Many of them are Negroes, but the majority are white.

In these states during the Presidential election of 1936, she states, only 2,679,473 out of an adult population of 11,606,046 cast their ballots A bare quarter of the population voted to elect the Chief Executive of the nation.

"How was this accomplished?" Very simply, Miss Burlin writes:

"Each citizen in the Southern section has to buy a privilege which elsewhere is taken for granted — that of exercising his constitutional right to vote. The State sells the right by levying a Poll Tax. Those who register and pay may vote. Those who can't, don't."

Miss Burlin tells the whole story of disfranchisement and the resultant manifestations of outrage and oppression. The Poll Tax, she says, is reminiscent of the head tax of medieval England. It was resurrected, not during the turbulent reconstruction era, as many think, but by white supremacy conventions in the 1890's and 1900's. Ostensibly to disfranchise the Negro, their real purpose, she says, was to break the back of the Populists. In the Populist movement, poor farmers, White and Negro, had found their voice and were threatening the political hold of the Democratic machines in various Southern States.

Together with disfranchisement of the bulk of Negroes through intimidation and various tests, and of many poor whites through residence requirements which operate against tenant farmers and migrant families, the Poll Tax, she states, is effective in keeping the percentage of the population which votes very small indeed.

An illustration of how the scheme works is told in the case of an average farm family in Mississippi of three persons of voting age with an annual income below $100. "The right to vote," she writes, "would cost that family three times $2.00 or $6.00 — six percent of its income. How many households even in fortunate circumstances could afford an investment of these proportions for the sake of exercising the privilege of citizenship? In Alabama and Georgia, for example, the Poll Tax is cumulative. If a citizen hasn't registered for several years, or has lost his certificates, the cost of voting mounts into a tidy sum.

A Member inquired: "What Member of this House would pay the same percentage of his income for the privilege as is expected of the Mississippi farmer? Since Senators and Congressmen receive annual salaries of $10,000 each this would mean $600.

Miss Burlin continues: "It cost Arthur Grover Means of Birmingham, a Negro $36 to vote ($1.50 for every year of his age past his twenty-first birthday), and his determination to pay the price was so unusual that he got his picture in the papers.

"Sometimes counties levy an additional Poll Tax. Mississippi requires two years' cumulative Poll Tax, 'satisfactory evidence of payment of (other) taxes'.

"In Arkansas, without a Poll Tax receipt, one is not only barred from voting, but from receiving any license, permit, or wages from public funds

"The Poll Tax becomes a racket in certain localities, notably in Texas, with political machines buying up quantities of blank Poll Tax receipts and passing them out to complaisant or venal voters (see Survey Graphic, January 1940).

be paid as much as six to ten months before election, at a season when cash is especially short in farm houses

"In some places, Poll Taxes must holds. This disfranchisement of two-thirds of the population in the Poll Tax States of the South means in effect the suspension of demacracy", she insists.

This "suspension of democracy", she argues: guarantees one-party rule hinders effective political action by masses of the population, and encourages politicians to remain indifferent to popular needs. Illiteracy, child labor, migration, wages 30 to 50 per cent below the national average, hookworm and pellagra, wretched housing —these are some of the crying problems which if not solely due to lack of ballot, will hardly receive prime consideration from politicians until their constituencies get the vote.

These reflections sould challenge the thought and the intelligent interest and consideration of those Negro have often been deluded by the voters who live in the North. They thought that New Dealism is the answer to prayer. The New Deal is still the old Democratic party.

During the past seven years nothing has been done by the so-called New Deal to ameliorate this situation in the South as it effects colored citizens. This Democratic party iis still a flagrant offender and is chiefly notorious for its encroachments on the common rights of citizens.

The first duty of every Negro voter in the North in the struggle ahead of us is to think and act for the liberation of those of their race who have not been able to escape the humiliations and insecurities of their fellows in the South. As the nation could not continue permanently half free ad half slave, so its best security cannot be assured with millions of its citizens denied the privilege and opportunities gronted other citizens.

The Negro voter in the North has a greater opportunity to bring about a change during the coming election than has been offered at any time during the last three decades. The Democratic Party should not be permitted to continue to plead for Negro voters in the North while disfranchising and otherwise humiliating potential Negro voters in the South

Sale Of Anti-Poll Tax Stamps Helps Fight

NEW YORK—The fight to repeal the poll tax laws that operate in eight southern states to keep some 10,000,000 Negro and white citizens from voting is being aided through the sale of Anti-Poll Tax stamps, it was stated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, one of the organizations cooperating in the campaign.

Officials of the N.A.A.C.P. said the stamps may be obtained by writing to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Box 1016, Birmingham, Ala. Sale of the stamps is helping to finance the fight to pass the Geyer bill, which would outlaw the poll tax.

Alpha Kappa Alpha Continues War on Poll Tax System

The Alpha Kappa Alpha Council on Public Affairs continues its efforts towards the integration and participation into all phases of American democracy for the masses of Negroes with a war to the finish on the system of the payment of poll taxes as prerequisite for voting in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia and South Carolina.

The national representative, Mrs. Thomasina W. Johnson, who compiled the facts from the congressional directory and the United States Census said in the release of the facts that "the greatest threat to American democracy is distintegration caused by the denial of the benefits and privileges of democracy to such a vast number of citizens. There is grave danger when only about three million out of a total population of some twenty-seven million have the privilege of participating in the fundamental principle upon which all else in a democracy is built—that of representative government."

Other facts that were released were:

8,000,000 Can't Vote

"By the Constitution of the United States ,the population determines the number of representatives, i.e., one for each 280,000 persons. In the eight States where poll taxes are a prerequisite for voting, some 8,000,000 Negroes are counted by the census take as a basis for the total number of representatives, yet they do not vote to elect him. This means that about 28 representatives owe their seats in Congress to the Negroes in those districts.

President Roosevelt got a total of 2,457,000 votes in the entire South, which is a few thousand more than he got in the State of Pennsylvania alone.

The cost of poll taxes is from $1 to $3. Thousands of families in these States handle no money at all during the year frequently coming out in debt. Millions have an income of less than $100 per year. The cost to these families for poll tax varies from 1 to 3 per cent of their total income. If a Congressman had to pay proportionately the cost to him would be from $100. to $1,000 depending on the number of persons voting in his family. What would Henry Ford have to pay?

Reform groups cannot get these taxes repealed. They would have to depend on the politicians to repeal them. Can it be expected that persons who owe their office to the manipulation of the poll tax to work for its elimination?

In those eight States that have a poll tax law, there are 78 Congressmen. Forty-three of these 78 did not receive a single opposition vote in the last election. Twenty-six of this 78 received less than 100 opposing votes. Only eight had to face an opposition of more than 2000. Sixteen of these representatives were elected by less than 6000 votes of a total population of 280,000.

Nevada with 91,000 people and one representative came within 3000 votes of having as many as were cast for all the representatives of South Carolina with a million people and six congressmen.

Results to the People of the Poll Tax States

Widespread disfranchisement, corruption at the polls, and the grip of "machine politics" is fastened on the citizenry of these States. The Representatives from these States are responsible only to themselves and to the few persons who vote for them and as such are not responsible to the people they are supposed to represent as counted by the census taker.

There is no second party to act as a check on them in elections.

The wealthy people are represented but those who need representation most are too poor to pay the poll tax.

Results to the Rest of the Nation

Where only 1-6 to 1-10 as many people vote, patronage goes further.

The tenure to these representatives is unduly lenghtened.

Due to seniority, these representatives hold a disproportionately number of chairmanships in both Senate and House.

Poll tax Senators occupy ⅓ twice their due proportion of standing chairmanships in the Senate.

Of the most important committee, four have a poll tax chairman.

Of the total number of members of Congressmen who have been in Congress more than 20 years 3 per cent are poll tax States, more than twice the normal expectation.

The average number of votes for a poll tax district is 15,000.

The average number of votes for a non poll tax State is 68,000.

Hence a congressman from a non poll tax State must poll from 3 to 4 times as many votes as one from a poll tax State, which in turn means that a vote from a poll tax State has the value of three votes in a non poll tax State and as such disfranchises 67 per cent of the rest of the nation.

When legislation is to be passed upon which all the nation must share and share alike, these "unrepresentative representatives" vote counts as much as do these from non poll tax States. There is a group of 78 congressmen from these States who can easily and do defeat good legislation. Due to seniority they usually have undue influence, besides their own vote.

During this session of Congress legislation that has been endorsed by the present administration received some 18,000,000 votes, while the combined vote of these congressmen received a total less than 135,000 or ¾ of 1 per cent of that which the administration received.

If you wish these abuses stopped write your congressman to vote for the Geyer Anti Poll Tax Bill number H. R. 7534, which is a bill to abolish voting in Federal elections.

In these eight States that have poll tax laws, there are 78 Congressmen. Forty-three of these 78 did not receive a single opposition vote in the last election. Twenty-six of this 78 received less than 100 opposing votes. Only eight had to face an opposition of more than 2000. Sixteen of these representatives were elected by less than 6000 votes of a total population of 280,000.

In Pennsylvania for every two citizens, one votes.

In Mississippi for every 193 citizens, one votes.

In the third congressional District of Mississippi of 420,000 people, 2,172 voted.

In the twelfth congressional district of Missouri, similar in size 151,000 voted.

In Mississippi ½ of the 1 per cent of the total population votes.

More votes were cast in the twelfth congressional district of Missouri than in the combined States of Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina for 23 Congressmen.

In Pennsylvania, 72,000 persons voted to send Congressman Ditter to Congress. The combined vote of Dies, Woodrum, Smith, Cox, Whittington, Ford, Doxey, Vinson and Tarver was less than that for Ditter.

In Massachusetts with a total population of 4,342,614 a vote of 1,614,911 were cast. This exceeds the total vote cast in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia with a combined population of some 17,000,000.

California had a 44.5 per cent in the last election.

Georgia had the grand total of 2.4 per cent.

Democracy More Widespread in Some States

In the eleventh district of New Jersey 43,000 votes were cast. This is 8,000 more than was cast for all seven districts in Mississippi.

In the second district of Kansas the representative received 70,000 votes. This is more than was received by all ten from Georgia.

DRIVE FOR RIGHT TO VOTE IN SOUTH BEING ORGANIZED

ST. LOUIS. — John P. Davis, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress, will be one of the principal speakers at the Fifth National Convention here, June 30 to July 4. The convention is expected to draw 20,000 delegates from every State in the Union and Alaska.

In announcing the selection of Mr. Davis for the program, Dr. Townsend said, "Our organization has had the strong support of Negro citizens in many parts of the country. We feel that these good people not only deserve representation in our national convention but deserve a place on the program as well. Our organization makes no distinctions in race or creed, for no successful movement can bar any group."

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
November 16. 1940

TWO-PARTY VOTE URGED FOR SOUTH

Heed Roosevelt, Breedin Says Here—Don't Be Forever 'in the Bag'

The people of the South should take to heart the example of President Roosevelt in his willingness to appoint and vote for Republicans, J. K. Breedin, public relations director for Organized Business, Inc., said in an address yesterday over Radio Station WTMA.

"Our national election was thoroughly American," he said. "It harked back to the old days when men took their politics seriously. In this state the people knew that the Democratic party would have no serious rivalry and did not get excited.

"Mr. Roosevelt has accomplished some notable things and no one can take from his record his remarkable service in reviving the spirit of the people after the collapse of February and March of 1933."

Referring to Mr. Roosevelt's readiness to appoint Republicans, he said there is no reason why the South should be forever "in the bag".

"No man can tell the difference between the two parties. Since the War Between the States to 1933, the Democrats clung tenaciously to white supremacy and low tariffs," he said. "Every voting citizen understood this as basic Democratic policy.

"Now all that is of the past. Our party has been in complete control of all the government nearly eight years and the tariff remains as it was. The colored vote has been courted by the Northern Democrats and brought within the fold. Jimmie Byrnes is quoted as saying that the negroes now rule the Democratic party.

"Times have changed. Our great party has changed with it. Perhaps it has developed along the line of practical politics, but if the head of the party is big enough to rise above partisanship, if he is broad enough to recognize the claims of the Republicans by appointing two to his cabinet, it would appear that such a new day is dawning that some day we may study the issues and vote as our judgment may suggest."

Speaking of the collapse of the so-called French democracy, Mr. Breedin said that democracy had not been tried in France, and that "government by pressure groups is not democracy; pressure groups dominated France, just as they are held in exaggerated esteem in this country.

"Our problem, as one of practical politics, is not so much trying to revive the oldtime Greek democracy, by which all the people voted on everything, as it is to avoid accepting the clamor of special groups as the voice of all the people."

Referring specifically to South Carolina, he said the people of the state are becoming aroused and informed over the probability of a second state deficit. He pointed to the power the three budget commissioners, of which the governor is chairman, to reduce any and all appropriations. He said that two statewide organizations, Organized Business, Inc., and the Farmers and Taxpayers League had sent in petitions for this to be done.

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OFF THE BENCH

By Judge Walter B. Jones

GEYER ANTI-POLL TAX BILL

Congressman Lee E. Geyer, a Democrat of Gardena, Calif., representing the 17th Congressional district of his State, at the request of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, has introduced into Congress a bill to abolish poll taxes in all Federal elections. Over national radio networks, and in the pages of The Congressional Record, the California congressman is making a vigorous effort to get support for his bill, and to prevent the States of the Union from levying poll tax as a pre-requisite to voting at Federal elections.

Walter B. Jones

Congressman Geyer is following in the footsteps of Representative Keller, of Illinois, who himself, without the aid of the Supreme Court of the United States, has declared poll taxes unconstitutional. Representative Keller doesn't like the way some of our Southern senators and representatives are voting in Congress, and in order to bring them into line and make them vote as Representative Keller and his Republican friends want them to vote, the Illinois congressman threatens the South with a law by Congress prescribing the qualifications for voting in Federal elections.

Based On Wrong Assumption

The Geyer anti-poll tax bill is based on a hundred and one false assumptions.

The first of these is that Congress has something to do with the qualifications of voters in the States. It might interest the California congressman, who is so intent upon lecturing the South, to know that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon anyone. The privilege to vote in a State is within the jurisdiction of the State itself, to be exercised as the State may direct, and upon such terms as it may seem proper. Sovereignty resides in the people. Only those of the people are sovereign who exercise the power of sovereignty—who are clothed with the franchise of voting. In the United States sovereignty resides in the voters of the State. The United States has never made a voter, because the Federal government does not have the power now, and never has had such power in all the history of our country, to give any one the right to vote. This is a power that belongs only to the people of the States.

Power Of Congress Is Limited

The power of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject of voting at State elections rests only upon certain amendments to the United States Constitution. Congress can only exercise any power over elections in the States when a qualified voter is denied the right to vote because of sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and it is to this extent only that the powers of the States is limited. All the Fifteenth Amendment did was to nullify provisions in a State Constitution which restricts the right to vote to members of the White race.

So far as the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is concerned, that provision prohibiting the abridgment of the privileges and immunities of United States citizens, has nothing to do with voting. The right to vote is not a privilege or immunity of a citizen of the United States. Directly, this amendment to the Constitution of the United States didn't make a single new voter.

U. S. Constitution Does Not Give Right To Vote

Under our system of constitutional government in the United States, the Federal Constitution neither confers nor guarantees the right to vote. This is a matter that is left to be fixed and regulated by the several States of the Union. So long as the States of the Union do not abridge the rights of citizens to vote because of their sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the States can fix any qualifications for voting they please, and the courts have held that it is competent to require the payment of a poll tax before voting.

The effort of Representatives Geyer and Keller is but another in the long series of attempts to reduce the sovereign States of this country to the status of provinces. Our American form of government, with its division of the powers of government between the United States, and the States of the Union, has never appealed to a lot of people. They don't want the people of the States, or the local communities to have any rights at all. They demand, each day, more and more bureaucracy, more and more people in Washington bossing and governing and controlling the people of the States. These people don't fool any one. We know that the first step in the destruction of the democratic form of government is to take as many rights away from the States as can be taken, and then to place the power taken from the people in the hands of a lot of simlin-headed folks at Washington. Then will come a bureaucrat more resourceful and powerful than the rest of his fellows, and it will be easy for him to make himself a Hitler, a Stalin, or a small potato like Mussolini.

Those Favoring The Geyer Bill

It is interesting to note those who favor the Geyer bill. First of all must be mentioned the so-called "Southern Conference for Human Welfare." It meets in Chattanooga, April 14-16, to discuss Democracy in the South, and some of its leading spirits are Joe Gelders, secretary of the Civil Rights Committee, some radical C. I. O.'s, and members of the Negro National Conference.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of our good President, and a distinguished woman in her own right, regrettably has given this conference her blessing. She is quoted as saying in her daily newspaper column, "My Day": "It seems to me that this conference is most important to the South, because it will do much in changing social conditions and in improving economic conditions, if the plans which they make can be carried through." And one of their plans is to do away with the poll tax in the South.

The S. C. H. W. some months ago started a test case in the Federal court at Nashville to try out the validity of a State poll tax in a Federal election. The conference contends that the poll tax as a State requirement for voting in Federal elections is unconstitutional. All of the mail from the conference goes out under a big blue stamp with the lettering: "Abolish Poll Taxes. Free America First."

Others In Favor Of Poll Tax Abolition

There are also some prominent people who are in favor of doing away with the poll tax. Among them are Col. Harry M. Ayers, of Anniston, a leading editor in Alabama, and now a candidate for delegate from the State-at-large to the next Democratic National Convention.

Gov. Rivers, of Georgia, who uses the State military in peace time to flout the courts of his State, is quoted as being in favor of abolishing all poll taxes. The recently inaugurated governor of Mississippi is opposed to poll taxes.

Eight States Require Poll Taxes

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee and Virginia are the eight States that require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. In some of these States the tax is cumulative, and in others you only pay in the years you wish to vote.

Other Wrong Assumptions

Aside from the false assumption that Congress has the constitutional power to abolish all poll taxes required by the States, when the voter is voting at an election for Federal officers, the Geyer-C. I. O. bill is based on other illegal premises. Some of the arguments made in support of the Geyer bill are absurd.

For instance, Geyer claims that if his bill is passed there will be no more corruption in elections. The passage of his bill, he claims, will automatically bring purity to elections and stop vote buying. Well, laws like his in 40 States in the Union haven't made elections clean and sweet. The Alabama elections, and in the other seven Southern States that have the poll tax requirement, are a hundred times cleaner than the elections in parts of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana where there are no poll tax requirements. If you wish to stop vote buying, you can do it just by sending to the penitentiary a few of the vote buyers and a number of the sellers. The sellers of votes are just as bad as the buyers. You can't have vote buying unless some one wants to sell a vote. There are more votes bought and more moneyed corruption in States without the poll tax requirement than there are in the eight States that ask the citizen to pay a small sum yearly to vote, a sum that goes to public education.

Getting Everybody To The Polls

Another specious argument in favor of the Geyer Bill is that its passage will give us more and better voters, that it will result in more intelligent and more patriotic people going to the polls to vote. What reason is there to believe that the abolishment of poll taxes will raise the level of intelligence of the electorate? None. A few more people may go to the polls, but that doesn't necessarily mean that the new voters will be more intelligent and virtuous than the voters who have been going to the polls all these years after they have paid their poll taxes.

Some one has suggested that it should be a criminal offense, punishable with jail and hard labor sentences, for a citizen to fail to go to the polls and vote. Well, if a fellow has to be whipped and scourged to the polls with threats of jail or the rock pile, if he won't vote unless the sheriff or the police handcuff and take him to the polls, then his country and his people will be a damned sight better off if he stays away from the polls. The votes of a man of that type won't do the country any good.

We must remember this: casting a ballot at public elections is a privilege conferred by the State. It is not a right that belongs to every one. The State may confer the privilege of voting on such terms as it sees fit. And what is the wrong in the State asking, as a requirement of the privilege of voting, of having part in State affairs, that the would-be voter pay a small sum each year for the benefit of public education, the sending of children to public schools that in the future they may become good citizens and intelligent.

More than 180,000 Alabamians paid poll taxes last year. They paid a total sum of $467,000. This money goes exclusively to the support of the public schools of the State. No State law compels a person to pay the poll tax. No State law permits any fee to be collected for the payment of the tax. It is a crime to pay the poll tax of another in order to influence his vote.

The poll tax requirement is a reasonable one. It was necessary in Alabama in 1901. It is necessary today, more so. All the State asks of the citizen, man or woman, who wants to vote is the payment of less than one-half of one cent a day towards the education of the future citizens of the State, and if you get down to brass tacks there isn't a citizen in the State so poor, so poverty stricken, that he can't pay, if he wants to, if he is at heart truly interested in good government, the sum of one-half a cent a day to vote. This requirement is reasonable. It ought to remain law.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
April 9, 1940

2nd Reconstruction

From the esteemed Tuscaloosa News comes the following story, particularly interesting in view of the drive being made to eliminate poll taxes as a requisite to voting in Alabama:

An old Tuscaloosa newspaper—The Tuscaloosa Observer—tells in 1871 the story of a traveler recently returned from Savannah. An election had been held during his stay, and the traveler said that in one ward of the city several Negroes had been supplied by wags with labels of "Costar's Rat and Roach Exterminator." The Negroes voted these as ballots. Some of the more intelligent Negroes, noticing a cut of a rat on the alleged ballots, asked what it meant. They were told that it stood for the "ratification of the constitution," and they believed.

These Savannah wags were hardly more clever, however, than the Mobile Democrats of about the same period who happened upon the device of standing at the polling places with a goodly supply of fish-hooks secreted on their persons. When the Negroes were herded in by the Radicals, these Democrats would slip a fish-hook into each coat-tail. Later, when the Negroes were herded in again, the Democrats had the goods on them, and put a stop to the pretty little principle of double and multiple balloting.

Neither the Savannah wags nor the Mobile Democrats, however, were more clever than the white man of the South will need to be in the years to come when the Harlem Democracy and its allies of the left-wing get their Second Reconstruction in full swing. The only thing they need just now is a Thad Stevens. An army of carpet-baggers is ready, and our woods are full of scalawags.

Civil Rights for All And Poll Tax for None Urges Maury Maverick

Evening Journal
4-4-40

Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, Tex., in an address before the Southern Conference for Human Welfare Tuesday morning, urged "civil rights for everybody and poll taxes for nobody" and outlined a six-point program for the south's advancement.

Chattanooga, Tenn.

Declaring that a certain man ought to run for the presidency, even if it is for a third term, Maverick declared that "Franklin D. Roosevelt is the best friend the south has ever had."

The people of the south, Mayor Maverick said, "should try first of all not to be an irritated minority. We should try not to think ourselves into an isolated and nether region. We should try not to think about ourselves as the solid south, but as being solid in the United States of America, entitled to equality of opportunity and development with the rest of the country.

"So, what we ought to do is to get in on the national picture, into the democracy of the nation, and with the majority of the American people. Fight to remove the restrictions on the south, fight for equally before the nation, and fight to be a part of the country as a whole. And let us fight together.

"Now, I am going to offer a few points—a sort of outline. I don't mean it's complete; it's no cure-all; and thank you kindly, no Townsend plan. Here is my outline in some six points:

"1. Let's free our minds from prejudice as much as we can, and have the courage to think; and let us preserve constitutional democracy, civil rights for all.

"2. Let us see to it that the negro gets full economic opportunity, equal pay for equal work, political justice, protection of civil rights, and education.

"3. Let us conserve the natural resources of the south for the people.

"4. Let's fight for housing on a great national scale for all the people, both urban and agricultural.

"5. Let's insist upon fair, impartial, sensible, scientific law enforcement for all the people.

"6. Let us follow as our policy the south working for and with the rest of the nation."

Elaborating on the points, Maverick said: "Take fear for example. The commercial interests get scared of labor unions; we find some of great power who would destroy sible? . . . Did you ever think that when you destroy the rights of labor, the rights of business are destroyed next? In Germany and Russia there are no real labor unions and what are called unions are shams that are the supine stooges of dictators. Theoretically there are business men in Germany, but really there are not.

"As for the south, it needs better not worse labor laws. Economic conditions will not be settled by repression. Affirmatively stated, better labor conditions will bring greater purchasing power to the south."

Of the second point, he said: "We must remember that when standards are constantly lowered for the Negro that it constantly lowers them for the white man."

Regarding resources, he said that "our southern lands are in the worst condition, and also we have the lowest wage scale and the poorest housing, the weakest labor laws and the lowest production of dairy products and green vegetables in the United States of America."

He charged that the south is "actually owned" by the north—no, not by the north, but by a small minority.

"Because of outside capital, agricultural people have been turned into miserably low-paid factory workers; and there is child labor. Absentee landlordism for profit only has robbed the earth of its fertility. Utilities have grabbed the natural resources and exacted a tribute of death to our soil. Many other such actual results of northern controlled money could be given which are evident throughout the south. It means there is a constant drain of money income out of the south to the north and east."

Mayor Maverick asserted that civil liberties are being "violated and as for poll taxes, we know without compiling statistics or making any arguments that they should be abolished. Anybody who really understands democracy knows people ought to be free and ought not to have to have to pay to vote."

"The whole world is in trouble and, worst of all, the trouble is spreading," he said. "In the face of this I say at the very outset we Americans must maintain a militant democracy in a crumbling and stumbling world. Liberty is falling in our own house and the house itself is ablaze with war and threatened war everywhere. Millions of men march with cadenced step to the mass kill, and today Europe is a blackout against liberty.

"Now, I can't tell anybody how to settle that war. But I can tell what is the matter with the people of the so-called democracies. Well, a great fear has descended upon them and democracies have been backing up and taking backwater time after time. (He mentioned Chamberlain's action at Munich.)

"Up to the time this war came people had been fed propaganda against so-called communism until honest people believing in democracy were afraid to stand up for it. By his propaganda, Hitler first fooled Germany and then the whole world. He got all the blind democratic kittens in bags and threw them in the river. Then when he got powerful enough he did the natural thing—combined with another dictatorship and started a war.

"Some people can see this now, but millions still cannot. In any event, it's time that the abuse of people believing in democracy must stop. Indeed, the time has come for us all to stand up for democracy and fight."

The position of any person in southern politics who wants to be progressive and liberal is hard, said the speaker. He must stand persecution and misunderstanding and abuse from a large section of the southern press, he added.

"I say this because abuse from opposition is to be expected, but to get it from friends is discouraging, surely as the fight against our president by John L. Lewis is discouraging, for the president has done more for labor than any president in American history," the mayor asserted.

The public is invited to exercises at 7:30 o'clock tonight at the Municipal auditorium, at which time the Thomas Jefferson medal will be presented to an outstanding southerner. Identity of the southerner was withheld. This afternoon he reportedly was flying to Chattanooga to receive his honor.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
November 18, 1940

Colored Vote

Negroes of the United States, it is acknowledged by both sides, voted for President Roosevelt almost unanimously in 1932 and 1936.

This year the Republicans made a strenuous effort to get the colored vote back but their gains were negligible.

As the Washington Merry-Go-Round puts it: "Despite Joe Louis, the Steve Early 'kneeing' incident, and tremendous G. O. P. efforts, every negro precinct went heavily for the President. In some his majority was as high as 6 to 1."

So old-line southern Democrats who used to make capital of the statement that the national Democratic party was the white man's party, with all the negroes in the Republican camp, still cannot go back to that assertion.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

Dixie Women Ask Congress To Remove State Poll Taxes

Headed by Mrs. William T. Gayle, jr., of Atlanta, Ga., a group of women from the Southern poll tax States yesterday observed the twentieth anniversary of the Woman Suffrage Amendment by presenting at the Capitol a declaration calling on Congress for removal of State poll tax requirements for voting. Millions of women in those States are unable to exercise their franchise because of it, they said.

Presentation of the declaration was made to Representative Lee E. Geyer, of California, sponsor of the anti-poll tax bill, before the statue of Susan B. Anthony on the main floor of the Capitol.

The suffrage anniversary also was celebrated by the Womans' Centennial Congress at the New York World's Fair Court of Peace. Messages were read from suffrage leaders, including Carrie Chapman Catt. Mrs. Catt, as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, led the suffrage forces to victory 20 years ago.

Pointing out what has happened in the German-dominated countries of Europe, Mrs. Catt declared: "In all of these except France, women had the vote. If Germany continues in control, there will be no parliaments and consequently no free vote to either men or women in those countries. Every American should be grateful that he is privileged to live in this country where liberty is still granted."

Representative Mary T. Norton contrasted the 11,000,000 women in American industry today with the half a million 20 years ago. She paid tribute to President Roosevelt for his appointment of women to high posts in the Government.

NEGROES HIT VOTING CURBS

Georgia Meeting Condemns 'White Primaries and Poll Tax'

LOG CABIN CENTER, Ga., Aug. 4 (AP)—Negroes seeking methods to raise the economic level of their race in the United States denounced at a meeting here the "exclusion of the black man from the ballot" by such methods as "white primaries and the poll tax."

Assembling in this rural community where the parents of some of them had been slaves, representatives of church, business, educational and fraternal organizations yesterday drafted a resolution for the State Central Planning Commission urging:

"That all Negroes exercise every legitimate means to obtain the right to vote as all honorable citizens should."

Bishop W. A. Fountain, second Senior Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, denounced "white" primaries as "violating the Constitution and depriving a large number of useful citizens from the privilege of representation in government."

FLAY RESULT OF LAST WAR; RIGHT TO VOTE

Must Discontinue Discrimination

By ESTHER V. COOPER

BIRMINGHAM, Aug. 29—(ANP)—"We didn't get anything out of the last World War, and there isn't any use of us going to this one. My husband went over and when he came back he couldn't even march in the parade downtown—they even tore the buttons off his uniform; sure, that peace mobilization is a good thing in Chicago, here's a quarter you can put me down for," said a Negro woman, gray-haired, slow in movements but quick in thinking and knowing what she believes will help the Negro people in the South.

Her reaction is typical of the way in which we of the Southern Negro Youth congress are received in carrying peace petitions from door to door in Birmingham, in speaking to groups of miners in Lewisburg, Pratt City and other mining towns near Birmingham, in speaking to steel workers, social clubs, and church groups.

No Statement on Discrimination

"That Conscription bill would be one of the worst possible things; there isn't anywhere in it a statement that there would be no discrimination because of race, creed or color, there isn't anywhere in it that we would have a chance to be officers, that when we came out of training we would have an equal chance at jobs without Jim-Crow," said a Negro mine worker at a discussion following a debate on the conscription bill.

A young woman rose swiftly to her feet at this same meeting and said that "our job is to get democracy here in the South, to win the right to vote by supporting the Right to Vote campaign of the SNYC, to support the anti-lynching bill, to win the right to education, to jobs, and recreation, and when we have these things," she declared, "and only then should young Negro people be ready to take up arms to defend the democracy of the United States."

The door to door petitioning on the Peace Mobilization and the Right to Vote campaign has been successful. A domestic worker, hardly making enough to pay for the small rat-infested house in which she lives, listened intently as I described the meaning of the peace meeting, and the importance of her signature, and told me to wait a minute as she went next door to borrow a dime so that her signature might be on the letter to the president.

Young Only Hope

Fred Witherspoon, ill in bed, who served in the last war, called me into his home when I knocked, listened to me and finally said, "You young people keep on struggling, it's our only salvation. War won't help anything, I'm for that Chicago Peace rally; look under my dresser scarf and take 10 cents, and wait a minute, come back next week and I'll have another dime for you."

Negro students, ministers, social workers, miners, steel workers, domestic workers, are backing the Chicago Peace mobilization, realize its importance, and have been talking it up in their meetings, from the pulpit, in the mines, and at social gatherings.

The Southern Negro Youth congress is carrying on its "Battle for the Ballot" distributing thousands of leaflets on the Right to Vote, selling Abolish the Poll-Tax Buttons and working on the Peace Mobilization at the same time by securing a signature for Peace Petitions.

Shirking Our Duty

The right to vote has generally been regarded as a privilege, hard won for the rank and file of citizens in most democratic countries.

But there is another aspect of the question—the duty to vote. There are many citizens who value the privilege so little they do not exercise it. In some recent elections in our own state, only about fifty per cent of the persons on the register went to the polls and voted.

The Northwest Enterprise would be glad to be in a position to prevent this evasion of duty, by subjecting all voting slackers to a fine. Regardless of his political affiliation, it is the fundamental duty of every citizen to register and vote. Every citizen should regard his right to vote as his country's greatest gift. Two classes of voters often defeat the will of the majority: Those who are so indifferent and should be forever denied the privilege and those who are usually herded to the polls by some agency ready to defeat any laudable purpose.

We have noted that men of our race in the south have paid as much as $36 poll tax for the privilege of casting his vote. We have noted men of families right here in Seattle, men unusually intelligent who fail to cast their votes for some reason or other.

There ought to be enough at stake in the coming elections to cause every man and woman eligible, to register and then go to the polls and cast his or her vote. This government which has stood for more than 150 years is today in imminent danger not half so much without as within. Freedom and liberty in the United States has become so com monplace that it has ceased to have much value.

When any citizen neglects to register and vote he is shirking his duty to himself and his country. It is these who undermine the pillars of our government and create a greater menace within than without. This government should survive the pyramids of Egypt.

Yellow, White Blanks Keep Out Negro Votes

OCT 1 1940

NEW YORK—(SNS)—The Department of Justice has been asked to make an investigation of disfranchisement against Negroes in Palm Beach county, Fla., whereby these citizens are denied the right to vote in primary elections, through the refusal of officials to register them for either the Democratic or Republican parties.

The request for a probe into conditions in Florida was made by Thurgood Marshall special NAACP counsel, in a letter to John Rogge, United States assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's civil liberties division. Marshall recently returned from a special trip to Florida where he got the first hand account of the situation.

Returned over to the Justice Department two types of registration certificates used in Palm Beach county. A yellow certificate issued to white voters, contains a blank space for political party affiliation" to be filled in: a second, white certificate, which is issued to colored voters, contains no such blank space.

"The use of separate types of registration certificates for the two races," the letter said, "represents the type of practice prevalent in the entire state of Florida today."

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Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 12, 1940

The Nashville Convention

The white civilization of the South is in danger. Both "great parties", the Third Termers and the Republicans, are courting and coddling the negro voters. The Third Termers, the Kellys, Hagues, Wagners, "Eddie" Flynns, have the negro voters in the Big Towns and hope to reelect Candidate Roosevelt with their votes.

In the Roosevelt administration champions of the negro voters are influential. Secretary Ickes, a Chicago man, in a letter to former Senator Blease, committed himself to advocacy of the admission of negroes into the Democratic party everywhere.

Candidate Roosevelt's appointee for vice president, Mr. Henry Wallace, once came into the South speaking for and defending "racial equality."

The president's wife has been conspicuous in advocacy of negro measures. She was openly working with Walter White, colored, for the passage of the so-called "anti-lynching bill."

Unless the Southern white people shall organize and assert their position, it is only a question of time when negroes will be admited to a "Democratic party" in South Carolina controlled by office-holders. It is nonsense to suppose that they can hold out against the powers in Washington now subservient to the negro voters.

Candidate Roosevelt is in favor of the "anti-lynching bill." He has never declared for it, that has been left to Mrs. Roosevelt, but never has he said that he would veto it if passed. He could have killed it with a word. With a word he could kill it now. He won't speak it. It is not an anti-lynching bill. It is a Northern negro anti-Southern bill.

The meeting of Willkie Democrats in Nashville will be a meeting to fortify and maintain the Southern white party. It will lay down its conditions to the Republicans. For the "Solid South" as a Democratic party never was an argument or reason except the everlasting danger, not from "negro domination", but from negro influence and power in Southern elections.

Would we have the negro vote as the balance of power in South Carolina as it is in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis? In those cities it has become a serious problem to the respectable citizens. They know that a great proportion of the negro voters are bought with federal money, the money of the taxpayers, of you and me.

The News and Courier is far from saying that no negro is fit to cast a vote. It has among negroes acquaintances who are men of intelligence and high character. They could not lead their race in the South. The masses of colored people, poor and emotional people, would fall a prey, if they were voting, to unprincipled negro leaders and white leaders too. The smart rascals among the Southern whites are many, and they would be the real leaders and owners of the mass of negroes, men and women, if they were voting. We don't want in South Carolina the problem that the Northern cities now have in their negro populations—negroes, who in the words of Senator Byrnes of South Carolina, have "come into control of the Democratic party."

It is a vexing question and delicate, hard to handle. The first thing necessary is for the white South to demonstrate its independence. That will be the aim of the Nashville convention.

It will be a Willkie convention because it will trust Willkie as a Democrat more than it will trust Candidate Roosevelt.

Willkie was raised in a country town of Indiana, not far from the Southern border. He has spent weeks and months in Southern states. His sympathy with Southern problems is bound to be more than is that of the product of Groton "prep" school and Harvard university. Mr. Roosevelt, born rich, is a hothouse product in birth, education and environment.

The last Republican president to give the South serious trouble in the matter of negro appointments was the candidate's cousin, the uncle of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt. Taft, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover did not stir up this question by appointing a negro to be postmaster in a Mississippi village. We are not censuring Candidate Roosevelt and his wife, or Mr. Ickes and Mr. Wallace for their opinions about the negro in politics, we concede their sincerity, and we believe that they are wanting in understanding of the South. Willkie is of another breed; the South can trust the country lawyer, from Elwood, Indiana.

The Nashville convention, above all, must be bold, it must be outspoken, it must declare the independence of Southern white men.

POLL TAX REPEAL WOULD NOT MENACE WHITE SUPREMACY

SEP 28 1940

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 26. (ANP)—A statement last Saturday by former Gov. Hugh White, that repeal of the poll tax would turn the state back "into the dangerous conditions of the carpet-bagger days by permitting Negroes to vote," has resulted in spirited discussion by friends of both the former governor and U.S. Senator Bilbo, who also favors the poll tax repeal.

Many declared that White's statement was groundless, as every school boy knows the Constitution was written to guarantee white supremacy whether a poll tax is in force or not.

Explaining how the poll tax works, and reciting the legal safeguards erected to assure white supremacy, the Daily Clarion Ledger last Tuesday declared:

As far as the poll tax is concerned, Negroes just 21 years old and Negroes past 60 years old would now be privileged to vote without poll tax payments except for other prohibitive provisions now set up in the state constitution which was drawn up in 1890.

Any Negro offering to vote must first interpret the Mississippi constitution before any circuit clerk in the counties, to the satisfaction of both the circuit clerk and the county Democratic executive committee.

And besides, if there were sufficient Negroes meeting this qualification to elect a member to office, the Negro nominated could not be seated because the constitution provides that all successful candidates "must be acceptable to the electoral college," which is composed of the membership of the legislature.

Thus the requirements are too strict in the first place to allow the Negro to vote, and even if these conditions are hurdled, the existing officials could bar the nominee from a voice in affairs of the government.

SEP 28 1940

And all this has no relation to the poll tax, which White has expounded as "one of the issues." Repeal of the poll tax would not affect the provisions for the primaries and could not, in any manner, "return the state to the carpet-bagger days."

Senator Bilbo's advocacy in the past of repealing the poll tax was aimed at helping the great numbers of low-income earners produced by the past few years of "depression and recession." Friends of the Senator point out that this would be helpful, too, to the persons on relief rolls "whose every dollar must be used for food and clothing."

SAYS NEGRO VOTE IS FOR PRESIDENT

Colored Association Poll Asserts 85 Per Cent of 5,100,000 Outside South Will Back Him

FACTOR IN ELEVEN STATES

Leader Also Declares Racial Group Is Dominating Power in 89 Congress Districts

New York Times 10-11-40

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10—Eighty-five per cent of the 5,100,000 Negroes, north of the Mason and Dixon Line will support President Roosevelt, said William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, today, basing his assertion on a survey just completed by his organization, the National Colored Democratic Association.

In this association, he said, there are 2,000,000 voters registered, all pledged for Mr. Roosevelt. He declared the Negro vote holds the balance of power in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, West Virginia, Michigan, Oklahoma and California.

"All these States, the survey shows, will be carried by Roosevelt," Mr. Thompkins said. "And with the Negro vote solid for the President it is only reasonable to conclude that our voters will put over the elections in these pivotal States. In addition to being a decided factor in the Presidential election in these States the Negroes are a dominant power in eighty-nine Congressional districts."

Asserting that since 1936 this electorate had been with the Democratic party, Mr. Thompkins added:

"No influence can get it away, our people believe implicitly in the President and his policies and he has done much for us."

Illinois has the largest number of Negro voters, 475,000; New York is second with 340,000 and Pennsylvania third with 330,000. In North Carolina there are 513,000 Negroes and 480,000 of voting age in Texas, Mr. Tompkins said.

Following is the registration in other States as reported in this survey:

California, 64,000; Colorado, 1,100; Connecticut, 22,000; Delaware, 24,000; Indiana 88,000; Iowa, 1,200; Kansas, 59,000; Kentucky, 155,000; New Jersey, 101,000; Ohio, 240,000; Oklahoma, 115,000; Tennessee, 288,000; West Virginia, 90,000; Massachusetts, 26,000; Maryland, 190,000; Mihigan, 113,000; Missouri, 175,000; Minnesota, 5,000; Nevada, 12,000.

Of the 190,000 registered in Maryland 105,000 are voters in Baltimore. Of Missouri's 175,000, 72,000 are in St. Louis and 33,000 in Kansas City.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

Greenville, S. C. News
September 20, 1940

Negroes For FDR, Leader Announces

NEW YORK, Sept. 19—(AP)—Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the negro division of the Democratic National committee declared today that "Mr. Roosevelt, despite all republican claims and promises, will draw the united support of negroes in the November election."

"For 50 years," Rainey said, "the Republican party has included in its platform every type of sop to the negro, but never did anything about it."

The democratic 1940 platform pledged the party "to continue to strive against discrimination x x x in the national defense forces," he said, adding that two months after it was adopted Congress passed a law giving all races and creeds the right to enlist in the nation's land and naval forces.

Negro Voters' [illegible]

By WILLIAM PICKENS
FOR ANP

THIS IS NO discussion of 1940, but a reflection on fact: on 28 years ago, 1912. That was the only time when I know the American Negro to have been in exact position to decide who should be the next President of the United States; whether Taft or Wilson or Theodore Roosevelt. It was simple. Taft and Roosevelt were so close together in the white votes for them in the nominating convention in Chicago that year, that to whichever one the Negro turned all or even a majority of his delegates, to that one the nomination would go.

Daily

But the Negro delegates, being in the hands of the rotten machines of the southern states, turned to the wrong one, to Taft—and Theodore Roosevelt ran on an Independent ticket—and Woodrow Wilson, a southern Democrat, was elected.

World

NEGRO LOST OUT

If Theodore Roosevelt had been nominated at Chicago in 1912, he would have been elected, and the whole course of American history and maybe of world history since that time would have been different.

OCT 1 6 1940

What would it have meant to the Negro to have Theodore Roosevelt as President during the last World War? What a different opportunity for the Negro soldier! Colonel Charles Young, whom the ex-President admired and respected, would have been a general of our armies in 1917-18.

In Chicago that summer (1912) I was a spectator, not a delegate at Chicago. I saw Theodore Roosevelt, whom I had met once before, years before, and now we spoke together at some meeting on the South Side. Next day, in private, I endeavored to persuade the Negro delegates to nominate Roosevelt, which they could have done so simply.

They did not argue against that, but I could tell from their reticence and dumbness that they were tied hand and feet by their machines, to Taft. They had Taft money in their pockets, Taft food in their stomachs, and the Taft bosses were herding them around like cattle.

EIGHT FATEFUL YEARS

How helpless is the human arrival when he takes money for his citizenship activity, especially his vote, or his influence in elections!

Some of those 1912 Negro delegates may read this. They listened to me respectfully and patiently. They listened, and then went on into the convention and voted as their machines and bosses directed. Taft was nominated and Roosevelt defeated Taft, and Woodrow Wilson was president for the next eight fateful years.

Atlanta

Roosevelt knew that if he should get the nomination, it would be due to the Negro delegates. What an impression that would have made on the administration which he would have headed, from 1913 on! And he was not trying to succeed himself for a third term.

Ga.

From 1914 to the end of the first World War, the Negroes of the United States bitterly regretted having in power the South ridden administration of Woodrow Wilson, a thing which they themselves had let happen, when it was under their hands to prevent it, letting

happen to stick like dumb beasts to their ruts, their machines and their pay-out men!

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 20, 1940

Would Cease Opposition

Some of the South Carolinians and newspapers appear to be astonished that the Republican party appeals to the negro voters, which is a reflection on their schools and colleges if not on their mentalities. The News and Courier has been informed seventy-five years that the National Republican party is a negro party and has known as well that the national Democratic party's strength in the North was long the strength of the South in self-defence.

What has disappointed, grieved and alarmed some of us is that the national Democratic party has deserted the South, that it has allowed the negroes to "come into control of it", as Senator Byrnes has said. It disappoints The News and Courier too that Candidate Willkie is reported to be in sympathy with the leading Democrats, the Roosevelts, the Wagners, the Guffeys, La-Guardia, National Chairman "Eddie" Flynn of the Bronx, Representative Mitchell, "Ed" Kelly, and the like in the matter of the anti-lynching bill, so-called. Mr. Byrnes may have suspected it when he said that the Republicans had to nominate a "Democrat."

If Candidate Roosevelt will declare at once that he would veto the anti-lynching bill were it passed by congress, that he would veto any bill referring to a state's right to require poll taxes for voting or any other bill limiting or reducing the right of a state to enact and enforce its own laws relating to the suffrage and elections, The News and Courier will pledge itself to cease opposition to Mr. Roosevelt until after the November election. To the Southern states that question is of deeper import than any other, and if Candidate Roosevelt will pledge himself to protect the South, as Tilden, Cleveland and all other important Northern Democrats until his arrival did, The News and Courier will swallow the betrayal of Democracy that Third Termism is, to vomit it after election day.

In the absence of that pledge The News and Courier advises white Southerners to elect independent Democratic presidential electors to make the best terms for the South in the Electoral College that they can and believes that they can make better terms with Candidate Willkie than with the Hagues, the Roosevelts, the Ickeses, the Walter Whites, "Ed" Kellys, "Joe" Guffeys, "Eddie" Flynns, "Bob" Wagners, Julian Raineys, the great city ringsters to whom the Southern Democrats are now the slaves.

The Electoral College is not an empty gun. The question is whether or not the Southern Democrats are become a folk too feeble to lift it and use it in self-defence.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 21, 1940

There Will Be Laughter

While the respectable The Columbia Record and The Columbia State (with the little vulgarians of South Carolina journalism and their dull vocabularies one is not concerned) are delighting at the discovery that the Republican is also a national negro party and proclaiming it as defense for their own party, we suggest that they tell their Columbia readers this story, which was told some years ago at a small party in Columbia:

The story teller said to the young ladies and gentlemen that a prominent young American was traveling in the Orient and tarried in a famous capital. He had letters that introduced him into the royal circles and soon met a princess of great wealth and charm. They loved each other, became engaged and the wedding day was set. The face of the bride to be was always veiled and the American lover never saw it until the morning of the wedding when, in compliance with his entreaties, she lifted it, revealing that she was a colored person. "Now, in those circumstances," said the story teller, addressing the company of Columbians, "would you have gone on with the wedding, would you have married her if you had been the American?"

"No, no, no I wouldn't!" With one indig-

[illegible] voice the whole company chorused, [illegible], we wouldn't!"

The storm lulled, and after a minute, one of the company said to the story teller, "You wouldn't have married her if you had been he, would you?"

"Oh yes," was the story teller's answer, "if I had been he I would have married her. He was a negro too."

The "race question" is certainly no longer a barrier to the wedding of the national Republican and the National Democratic (Rooseveltian) parties. As The News and Courier is an independent Southern Democrat of the old style and belongs to neither of them, it looks forward with expectancy pleasurable to the "reaction" when The Columbia State and The Columbia Record shall repeat the story to their numerous readers. There will be laughter in South Carolina.

Columbia, S. C. State
September 23, 1940

NORTHERN NEGRO VOTE.

Many Northern Negroes may return this fall to their traditional allegiance to the Republican party, but the shift will probably not be decisive, says a Washington correspondent, Lawrence Sullivan (race not stated), in an article for the October number of the Atlantic Monthly, Boston.

The sudden shift of the Negro vote in the North and Border states from traditionally Republican to strongly Democratic in the historical clock-tick of four years "presents a phenomenon without parallel in American history." But in this year's scattered local elections the Negro vote has been drifting perceptibly from its hasty New Deal moorings. Roosevelt's majority in 1936 contained perhaps 1,200,000 Negro votes. Sullivan says that "Republican predilections among the Negroes withstood the depression, but the faith was not sufficiently robust to withstand the moral erosion of relief."

Yet in no state that year was the Negro vote decisive. In fundamental shifts of political attitude and feeling, the Negro vote in the North now moves with the general tide rather than as an isolated bloc. Broadly speaking, therefore, the net result of the New Deal mobilization has been to shift the Negro vote pattern from 72-25 Republican to 60-40 Democratic. The Negro in the North is now a cog in the fixed two-party system.

Huntsville, Ala., Times
September 24, 1940

We Cease To Be

(Rome, Ga., News-Tribune)

It comes to our attention that Wendell Willkie, the Republican presidential nominee, indorsed the federal anti-lynching bill in his speech before a group of Chicago negroes last week.

That is nothing more than we expected. Mr. Willkie surprises us not in the least. Mr. Willkie wants the negro vote of the great Northern cities. Mr. Roosevelt wants the negro vote of the great Northern cities. Everybody wants that vote.

Up to the recent past, the Republican party has had the negro vote of the North. It is doing everything within its power to regain that vote—including a direct personal appeal from Mr. Willkie himself.

On the other hand, the Democratic party (nationally speaking) is doing everything within its power to retain the negro vote which it captured in 1936. In Congress, this anti-lynching bill—the most infamous and insulting piece of sectional legislation that has confronted the United States since the days of the Force Bill—is being pushed not only by Republicans, but by Northern Democrats as well.

Willkie does not surprise us with his advocacy of the measure. He advocates it because the South is hopelessly lost. The Northern Democrats advocate it because the South is hopelessly won.

As long as the votes of Harlem—the votes of the negroes in the other great Northern cities—are in the balance, what matters it to any party what the South thinks?

As far as national politics is concerned, we amount not to a tinker's oath from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.

We remain a large spot on the map, but there our existence ceases to be.

Youth Leader Opens Drive to End Poll Tax

Financial Campaign Will Carry Fight to Give Ballot to 10,000,000 Disfranchised in South, Break Bourbon Political Group

A delegate to the recent American Youth Congress meeting held in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, Dr. James E. Jackson, Jr., director of the Right to Vote Campaign of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, arrived in New York yesterday to secure financial and other material support for the enfranchisement of 10,000,000 Southern people who are barred from the polls by the un-democratic poll tax system.

"The fight for Southern suffrage," he declared, "is not just the concern of the Southern people alone. Because if the 14th amendment to the Constitution was enforced there would be only 20 Congressmen in the halls of the Congress from the South instead of 78 as is now the case."

Dr. Jackson, who has made a close study of the electorate system in the South, having recently completed a survey of the Negro in politics for the Carnegie Foundation, that the bloc of Southern Congressmen, are almost without exception, united with Wall Street to get America involved in war, and are in the forefront of the fight to cut down on the living standards of the American people.

"It was Woodrum and Byrd who led the Economy Bloc in knifing WPA. And it was Smith who led and still leads the fight against the Wages and Hours Law."

NO OPPOSITION

Of the 78 Southern Representatives, 70 of them have never received any effective opposition at the polls. Through long periods of office sitting and seniority rights, they are able to acquire a plurality of committee chairmanships and other ruling positions in the House and Senate which they use effectively in subverting and blocking the popular will of the people by barring the passage of progressive legislation endorsed and supported by the majority of the people.

Because of the rigorous poll tax system which excludes the majority of the Southern people from voting, the Southern bourbon representatives hold 57 more seats in the House than their states are entitled to under the 14th amendment. In 1938, 16 Southern Congressmen won seats from their districts where less than 6,000 persons voted, whereas in the tax-free states as many as 87,000 votes were cast.

ALL CHECKS MUST GO

Dr. Jackson pointed that the mere abolition of the poll tax would not measurably improve Southern democracy unless the fight can be organized in such a fashion as to insure the abolition of all restrictions on suffrage.

Negroes, he said, would still be barred from voting through such devices as the "lily-white" primaries, constitutional interpretation clauses, property qualifications, (in Alabama a voter must own $300 in property), discrimination in registration qualifications and the use of violence and lynch terror as in Brownsville, Tenn. where the head of the NAACP branch was lynched and other Negroes beaten and driven out of town when they attempted to register.

In Alabama, a person seeking to register must be able to answer satisfactorily to the registrar a list of 24 involved questions before he can become qualified. In the discertion of the Board of Registration a prospective voter can be barred if he fails to answer properly any one of the 24 questions.

PLAN 100 MEETINGS

The Southern Negro Youth Congress, the Council for Young Southerners and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, are undertaking the task of organizing the millions of disfranchised Americans for direct action. The first meeting in a series of 100 to be held under the auspices of the SNYC in key Southern cities, was attended in Birmingham last Sunday by more than 700 persons, the largest meeting of Negroes and whites ever held in Birmingham.

DR. JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.

Thousands of pieces of literature entitled "Let Us Vote," are being distributed throughout the South. The right to vote petitions are being circulated, and the Southern people, as never before, are on the march for democracy at home FIRST. They won't be stopped by lynchings and wholesale terror campaigns of the landlords and Ku Kluxers. Their battle for democracy is the battle of all Americans.

As Dr. Jackson correctly points out, "the struggle of the Southern people for the right to vote must receive the wholehearted support of all Americans really interested in democracy."

The Southern Negro Youth Congress needs funds to conduct its great fight for democracy and contributions may be sent to: RIGHT TO VOTE CAMPAIGN, 604 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham, Ala.

WHAT OF NEGRO VOTE?

BY A. E. WHITE FOR ANP

WASHINGTON, July 26 — While the whole country awaits the actions of the two major parties following the close of the Democratic convention, the question still remains, "What of the Negro vote?"

There are those who say that there is no such thing as the "Negro vote" as such. Just as there is contention in the big urban areas that there is no such thing as the Italian or the Jewish or German vote.

But the fact still remains, the Negro will plany an important part in the coming election. What part, no one knows. Will he be satisfied to sit back and accept charity from the government on the WPA and other alphabetical organizations, or accept the challenge of the equal right to work as sponsored by the opposition party?

Too long, the Negro has assented to the dole and let himself be shunted about, is the opinion of clear-thinking people in the minority, it is true, for they- further feel that the Negro has accepted relief in all of its forms as his rightful due from the government.

Unthinking, they have allowed themselves to be calssed in this category without putting up much of a battle to even get their just rights in this phase of governmental charity.

In the bigger cities, fully two-thirds of the Negro populations are either on relief, or working on relief jobs or identified in some way with the distribution of relief in its many forms.

In the South where discrimination has been openly practised under many guises, Negroes have not even gotten to "first base" in the usual jobs given Negroes under the relief set-ups in other sections.

Ever since relief has been issued, there has been the question of certification from the relief rolls and the higher officiale have been powerless to stop the nefarious practises under the generosity of the government. Satisfied with the introduction of the trite and well-worn phrase "without regard to race, creed or color", into the reliet bills, they have sat back smugly and let events follow their course.

Even with the introduction of this phrase so well known to Negroes, and frequently asmeaningless as it sounds, there has been little done that the public knows of to enforce this ruling. According to one official in the federal council (the unit of colored appointees functioning in advisory capacities) there have been prosecutions in the South under this ruling, but they dare not make them public nor will they cite instances inasmuch as they are "governmentai records".

Even in the liberal department zof agriculture, where Negroes are said to have been greatly benefitted by the program adopted under Secretary Wallace, and of which there is not doubt, much secrecy surrounds everything done for the betterment of Negro farmers and sharecroppers.

Without making public the programs until after they are adopted, it is said this is the best method of proceedure in order to not antagonize the white Southerners who would object to the programs if they knew of them.

All of this secrecy has shrouded

Daily World 7-31-40

"Balance of Power"

Figures released this week show that in twenty states of the union having a majority of electoral votes necessary to elect a President, the Negro voters have the "balance of power". The states considered have 2,604,000 Negro voters and 317 electoral votes, which really determine the presidency. Only 435 electoral votes are at issue. This shows tremendous power held by the minority group in the major-voting states. It simply means that the Negro vote is a real problem and threat to both major parties, because local registrations, sentiments, and other influences make the Negro vote important if cast for candidates and issues affecting the race. The Negro press, civic, fraternal, political and religious groups will play an important role in the national elections. They should decide wisely and well about all the issues concerned.

It would be wise that colored inhabitants in every community in the land consider and realize that their voting would be given even more than a "balance of power" if every potential ballot-caster were influenced to do his national and local duty. The group which holds the "balance of power" can control the entire power, it must be remembered.

Atlanta Ga.

Negro Vote Is Balance Of Power 20 Key States Controls Election

Enterprise 7-26-40

By Anthony B. Fergurson

The republican and democratic parties high commands are spending many sleepless nights trying to figure ways means and issues to influence the Negro vote in 20 key states, that control 317 electorial votes, which leaves the other 28 states with only 118 electorial votes out of a total of 435 in the electorial college whose duty is to cast the official ballots to determine the Presidency after the national elections this fall. A majorith is necessary for confirmation.

Battle Creek

The Negro vote is a real problem and threat to both major parties, this year particularly in the 20 states where, because of local registrations sentiments and other influences make the Negro vote important if cast for candidates and issues effecting the race, owing largely to divisions in the mass vote of other groups in these states.

Among the Major Issues

1. Poll tax disfranchisement.
2. Administration's officials recognition in the way of policy making positions.
3. Army, Navy, National Defense Administrations race discrimination
4. Appropriate representation in all branches of government Administration Legislative and in the Judiciary
5. Anti-lynch legislation.
6. War on Foreign soils

These issues will be the deciding factors this fall along with the influence of the Negro Press, Negro Civic, Fraternal, Political, and religious leaders in the following states:

States	Negro Votes	Electorial Votes
Michigan	150,000	19
Illinois	360,000	29
Indiana	210,000	14
Kentucky	165,000	11
Ohio	238,000	26
Pennsylvania	280,000	36
New Jersey	130,000	16
New York	285,000	47
Massachusetts	130,000	17
Delaware	40,000	3
Maryland	70,000	8
Rhode Island	28,000	4
West Virginia	80,000	8
Colorado	28,000	6
California	130,000	22
Iowa	40,000	11
Wisconsin	75,000	12
Connecticut	40,000	8
Tennessee	85,000	11
Kansas	40,000	9
Total	2,604,000	317

7-26-40

Voting in the Primary

Call 8-2-40

Smart citizens vote in the primary. Besides duty and privilege, in the primary election there is the advantage of greater leverage, and if perchance the nominees of both parties are good, the assurance that no matter who wins, the right official is chosen.

Kansas City

Instead of the primary being a bore and a bother, it is the one time when the ballot exerts its greatest power, and when voting is the mark of highest intelligence. Take a situation now actually existing in Kansas City: A justice of peace is to be selected. It is an office of honor and service. Among the candidates for it are Negroes. By having no opponent, the one is certain to be the nominee of his party. Now if the other could win out over the several rivals in his party, both nominees would be Negroes and the race would gain its highest office in the city's history.

Two men are running for Democratic nominations in the state primary about whom Negroes have definite opinions, Governor Lloyd C. Stark, candidate for U. S. senator, and John D. Taylor, state representative from Chariton county who wants to be attorney general. These are the two men who thumbed their nose at the U. S. supreme court's order that Missouri make education equal for the two races either by bringing Negro schools up to the standard of the white, or educate the two races in one set of schools. They led the state into the present studied avoidance of its duty. No matter what others think of these two, Negroes, unless they are cowards as well as fools, are opposed to them. All of them who vote Democratic can express that opinion at the primary election. Too late if they win nomination!

There is some work attached to voting in a primary. The great cloud of candidates, most of whom are utter strangers, makes it necessary to do some thinking in order to pick good men. But making selections is what we do everytime we spend a dime. Surely it is worthwhile to think about whom to trust with the making of laws, the collecting of taxes and the rendering of public service.

This primary, both local and state, will be hard fought. Never has a vote been more important. Negro citizens pouring out of their homes and going to vote this time will command attention and respect as never before. The trouble is that some hold themselves cheap, thinking their one vote is not worth the casting. Then when the elected officials take them at their own valuation and treat them as people of no consequence, they wail to high heaven about the injustice of it all, forgetting they are getting back exactly what they paid out. He who would reap sows seed. Citizens who want good government, and consideration for themselves put forth the effort that deserves that return.

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GENERAL

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
October 22, 1940

A Score Who Act as a Unit Can Always Beat Hundreds Who Scatter Their Energy

By ROBERT QUILLEN.

While minorities in Europe are persecuted and deprived of all rights, an American minority of 12 million may select the next president and thus makes itself arbiter of the nation's destiny.

The power is new, and the development of it is the saga of a race that rose from slavery to become the balance of power in the world's greatest nation in less than a century.

A few years ago the Negroes who voted were still loyal to Lincoln, and their reward was a few menial jobs in Washington.

Then things began to happen. Negro athletes won contests of international importance and were treated as heroes. A Negro poet was lionized in Russia and Negro artists won fame in Europe, and white people honored them when they came home. Books by Negroes won national praise. Negroes were befriended by the wife of the President. Negro dances and Negro music set the standard for the nation. Colored people were climbing.

But it was relief that taught them their power. The depression hurt them worse than any other group, for they were the poorest, and when relief enabled them to survive and in many instances made them more prosperous than they ever had been before, they were correspondingly grateful. They quit Abraham Lincoln and idolized Roosevelt. Their vote, which was almost solid, did much to complete the landslide of '36.

Politicians began to court them as no race had ever been courted before. Walter White, a Negro who easily passes as a white man, sat in the gallery in Washington and scared congressmen into voting for a measure that many abominated.

Life magazine, discussing the Negro's new political power, said: "If the decision is close, their 2,500,000 votes may be decisive in such key states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan."

White himself says in Liberty that the vote of his people is "so distributed that it can hold the balance of power in any reasonably close contest in 17 states with a total electoral vote of 281."

Thus, the next president may be elected by the Negroes of the north and the white people of the south, where the Negroes don't vote.

Concern Over The Negro Vote

OCT 27 1940

IN HIS masterful article in Liberty, Walter White gave some startling figures and facts relative to the distribution of the colored vote and its impelling effect in national elections. It was shown conclusively where the vote was close, a few Negro votes in pivotal centers might tilt the elections. It is the electorial vote that counts and while a candidate might get a high popular vote in a state with few electorial votes, he can lose the plum in losing by a small margin the electorial vote in big states like Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. This factor is now giving the gravest concern over the coming national election.

Robert Quillan, a world-famous commentator, in his column a few days ago cited as did Mr. White, that the Negro vote was a great factor in this coming election. Mr. Quillan stated in plain language that a few well organized units might uproot a large number of decentralized unorganized units.

After his survey, Walter White summarized his article by saying that he possibly could tell how the Negro vote would go in this election, but he would not.

Be that what it may, it must be admitted that the colored vote in the pivotal states is well organized. Despite the fact that disfranchisement and other subterfuges have played havoc with the colored vote in the south, there is no dismay in the north and middlewest. Colored voters turn out in large numbers and ward bosses give great concern over the distribution of this vote.

Atlanta, Ga.

Candidates in the pivotal doubtful sections sense that the colored vote is worth going after and are sparing no pains in making bids for that vote.

It is a slow process, but the south is awakening to the fact that ballots are powers to be envied. Forward thinking people seldom overlook power. The south has done this to her chagrin and loss of industry and opportunity. She is gradually awakening and from the lesson that the North is giving in its anxiety over the colored vote, the south some day will seize upon every medium that will enhance the vote counting on election days.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
October 22, 1940

Rob't Quillen

A Score Who Act as a Unit Can Always Beat Hundreds Who Scatter Their Energy

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Thus the next President may be elected by the negroes of the North and the white people of the South, where the negroes don't vote. Politics does indeed make strange bedfellows.

In The Nation

More Signs of a Trend Toward Political Change

OCT 31 1940

By ARTHUR KROCK

EN ROUTE THROUGH INDIANA AND OHIO, Oct. 30—In these cities, towns and rural stretches of the midland plains the political story is the same, intensified in Indiana because for the second time in history there is a chance to send a Hoosier to the White House. Indiana has been rich in Vice Presidents. One of them, the late Thomas R. Marshall, once said to the Gridiron Club: "I come from a State which has produced more first-rate second-place men than any other in the Union." But only Benjamin Harrison, of all the Presidents, was Hoosier-born.

Indiana may, therefore, register in a spirit of local pride what seems to be the prevailing trend on these prairies, but in Ohio, as lately in Illinois, the best observers spoke of it confidently, and in the same terms. The division they expect is always the same: organized labor and relief workers overwhelmingly for a third term, or any number of terms, for Mr. Roosevelt; unorganized labor supporting him by a much smaller majority; the midland farmers sweeping back to the Republican party; Negroes returning in a considerable proportion; groups with some roots of sentiment still in Europe applying these sentiments to the immediate test, and women showing signs of a drift away from the President, which, if he is defeated, will be one of the chief causes.

New York Times

Influence of Press and Radio

In Chicago, while the Democratic campaign managers in the West are gloomy about the Dakotas and Iowa, despairing of Indiana and fearful of Illinois, they show great optimism about Ohio. This has a background, their experience of 1916. In that year Ohio parted from its neighbors. Though Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois joined the Eastern seaboard in support of Charles E. Hughes, Ohio formed an opposite combination with the South and West to re-elect President Wilson. But then the Ohio press was strongly in favor of the President and the radio was not an instrument of national campaigning. Now the Ohio press is as heavily in favor of Mr. Willkie, and his supporters in that State believe, contrary to the general impression, that the radio has been more helpful to him than to the President. He has been able to put over his message twice, they say. And his Midwest accent and cracked, tired voice has not, in this same opinion, proved a liability in contrast with the clear tones and more cultivated delivery of Mr. Roosevelt.

Throughout the region the Democrats admit a heavy falling off from the political statistics of 1936, and they agree that emphasis on the third-term issue and Mr. Willkie's attacks on the President's foreign policy have been effective. In another column today Mr. Catledge has analyzed the straw vote which The Columbus Dispatch has been taking since 1912 with unusual accuracy, and this poll supplies contributory evidence of a trend which has seemed almost physically visible to a traveler on the prairie—in Illinois, in towns of Indiana like Elwood, Anderson and Richmond—and over the more rolling ground of Ohio.

New York Times

This year this straw vote indicates a victory for Mr. Willkie in the latter State. The general shift of votes from Democratic to Republican over 1936 is 7 as against 1 the other way. In groups of immediate or distant German origins it runs as high as 15 to 1. Among the farmers there is the straw vote of Adams County, which gave Mr. Landon a plurality of six-tenths of 1 per cent and now is casting straws toward a 43.6 per cent plurality for Mr. Willkie. And women are separately registered as voting in the ratio of 2½ to 1 against a third term, with a shift of 7 to 1 as compared with 1936.

Divisions in Negro Vote

As in several other States, the colored citizens of Ohio are sufficiently numerous to hold a balance of power in close contests. The Dispatch poll has carefully assigned more than 90 per cent of WPA workers, which include many Negroes, to the Democratic ticket. But tests among male members of Negro congregations have shown a ratio of 27 to 20 in favor of Mr. Willkie and 25 to 15 among women members. If these auguries are refuted by the facts of Nov. 5, then the protest which seems to be afoot is coming down a different wind from that which bears the samplings.

One interesting aspect of the present campaign is that, taken by and large, the politicians on both sides will be highly pleased if all the straw votes are discredited. The Democrats loved Dr. Gallup boundlessly in the first few weeks, and now they fear his every report. The Republicans have not forgotten their unhappiness over his early accountings. Many of them say that, whatever the outcome of the election, the voters decided their inclinations long ago; that Mr. Willkie only had to prove himself to those who long ago preferred to vote against the President, and therefore the so-called "slump" which the Gallup poll bore out was only a waiting period, and never ran below the surface.

But it cost them much grief and labor, and they join their Democratic opposite numbers in praying that if the election is strongly affirmative either way, citizens hereafter will view the polls as an interesting sidelight and not be influenced by them to whatever degree they may be this year.

Charlotte N. C. Observer
November 3, 1940

The Negro and the President.

To The Observer:

These lines are for the Negro voters at large and especially of the State of North Carolina, Charlotte the Queen City of the State and Mecklenburg, the banner county, I have tried to decide from past happenings, from the signing of the Proclamation, and the situation as it has been since the election of Mr. Roosevelt in 1932. How can any sane person in our group oppose and vote against a man that has done more to help us stand on our own feet and quit ourselves like men!

The Negroes have been given a better chance along with other races under the leadership of this God sent man, Mr. Roosevelt, in these terrible and trying times than they have had under any President since the emancipation. While that great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, signed the proclamation that broke the shackles of slavery that freed our forefathers, we do not find in history where this great man by recommendation or otherwise made any provision for a single slave to be given a mule or foot of land to start this new life that was given him, but was turned as so many cattle in the new world pasture without food or shelter. But Mr Roosevelt has included the Negro in every recommendation that he has made to help the shattered world to return to normal.

From the definition of Webster the republican form of government seems to stand for the Hitler form more than for the people and nothing is included for the common people, as is included in the principles of the democratic form. Read and see what the term of each party stands for from Webster's definition.

From what I have gleaned from the Willkie campaign speeches, it is the selective few who are trying to again get control of the government that the common people may be returned to long weary hours as "hewers of wood and carriers of water." Negroes run and as you run, read the definition of the two parties and if the common people especially the Negroes haven't been ruled as if by a republic then I am dumb. I also notice Candidate Willkie's lambasting that great humanitarian leader and laying all kind of charges to this great man, when all should know that the President cannot and does not make the laws of our country. It is our Senators and Congressmen we send up from our different states, and if and when the President recommends and they vote it into a law.

Did the President make the law or our Representatives and should the President make or offer anything to Congress that would be detrimental to the people whom they are sent there to represent and see that no hardship is imposed upon them by laws enacted? Should it be said that the President did it. As Negroes, we should vote for Mr. Roosevelt because he has championed the cause of the common people and has so ordered the plan of his administration that the Negroes would get at least one slice of the new deal pie. That a lot of people are gulping up and fighting his re-election.

Read the definition of the two parties and then vote your choice but as for me and my house we are on the Democratic band wagon and will vote for that God sent man, Franklin D. Roosevelt for President and hope he will stay in the White House at Washington until his Heavenly Father calls him to His glorious reward in the Beulah land. My last word in these few thoughts to my race, let's not be ungrateful to the man that has included us in every national program that he has planned. We have only suffered discriminations in the rights given the states or we would get the same ratings as other races according to our ability. Let's not be ungrateful for these far reaching considerations.

For Roosevelt for President that we may still have a peaceful world in which to live.

MRS. ELLA J. MONTGOMERY.
Charlotte.

POLITICAL 1940
SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL NOV 17 1940

THE POLL TAX AGAIN Up in Tennessee one of the writing lads on The Tennessean does a fine job of breast beating anent a recent column in this corner concerning the poll tax. In fact, if Gargantua ever becomes ill, the Ringling circus people can take this lad and substitute him with no noticeable loss. He can beat his breast and holler real loud.

He summons Jefferson to his aid as he hollers about democracy. As a matter of fact, Jefferson wanted to surround the ballot with many requirements. They know all this but because Hamilton was against the people and Jefferson was for them they keep summoning the shade of Jefferson from its tomb at Monticello as a sort of argument against the poll tax. I would advise the boys to read at least one book, even one of the poor ones, on Jefferson.

He never wanted anything except that which he got—a republic and a representative republic. I had assumed all along this was a well-known fact. But apparently it is not.

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Jefferson believed, and insisted, that those who vote make some direct contribution to government. That is what the poll tax does. And to advocate removing it and turning the ballot over to a horde of persons who take no interest in government and who make no contribution at all except through what few of the hidden taxes that get them, is not good sense and it is not good for government. And if they are so keen on Jefferson I do hope they will read at least a page or so about him.

The Constitution

A FEW FACTS With almost no exceptions the ballot is more corrupt in states which have no poll tax. There is not a single state which can produce evidence of better government because of the lack of a poll tax.

I like argument. I revel in it. I admit there are some arguments against the poll tax. But those who agitate me most are those who strike a solemn pose, lower their voices and say, "Dee-moc-ra-cee."

Most of those who advocate the repeal of the tax are, of course, sincere. But the noise is made by those persons who like causes and who rarely stop to digest the virtues of their cause.

Universal suffrage is not a panacea.

It won't cure the ills of government any more than it will cure the hives.

Atlanta, Ga.

By all means let every person vote—if they are willing to make a contribution to the government which keeps them and protects them.

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If we have a flood, we don't want more water.

If the house is on fire, we don't throw gasoline on the flames.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS There is so much talk about the wisdom of the founding fathers these days I would like to make a point.

The breast-beaters speak of the democracy of Mr. Jefferson and the founding fathers.

Well, if they were honest in their statements, they would say the truth, which is that the founding fathers in their very real wisdom believed the privilege of the ballot to be the highest privilege a citizen could have. For that reason they were careful to put about it certain requirements.

They didn't attempt a pure democracy and that is exactly why this nation has endured. I am strong for the wisdom of the founding fathers. I think they were right. They debated the idea of universal suffrage, and they debated it long and exhaustively. They decided against it. Properly.

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The evidence is that New York, Chicago, Boston and other large centers need the poll tax. Its lack makes for excessive corruption. The history of this, and other states, is filled with black pages of corruption existing when we did not have the poll tax.

The vote is the highest privilege of citizenship.

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Real National Unity Demands Removal Of Un-American Barriers

NOV 14 1940

"NATIONAL UNITY" is the cry of the hour. Immediately following the re-election of President Roosevelt for a precedent-smashing third term, national and state leaders of both major parties issued statements calling for a forgetfulness of the bitterness of the campaign and a unity of all the various groups in the best interests of the United States of America.

However, national unity will serve this nation best only if the program on which Americans unite is in keeping with the basic principles on which the nation is founded.

Philadelphia Inquirer

Our best informed men — men like Ambassador Kennedy, who has been in Europe and who knows first-hand what modern warfare is like and what the real conditions are — warn us that strenuous days are ahead for this nation. There is undoubtedly need for national unity. We do not want to sermonize; but the cry for "national unity" now heard from one end of the country to the other is comparable to the cry for "peace", about which an Old Testament writer wrote, "They cry peace when there is no peace." In other words, there can be no national unity in the United States of America until the dominant majority in this nation is willing to pay the price.

There are glaring weaknesses in American life, with which every national leader is acquainted. An attempt to correct these weaknesses must be antecedent to the establishment of real national unity.

Because the election is still so near to us, an illustration taken from the election figures will serve to illustrate one aspect of American life which sooner or later must be dealt with realisticaliy. We have been looking over incomplete figures of the votes by States for the candidates of the two major parties. Here is something to think about:

Alabama has ELEVEN electoral votes. California has twice as many — 22. The vote in Alabama (incomplete) was 206,240. In California the vote was 3,116,011, roughly FIFTEEN times as many votes as were cast in Alabama.

Texas has TWENTY-THREE electoral votes. New York has 47. The vote in Texas (incomplete) was 960,500. In New York the vote was 6,291,453 — almost seven times as many votes cast, but only twice as many in the electoral college.

Alabama, Texas and other states in the so-called Solid South use all kinds of devices to keep poor whites and Negroes from voting.

Any program of national unity which ignores the disfranchisement of millions of voters will achieve unity in name only; for always beneath the surface will be the smouldering resentment of the disfranchised millions who, cheated of their manhood rights, furnish splendid and receptive material for the agents of the many isms which have turned Europe and Asia into one great battlefield.

Commenting on the disfranchisement practised in the South and the disproportionate importance of southern states because of this disfranchisement, William Pickens comments, "THAT IS NOT DEMOCRACY. THAT IS A DISGRACE TO DEMOCRACY. THAT IS CHEATING PLAIN AND SIMPLE."

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Abolition of Civil Service Segregation
Equal Educational Opportunity.

Wearing the liberal tag and casting aspersions on those who hold a different viewpoint is not the proper approach to the solution of the very real problems confronting the nation in general and colored Americans in particular.

Blind following of any one man, whether it be President Roosevelt or anyone else, and accusing those who think otherwise of "downright selfishness and shortsightedness" and of "putting their own selfish interest and the interest of a few above that of the people," is a bad approach to the solution of these problems.

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The above quotations are from a statement to the colored newspapers, issued by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, of the 1st Illinois district, who was re-elected for his fourth consecutive term The Congressman has been a consistent supporter of the President. We believe that he is honest in his views as to the benefits accruing to colored Americans from the New Deal program. For the Congressman to insinuate that those who see differently are motivated by "downright selfishness" is to assume an attitude which is going to make it difficult for the day to come when, to quote from his statement, "the Negro will come into his own, and will share the blessings of America as American citizens without being discriminated against."

National unity is possible only as men and women of widely divergent views are able to meet and discuss calmly and intelligently the problems which confront them. Imputing sinister motives to those who think differently will not help.

We have listed above some of the barriers to real national unity in the United States. Will Congressman Mitchell use his influence with President Roosevelt whom he knows (to quote) "as no other colored man in the United States has had an opportunity to know him" to have him work for the removal of these very real barriers to national unity?

The Negro Vote

NOV 16 1940

One refreshing aspect of the recent election develops out of the fact that the Negro vote emerged unpurchasable. Right here in Oklahoma City a Republican campaign worker showed up in Democratic headquarters (Negro division) Saturday before the election with $3,800.00. This individual being a novice did not realize the significance of what he was doing. Of course he called himself joking when he walked into the moneyless headquarters of the Negro Democrats and rubbed his big checks across the faces of the office employees. He also advised the Negro workers that he was paid more than $600.00 for a month's work.

The Black Dispatch

It will be recalled that Perry Howard, Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi, when he visited the Black Dispatch office a few weeks prior to the election, announced he was matching the Republican state committee dollar for dollar. In as much as the checks displayed by the Republican wheel horse in the Democratic headquarters were signed by a well known Oklahoma Republican we can assume the national committee allocated a similar amount.

If more than $7,000.00 was spent by the Republican high command in Oklahoma during the closing days of the campaign, how much was spent during the two months of active canvass that was made among the Negro voters?

The point we wish to make is that in spite of this attempt to buy and purchase the Negro vote slight gains were made in the effort. It was very noticeable that the Democratic line was held more securely in those communities where Negroes have been given control of the election machinery. Oklahoma City is one notable example of where the lines held securely.

This should be a bit of information upon which the Democratic organization should capitalize. This election proves that Negro leadership can do more with the Negro vote than any other type of guidance. There are many sections of the state where the population is 100% Negro where whites still administer the election machinery. Chairman France Paris and the Democratic organization should recognize this fact and from here on out the proper policy is obvious.

Oklahoma City

The Black Dispatch suggests that at an early date sectional meetings be called over the state, under the auspices of the Democratic State Central Committee having for its purpose working out this type of problem and other urgent matters extant just now. A patronage program should be developed lifting the Negro above the janitor level. These are some of the things that should be given attention just now.

OKla.

The democrats of the state should recognize that "Willkie" democrats are definitely out of the party organization. Few people seem to recognize there is a gradual disintegration of party lines on both sides of the fence. The folk in the Democratic party believing in a premium being placed on property rights have left the Democratic party for keeps and likewise the folk in the Republican party believing that government should place greatest emphasis on human rights are rushing into the Democratic party.

Just how much this is going to unbalance party lines all over the south has yet to expose itself. If "also-ran" Mr. Willkie presists in continuing his crusade along the lines of the recent campaign, and which we believe he will do, the line of cleavage we have indicated above will be clearly outlined four years from now.

In such a re-shuffling of the ploitical picture the Negro vote in the south will carry with it more significance and, greater value. Eventually, such a political shift means the breaking up of the proverbal "solid south". It means that a two party system will function all over America.

If Democratic leadership in Oklahoma and everywhere can sense this trend party lines are taking more importance will attach to what we have indicated here.

One point few people pay much attention to is that the middle class Negro is more inclined to accept the philosophy of the rich than the middle class whites. This is a disposal not incident to race, but peculiar to minority groups. Few Negro leaders believe they can solve their problems with working class whites. They decide with the majority first as a defense technique, and the environment of suppression develops a desire to ignore all middle ground. The Negro intellectual and comfortable liver is vulnerable always to the beckoning call of the ruling class whites.

More and more this will become evident. A lot of people recognize the tendency of the Negroes to ignore Communism, but few people recognize the more basic trend we have just referred to. Negroes are conservative because of Negro leadership. The masses are radically inclined just as are other racial stocks or groups.

If the Democratic party can recognize all we have suggested here much can be done in this day and hour to safely land the Negro in the ranks of American liberals. A new social order is evolving here before our eyes. The Tuesday election finds poor whites and Negroes voting together. Will the Democratic party know how to cement these two groups together?

Suffrage Returned

DEC 15 1940

LAST August Representative Marcantonio of New York introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution designed to place the ballot in the hands of ten million people of the South through the enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution. The measure calls for the apportionment of representatives from each state "according to the whole vote cast in their respective districts and not according to the population as now existing." The proposed Act makes it a penalty punishment by a minimum fine of $5,000 or imprisonment for two years, or both, for any state, or subdivision of a state or officer who violates the law.

Chicago Bee

The enactment of the measure would immediately wipe out the restrictions that prevent Negroes and poor whites from voting. It would no longer be profitable to prevent any group from voting for such would reduce the number of representatives that a state could send to Washington. States want more, not less, representatives. Therefore, the enactment of the bill would mean legislation in the several southern states to abolish the poll tax which keeps Negroes and poor whites from voting, the repeal of the law concerning intelligence tests as a requirement for voting and the termination of the multiple tactics employed by southerners to keep Negroes from voting.

Chicago Ill.

The South is still fighting the Civil War and in its battle it is using the Negro as the object of its attack. It thus attempts to keep the Negro in the ditch. But in the nature of things one can not keep another in a ditch without himself remaining therein also. Disfranchisement is no exception. Millions of whites are annually kept from the polls solely because of the restrictions directed at Negroes which also affect them.

If the Marcantonio measure is enacted it will be the first time since Reconstruction days that Congress has attempted to prove to the world that there is something more to our democracy than mere lip service insofar as the privileges of exercising the ballot is concerned.

The law as proposed, if enacted, would be the opening wedge for Negroes to enjoy the rights given them by the laws of the nation. We, then, would be requested to take part in the election of candidates to public offices. We would have a national voice in the affairs of this country.

We give our hearty approval to the resolution and trust that the measure will obtain the backing of the administration and be enacted into law.

Demagogues And Demagogues

In support of its contention that advocacy of poll tax elimination in Southern states is associated with demagogy, *The Tuscaloosa News* points to Ed Crump, Memphis political boss, as the type of leader who advocates cutting out the poll tax in the expectation that it will tighten his power.

In a recent city election in Memphis, Crump received more than 31,000 votes while only three persons voted against him. Crump seems to be doing pretty well as it is, but maybe he wants poll tax restrictions tightened so that he can get a still bigger vote.

But if all those who are opposed to the poll tax as a requisite for voting are demagogues, then they have some excellent company in Barry Bingham, publisher of *The Louisville Courier-Journal;* Virginius Dabney, editor of *The Richmond Times-Dispatch;* Dr. Clarence Poe, editor of *The Progressive Farmer,* who has just eschewed almost certain election to the governorship of North Carolina because he believed his best service lay outside the political field; President Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, to say nothing of our own *Age-Herald's* John Temple Graves, who has been accused of many things but never of being a demagogue, and many others.

We rather suspect that demagogy, instead of being found on the side of those who favor elimination of the poll tax, or at least elimination of the cumulative feature of it, which is this newspaper's position, is rather to be found on the side of those who rather hysterically argue that the poll tax question is bound up with white supremacy. We still would like to know how those who argue thus regard the political situation in North Carolina and Florida, where there is neither a poll tax requirement for voters nor any unusual amount of political skullduggery.

Poll Taxes

In his address to the American Youth Congress, John L. Lewis called upon the Department of Justice to "attack and strike down" the laws now in force in eight Southern States requiring payment of poll taxes by all voters. The practical effect of these laws is to disfranchise most of the Negroes and a considerable number of low-income whites living in these States. The widespread employment of education tests in the South also results in large-scale disfranchisement.

The abuses of the poll tax system are unfortunately easier to expose than to suppress. Mr. Lewis assumes that the privilege of voting is among the "inalienable rights" granted under the Constitution to a free-born American. That, of course, is not true. For every State determines the qualifications for voting within its borders so long as it does not encroach upon constitutional limitations. Thus aliens may be granted voting privileges, while American citizens may be and have been denied them. Indeed, about one-half the adult citizens of the United States were voteless until passage of the nineteenth amendment granting woman suffrage.

Young people of both sexes under 21 years are also excluded from the electorate, although any State might fix another age limit. Ownership of property as a qualification for voting is no longer required, but it would be entirely legal. The requirement that a voter must pay poll taxes or other kinds of taxes is a long-standing variant of the property test.

The restrictions imposed upon the States in respect to suffrage by the Federal Constitution have but two purposes: to prevent discrimination on racial grounds or for reasons of sex. As the Southern poll tax laws apply to both men and women, whites as well as Negroes, it is doubtful whether they are open to challenge on constitutional grounds. To sustain a charge of unconstitutionality it would be necessary to prove that in practice the laws are not applied impartially to all citizens.

Even if discrimination could be shown to exist, the power of the Federal Government to force reforms upon the States would be questionable. Under the fourteenth amendment, to be sure, a State which denies the vote to any male adult citizen, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, is supposed to be penalized by having its representation in Congress reduced. But for various reasons Congress has never tried to enforce this constitutional mandate, despite the widespread disfranchisement of Negroes in the South.

While there is little that the Federal Gvernment can do to redress the wrong done to the disfranchised citizens of some States, a great deal can be accomplished by the exposure and fortright denunciation of practices which violate the spirit of democracy. There can be no doubt that the purposes for which poll taxes are levied, and the method of enforcing these laws, violate the principles of equality upon which our democracy is based. They should be repealed by forthright action of the States.

Negro Vote, A Deciding Factor In Coming Election

Chicago Ill. Sun
OCT 13 1940

NEW YORK, Oct. 10—Because the "Negro vote is today so distributed that it can hold the balance of power in any reasonably close contest in seventeen stats with a total electoral vote of 281, fifteen votes more than the 266 required to elect a President and Vice-President," it is a factor that will have to be reckoned with by the major parties in 1940.

"This," says Walter White in the current issue of Liberty Magazine, "and the fact that the Negro voter is politically far more mature today than ever before, means that he is increasingly ignoring party labels, preferring to study candidates and issues.

Writing on "How will the Negroes Vote," the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said, "If the decision is close, their 2,500,000 votes may be decisive in such key states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri and Michigan.

OCT 13 1940

Say Congress Killed Stiffled Poll Tax Expose

Chicago, Ill.
OCT 5 1940

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Rep. Lee Geyer, of California, protested this week against the refusal of the House Judiciary Sub-committee to print the hearings on the anti-poll tax bill which he has sponsored in Congress.

Geyer declared that Rep. Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, chairman of the sub-committee, had promised to have the hearings printed, and then later "had a change of heart."

Assailing Walter's action as "manifestly unfair," Geyer asked the full Judiciary Committee to investigate the suppression of the hearings.

U.S. Congressmen To Hear Arguments On Abolition Of Tax

Geyer Bill Seeks to Make It Against Law for Eight States In South to Require Vote Fee

By H. D. COKE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—SNS—

The fight started in Birmingham at the first session of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare for the abolition of the sinister poll tax is scheduled for a hearing in Congress on March 4th, on a bill introduced in the last session of Congress by Congressman Lee E. Geyer, (Democrat of California).

It will mark the first attempt through Federal legislation to prevent the collection of a poll tax as a requirement to vote in Federal elections. The bill, if passed, will make it against the law for a state to levy a poll tax in an election in which federal officials are to be elected.

NEGROES VITALLY CONCERNED

While several million Negroes have been prevented from voting for many reasons the bill is the first step toward a "New Deal" in the method of registration for voters. Many political observers have remarked that separated methods of registration would have to be used for Federal elections. That with millions of Negroes voting in Federal elections and only a few qualified to cast ballots for their local or state officials the entire nation's attention would be called mass discrimination in the application of registration and voting rules.

Local Negro politicians were anxious to have Atty. A. D. Shores, who has figured prominently in registration and voting cases during the past year as well as Dr. E. W. Taggart, member of the National and local Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People attend the hearings next Monday in Washington to represent in the local interest.

Geyer's bill would make it possible for everybody to vote—without first paying a poll tax—for president, vice-president, presidential elector, senator or member of the House of Representatives of the United States.

If finally passed into law, the bill would mean that millions of people in the South would be able to vote for the first time.

Only eight states now say that you can not vote unless you have paid your poll tax. All eight are in the South. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

The fact that the hearing has been set to begin March 4 does not give the friends of democracy in the South much time to prepare evidence to give the House Committee.

Congressman Geyer through the Civic Liberties Committee of the sponsoring organization asked the Birmingham WORLD to appeal to the Southern people to help furnish testimony for use next Monday. Persons with any information of the denial of the voting right as regards to the poll tax are asked to contact the WORLD or Congressman Lee E. Geyer, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Local people are also asked to write their Congressman requesting that he favor passage of the bill While the writer was in Washington several days ago he contacted several progressive Southern representatives for their attitude on the pending bill only to learn that they would vote for the bill if their "people back home" were sufficiently interested.) Persons who have paid large amounts in back poll taxes should also contact this newspaper or Congressman Geyer.

MUCH EVIDENCE NEEDED

Congressman Geyer and the others who are leading the fight against the tax have much evidence. But it usually is a fact that if testimony on a bill does not last several days, the bill does not get much attention from Congressmen.

MORE EVIDENCE IS NEEDED AT ONCE.

Plans for the campaign in Congress were made at a meeting in Congressman Geyer's office last week.

Representatives of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were present and endorsed the principle of the Geyer bill. William Green sent Paul Scharrenberg, legislative representative of the A. F. L., while Lee Pressman, lawyer for the C. I. O., represented John L. Lewis.

Also present were Gardner Jackson, of Labor's Non-Partisan League and representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the National Lawyers Guild, the National League of Women Shoppers, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Negro Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other groups.

This latest attack on the poll tax laws—which is gaining force daily—was started by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare when it met at Birmingham, Alabama, in November, 1938.

The Conference set up a Civil Rights Committee to carry on the fight. Maury Mavernick, former congressman and now mayor of San Antonio, Texas, was elected chairman of the committee and Joseph S. Gelders of Birmingham was elected secretary.

CAMPAIGN FOR FUNDS

Since then, the cimmittee has conducted a campaign for funds for the fight and has made plans to attack it from several sides.

Stamps have been printed for use on letters. The stamps, which sell for 1 cent each, say: "Abolish poll taxes! Free America first!" Considerable money has been raised by sale of these stamps—and by many donations.

The Civil Rights Committee prepared the anti-poll tax bill and asked Congressman Geyer to introduce it in the House. Geyer agreed, and it was put in at the last session of Congress, but too late for action at that time.

SUB-COMMITTEE NAMED

At this session, Congressman Hatton W. Sumners (Democrat of Texas), who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, was asked to speed up action on the bill. He set the hearings for March 4 and appointed these men on the sub-committee:

Walters (Democrat of Pennsylvania) chairman; Bibbs, (Democrat of Georgia). Murdoch (Democrat of Utah), Gwynne (Reublican of Iowa) and Vreeland (Republican of New Jersey).

In the meantime, the Southern Conference's Civil Rights Committee has taken the attack on the poll tax into Federal Court.

Henry Pirtle of Tracy City, Tennessee, had not paid his poll tax, But he claimed that he had a right to vote anyway last Fall in the purely federal election to pick a Congressman to succeed Representative Sam D. McReynolds (Democrat of Tennessee) who died in office.

With the backing of Joseph Gelders' committee, Pirtle took his case into Federal Court.

The first hearing was at Nashville, with two federal judges sitting jointly to hear the case. After hearing the evidence, U. S. Judges Davies ruled that Pirtle could not vote without a poll tax receipt.

CASE APPEALED

The case was appealed and soon will be heard by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, Crampton Harris of Birmingham, who is the former law partner of Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black, is the lawyer for Pirtle and the Civil Rights Committee.

Harris will argue in his appeal that the Constitution says that a state can not put a tax on a federal government function.

"A State might just as well try to tax the U. S. Mails as a U. S. Election," Harris will tell the Court of Appeals.

Harris will contend that the right to vote is given all the people to maintain our democratic system of government. There can be NO DEMOCRACY WHEN EVERY MAN AND WOMAN IS NOT FREE TO VOTE—without first paying a poll tax.

Negroes Denied Right To Vote

Northwest Enterprise

OCT 4 1940

Seattle Wash.

New York—The Department of Justice has been asked to make an investigation of disfranchisement against Negroes in Palm Beach County, Florida, whereby these citizens are denied the right to vote in primary elections, through the refusal of officials to register them for either the Democratic or Republican parties.

The request for a probe into conditions in Florida was made today by Thurgood Marshall, special N. A. A. C. P. counsel, in a letter to O. John Rogge, United States assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's civil liberties division. Marshall recently returned from a special trip to Florida where he got a first-hand account of the situation. He turned over to the Justice Department two types of registration cerificates used in Palm Beach County. A yellow certificate, issued to white voters, contains a blank space for "political party affiliation," to be filled in; a second, white certificate, which is issued to colored voters, contains no such blank space.

"The use of separate types of registration certificates for the two reces," the letter said, "represents the type of practice prevalent in the enire sae of Florida oday."

POLITICAL -1940
SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

POLL TAX POOR RULE

In our opinion any law that disfranchises intelligent, peace-loving people from a vote in elections is a poor law and should be modified or repealed. The poll tax law in this state is such a law. Under its requirement about one adult person of each six votes. Why should our people have to pay a penalty for the privilege of a small voice in a democracy or republic? Look out over your own community and give up this old rule of the few idea.—Moulton Advertiser.

POLL TAX AGAIN

Apparently we are not the only ones who are interested in the poll tax question. We note that there is now a bill before the national Congress named the Geyer bill, which is an amendment to the Hatch bill, whereby the poll tax would be abolished as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections. This act if passed would render invalid, so far as federal elections are concerned, the poll taxes in the eight states which still have the "vote-choker," which are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

It is reliably estimated that in 1928 and 1932 elections only 18.4 per cent of the adult citizen population of Alabama voted in the elections. Can we say that is rule by the majority? The converse is so in that we have a 1-to-5 minority rule. America today, more than ever before, needs that the will of the majority be made known. There has been a trend toward dictatorship not only in European nations, but right here in America as well. If the poll tax is a revenue tax, why not raise it to $5 so that the schools will feel its benefit. If it isn't, then why not put it aside? The tax is purely a discriminatory, pressive tax, designed for a malady which no longer exists.—Blount County Messenger (Oneonta).

Poll Taxes Scrutinized

WASHINGTON, April 13 (AP)—Chairman Gillette of Iowa said today that his special Senate elections committee had received complaints that "wholesale payments of poll taxes" were being used to influence the selection of delegates to national conventions.

"No one factor could be used more to influence the election than these poll tax statutes," he said. "For instance, in a State with a poll tax of $2.50, boosters for a Presidential candidate could go in and swing an important bloc of votes by spending $5,000."

He said that investigations had been asked in "all States where payment of poll taxes are a requisite for voting." There are thirty-nine States which have a poll tax of some sort, but payment of the tax before voting is required in only about half of them, chiefly Southern and Western States.

"As a general rule we have asked that complaints be under oath and making specific charges," Senator Gillette said. "However, we can act upon our own authority and initiative."

He will consult other Senators on the committee about the "poll tax complaints."

Buying Of Primary Votes With Poll Tax Payments Is Charged

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Chairman Gillette (D., Iowa) said Saturday his special Senate elections committee had received complaints that "wholesale payments of poll taxes" were being used to influence selection of delegations to national presidential nominating conventions.

The senator said the sources of the complaints must remain confidential until after the committee acted, but commented that it appeared to be a "very fertile field" for investigation.

"No one factor could be used more to influence the election than these poll tax statutes," he said. "For instance in a state with a poll tax of $2.50, boosters for a presidential candidate could go in and swing an important bloc of votes by spending $5,000."

Gillette said investigations had been asked in "all states where payment of poll taxes is a requisite for voting."

There are 39 states which have a poll tax of some sort, but payment of the tax before voting is required in only about half this number, chiefly Southern and Western states.

Gillette said a complete inquiry into this broad field would be a "huge task" and would involve a policy decision for the committee which was directed by the Senate to police the election of the president, vice president and senators.

POLL TAX INQUIRY

Senator Gillette, Democrat, of Iowa, who is Chairman of the special Senate Elections Committee, has expressed the opinion that a "very fertile field" for investigation has been outlined by a great many complaints to the effect that "wholesale payments of poll taxes" are being used to influence selections of delegates to the national conventions of the Democratic and Republican Parties. According to the Senator, investigations have been asked in all States where payment of poll taxes is a requisite for voting.

The Senate Committee has presumably received complaints from Tennessee, which is one of the eight States in which poll taxes are required. The Committee's interest in the subject relates exclusively to the alleged manipulation of poll tax receipts in Federal elections. But if Senator Gillette and his colleagues discover that specific charges are so numerous that an investigation is called for, they will find that the collection of poll taxes, and the uses to which poll tax receipts are put have many interesting ramifications.

Scarcely an election is held in the eight "poll tax States" without accompanying charges of the misuse of poll tax receipts. Commenting that "no one factor could be used more to influence the election than these poll tax receipts," Senator Gillette added that, "In a State with a poll tax of $2.50, boosters for a presidential candidate could go in and swing an important bloc of votes by spending $5,000." Five thousand dollars at $2.50 a vote will produce 2,000 votes. The expenditure of that sum in, say, a primary election, where the nominations are for city, or county, or State offices might produce the margin necessary for victory. In every large city, registration frauds are frequent. And in cities and counties where the percentage of registered voters participating in the average election is small, the buying up of poll tax receipts enables the individual or faction possessing them to influence the election.

A campaign to eliminate the poll tax is now being waged throughout the South. The question will be discussed here this week at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Pending in Congress are bills which would prohibit the poll tax requirement in Federal elections. An inquiry by Senator Gillette's Committee would bring to bear on an important controversial question much valuable information.

POLL TAX ABOLITION REQUESTED IN SOUTH

Commercial Appeal 4-15-40

Warning Is Sounded At Young Southerners' Meeting

WELFARE SESSIONS OPEN

Memphis, Tenn

Dr. Frank Graham Leads Discussion On Needs For The 'Freedom Of Human Beings' At Chattanooga Conference

By PAUL MORRIS
Staff Correspondent

CHATTANOOGA, April 14. — Abolition of the poll tax as a voting requirement is the major problem facing the South, the Council of Young Southerners was told Sunday at the opening session of the Second Annual Southern Conference for Human Welfare meeting in Memorial Auditorium here.

Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, executive secretary of the Young Southerners, told the gathering of approximately 300 whites and negroes that abolition of the poll tax could be obtained through the passage of the Guyer AntiPoll Tax Bill now before Congress and urged the group to "make it known that we can no longer tolerate a condition which permits a minority to govern a majority of Southerners."

Conference Opens

The meeting of the Young Southerners preceded the formal opening of the Second Conference on Human Welfare, which got under way tonight for a three-day meeting to carry on studies and discussions instituted at the organization of the conference two years ago in Birmingham.

Leading the night discussion was Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and chairman of the organization.

Mr. Dobbs, a native of Houston, Texas, declared that approximately two-thirds of the residents of the South are unable to vote.

"The poll tax system works to disfranchise the poor and to corrupt elections in eight Southern states, to impair representative government and to infringe upon the Democratic rights of a free people to express their desires through the ballot," he declared.

Needs 'Being Sacrificed'

Mr. Dobbs declared that the needs of young people in the Nation were "being sacrificed to the great and ever-growing interest in the European conflict and all things military," adding that the "high principles and human welfare measures for which the Democratic Party once declared 'it had just begun to fight' have been discarded."

He continued that the "puny appropriations" for the NYA and CCC had aided "less than one-fourth of the 4,000,000 needy youth," and added "cuts for these two agencies were recommended in the President's budget message."

The appropriation for the NYA was raised $17,000,000 and that for the CCC, $50,000,000 Mr. Dobbs told the council "by organized pressure on Congress first and foremost by the Youth Citizenship Institute" held recently in Washington.

Ragni Patel of the Indian National Congress, Bombay, told the council that the fight for Democracy in the South was akin to the effort his country was making to overthrow "the imperial domination of Great Britain."

Prominent Speakers

The conference Monday morning will conduct a discussion of rural life in the South, over which A. D. Stewart, Mississippi FSA director, will preside. In the afternoon Mark

F. Etheridge, general manager of the Louisville Courier-Journal, will preside at a session on industrial life in the South, at which time James P. Pope, director of the TVA, will be the principal speaker.

Monday night's discussion will be devoted to children in the South with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as the principal speaker.

Tuesday, "Citizenship in the South" will be the morning subject with Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio as the speaker, and that afternoon officers of the conference will be elected.

The concluding session Tuesday night will see the presentation of the Thomas Jefferson award to the Southerner making the greatest contribution to the territory's progress since the last meeting of the conference.

Poll Taxes Paid To Sway Party Nominations, Charge

WASHINGTON, April 13 — (AP) — Chairman Gillette (D), Iowa, said today that his special Senate elections committee had received complaints that "wholesale payments of poll taxes" were being used to influence selection of delegations to national presidential nominating conventions.

The Senator said the sources of the complaints must remain confidential until after the committee acted, but commented that it appeared to be a "very fertile field" for investigation.

"No one factor could be used more to influence the election than these poll tax statutes," he said. "For instance in a state with a poll tax of $2.50, boosters for a presidential candidate could go in and control an important bloc of votes by spending $5,000."

Gillette said investigations had been asked in "all states where payment of poll taxes are a requisite for voting."

There are 39 states which have a poll tax of some sort, but payment of the tax before voting is required in only about half this number, chiefly Southern and Western States.

Gillette said a complete inquiry into this broad field would be a "huge task" an dwould involve a policy decision for the committee which was directed by the Senate to police the election of the President, Vice President and Senators.

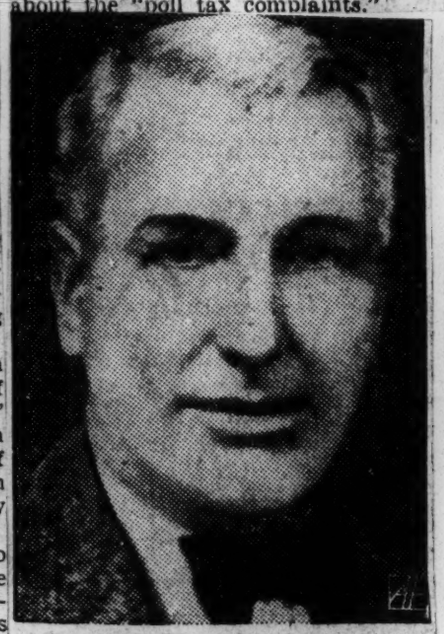
He indicated, too, that some complaints were of a very general nature could be regarded as a defensive measure for the protection of the British fleet, but also it could be viewed as a protective measure for British troop transportts to t he Netherlands.

The Voelkischer Beobachter, often the mouthpiece of Adolf Hitler, says:

While the committee has taken the position that complaints should be required to make specific charges.

"As a general rule we have asked that complaints be under oath and making specific charges," Gillette said. "However, we can act upon our own authority and initiative."

The chairman said he would consult other Senators on the committee about the "poll tax complaints."



SENATOR GILLETTE

Tells Congress It Has Power To Ban Poll Tax

WASHINGTON, April 19— The authority to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections is squarely in the hands of Congress, Graydon Harris, former law partner of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, told a House judiciary committee as hearing on the Geyer anti-poll tax bill were resumed.

Harris, acting as attorney for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, took issue with a decision of Supreme Court Justice Butler who once handed down a ruling that the rights and conditions of elections should be determined by the individual states.

"We sometimes forget the provisions of the Constitution itself," Harris warned, pointing out that under Section 2, Article 6, of the Constitution, Congress is given the authority to override state laws and provisions of state constitutions where the state measures are not in compliance with the national Constitution.

Agree in Principle

"Mr. Justice Butler was neither complete nor completely accurate in his analysis," he commented.

Members of the sub-committee have indicated that while they agree "in principle" with the provisions of the anti-poll tax bill introduced by Rep. Lee E. Geyer of California, they believed it unconstitutional on the basis of Justice Butler's decision.

Harris, however, pointed out that federal offices are created by the Federal Constitution, and that therefore federal laws should govern those elections, and that Congress has the power to determine the conditions under which citizens could vote in such federal elections.

Hits Disfranchisement

Mrs. Albert Thomas, representing the Alabama Parent-Teachers' association, told the committee that "10 per cent of the families of Alabama are making the decisions for the total population of Alabama."

Commenting on the contention of the tories that it eliminates the "unintelligent" vote, Mrs. Thomas said "The ability to pay $1.50 a year is no guarantee of intelligence."

George A. Prunner, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates said that, because of the poll tax political candidates in the southern states are selected on the basis that "the man who can afford to buy the most poll taxes is the most worthy of office," and qualifications no longer matter.

POLL TAX BILL DOOMED SAYS REP. S. RANKIN

Defender 8-17-40

Chicago, Ill.

Mississippian Predicts House Will Speedily Reject Measure

WASHINGTON—The Geyer bill, which provides for the abolition of the poll tax in southern states which still follow this ancient system, will never be passed, said Representative Rankin of Mississippi on the floor of the house of representatives, Wednesday.

"The bill will never become a law, as all well-informed members of the house know. But I am getting tired of having a few members arise on this floor and make these misleading statements without regard to the facts or the feelings of the rest of the membership," Rep. Rankin said.

Mr. Geyer, the representative from California, had previously placed a petition on the speaker's desk, asking that the anti-poll tax bill be discharged from the committee for further consideration.

"When we are talking these days about reaching down into these eight southern states and taking those young men and putting them into uniform, let us first give them a little democracy for which they can fight. There are 3,500,000 colored people without the vote and 7,000,000 white people without the vote in these southern states. I hope my colleagues on my right (referring to the Democrats) will do something to clean this thing up that exists in our own democratic one party states."

Entire Country Has Interest In South's Fight Over Poll Tax

Tremendous Power In Congress Is Wielded By Representatives Of Eight States Involved

BY ERNEST LINDLEY

Liberal Southerners are seeking the aid of the federal government in freeing eight Southern states from the poll taxes which effectively disenfranchise, or facilitate the complete control of, several million citizens.

Practically, the exercise of federal power seems necessary because repeal of the poll taxes by the states is difficult to the verge of impossibility. Every state which was able to get rid of the poll tax by simple legislative action already has done so. In the eight remaining states, with the possible exception of Tennessee, where the sanction is cloudy, the poll tax has been frozen into the state constitution. The power to prevent constitutional amendments lies with the politicians and interests whose security rests upon a restricted franchise. Two years ago, in Arkansas, about 8 per cent of the citizens of voting age were able to block an amendment abolishing the poll tax.

Legally, the appeal to federal power is based on the broad ground that the soverignty of the federal government is impaired by a state tax upon a federal franchise.

Attack On Two Fronts

The attack has been launched on two fronts. One is in Congress, through the Geyer bill, on which hearings are now being held. This bill would prohibit the levying of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting or registering to vote in federal elections. The other is through the Pirtle case, soon to be argued in the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Pirtle—Henry Pirtle—is a white man from a Tennessee mountain county. Being otherwise qualfied, he has requested a judgment declaring that he was entitled to vote for a member of Congress, despite the fact that he had not paid his poll tax. Two years ago the Supreme Court upheld the poll tax in the somewhat similar Breedlove case. But since then the composition of the court has changed, and the Pirtle case is based less on Pirtle's right to vote than on the right of the federal government to have the benefit of his vote in a federal election.

Both lines of attack have been launched by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, backed by such nationally respected Southerners as Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, Tex., and Barry Bingham, publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal. Basic rights are involved, penetrating far below the surface of the constitution.

The race question is involved, although probably more emotionally than as a practical matter. Excepting Mississippi and South Carolina, more white voters than Negroes are effectively disenfranchised by the poll tax, according to reputable analysts. South Carolina, incidentally, is the only one of the eight states which does not make the poll tax a prerequisite to voting in the primaries, where the real contests in the Democratic South usually occur.

But the Negroes in South Carolina are prevented from voting in other ways. On the other hand, in Tennessee, where other methods of restraining the Negroes are not used, the poll tax does not seem to be a barrier to widespread exercise of the franchise by Negroes. In Memphis the Negro vote is largely controlled by "Boss" Crump, and is commonly regarded as an important factor in preserving his power.

Alabama Makes It Tough

Most of the present poll taxes were enacted during the period of Populist unrest. While the emotions surrounding race supremacy were mobilized to bring about their adoption, discerning Southern observers have asserted that one of the main purposes, if not the primary one, was to preserve political control in the hands of the conservative, property-owning classes.

Anyway, the poll tax keeps the vote from white men as well as Negroes. In some states it is cumulative. In Alabama if you want to cast your vote at the age of 45, you have to pay the tax for 24 years at $1.50 a year before you are eligible. For citizens of low income such a sum is prohibitive. Considering the abysmal poverty of parts of the Old South, the tax is almost prohibitive even where it is not cumulative.

It is not prohibitive, of course, for candidates with well-heeled backers. Edge that in some states and sections votes are mustered and controled by paying poll taxes for citizens who could not or would not pay them from their own pockets.

The whole country has an interest in this effort to abolish poll taxes in federal elections, because of the immense authority wielded by the senators and representatives from the poll tax states. These eight states provide the chairmen of five of the 12 most important committees in the House, and five of the 11 comparable committees in the Senate.

Not all the senators and representatives from the poll tax states are reactionaries, by any means. Alabama, for example, has probably the most oppressive poll tax. But one of its senators is liberal and the other is no farther to the right than the middle-of-the-road. In a one-party South, continuity in office, and the rise, by seniority, to influence in Congress probably would remain more frequent than in other parts of the country, even if poll taxes were abolished. But the broadening of the franchise should have a leavening effect. To fail to broaden it, while professing adherence to the principles of democracy, is pure hypocrisy.

End Poll Tax, Say Southern Public Leaders

Survey Reveals That 76% of People Cannot Vote

WASHINGTON, March 31 (UP) —Elimination of the poll tax is necessary, according to a survey published tonight by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the American Council on Public Affairs.

The survey involves poll tax operations in South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia Alabama, Arkansas and Mississippi Its conclusions were made by Dr Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina; Barry Bingham, President of the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal; J. J. Morrison, Tulane University professor; H. C. Nixon, University of Missouri professor; G. C. Stoney and Tarleton Collier, vice-president of the Southern Conference.

"The poll tax stands as a surviving barrier to the participation in self government of Americans even now disinherited in the land of their fathers," Graham asserted.

Bingham pointed out that 64 per cent of the white adult voters in the poll tax states are not permitted to vote. He analyzed the voting records in the poll tax states which revealed that only 24 per cent of their citizens voted. He concluded that "this is the worst record shown anywhere in the world."

Morrison sought to demonstrate that the poll tax is unconstitutional and cited Supreme Court decisions to substantiate his claim.

Poll Tax Called Unconstitutional

Harris Testifies Before House Judiciary Group

WASHINGTON, (AP) — Crampton Harris of Birmingham, Ala., chairman of the Civil Rights committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, asserted today that a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in a federal election was a state tax on a privilege derived from the federal government, and hence was unconstitutional.

Testifying before a house judiciary subcommittee in support of the bill (HR-7534) to prohibit collection of poll taxes in connection with such elections, Harris said a frequently-cited supreme court decision upholding the constitutionality of the Georgia poll tax was not controlling.

ANOTHER WAY OF BUYING

Paying poll tax for other people is just another way of buying votes, The Talladega Daily Home points out in referring to a situation in Cullman County where some voters had their taxes paid twice in the final rush.

"A poll tax paying spree has come to light in Cullman County which is laid to the hot race for judge of probate," begins The Daily Home. "Total poll tax payments reached $24,576, compared to $9,000, the previous high. The tax collector says that some citizens paid as many as 25 or 30 others citizens' poll taxes. In the rush it is said a number had their poll taxes paid twice. The tax collector is quoted as saying that he knew of no law that prevented such generosity as one party's paying the tax for another."

The Daily Home concludes that "there may be no law against it but it is one form of vote-buying just the same."

This matter of paying the poll tax for someone else is a common practice in Alabama, and it is a custom which could and should be eliminated by doing away with the poll tax altogether. A person who would not ordinarily sell his vote sometimes will accede to the suggestion that his poll tax be paid for him. This makes him feel kindly toward the person who pays the tax—well, it's not outright buying, but it is what might be designated as "powerfully persuading."—Anniston Star.

More Than Poll Tax

There has been considerable hearing and grunting about repeal of poll taxes and "freeing the South."

There should be no premium placed on the right to vote in a democracy.

On the other hand there should be machinery to obviate abuses of the ballot.

The vote of a conscientious citizen should not be nullified by the purchased ballot of an ignorant or irresponsible voter to whom the right of franchise means only the price for which he can sell it.

Eliminating poll taxes should be accompanied by plans for permanent registration of legitimate voters and a well-considered system of keeping them honest.

Map Plans For Poll Tax Fight

Omaha and Guide 4-6-47 Norfolk, Va.

HEARING BEFORE the House Judiciary Committee on the Geyer Bill to repeal poll taxes in eight southern states began this week. Shown above with Congressman Lee Geyer of California are, left to right: John P. Davis, national ... of the National Negro Congress, Congressman Geyer, Joseph Gelders of the Southern Human Welfare Conference, and Judge William C. Hueston, grand commissioner of education of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order, Elks of the World. They are shown conferring on strategy to be employed to pass the Geyer Bill, which will enfranchise three million Negro voters in the South. The picture was taken in Congressman Geyer's office.—Scurlock Photo

WITNESS ASSAILS POLL TAX BARRIER

(The Associated Press)

Washington, April 4.—Criticizing four Southern House members, a spokesman for organized seamen asserted Wednesday voting restrictions imposed by the poll tax in eight states deprived labor of its rightful representation in Congress.

Robert Mills of Norfolk, Va., representing the National Maritime Union (C. I. O.), urged passage of legislation to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in presidential and congressional elections.

He told a House judiciary subcommittee examples of the legislators who represented "the few who can pay the poll tax" were Representatives Bland, Democrat, Virginia; Woodrum, Democrat, Virginia; Smith, Democrat, Virginia, and Dies, Democrat, Texas.

Earlier, the bill had been endorsed by Paul Scharrenberg, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, who said the poll tax requirement in eight Southern states was "deliberately intended to disfranchise the poor."

A string of other witnesses hailed the bill as a means of dislodging political machines and extending the franchise to thousands now unable to pay the tax.

Introduced by Representative Geyer, Democrat, California, the legislation would be an amendment to the Hatch act prohibiting "pernicious" political activities.

Witnesses said the states in which the poll tax constituted a prerequisite to voting were Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Franchise Campaign Underway

Fight For Vote Launched By N. A. A. C. P.

NEW YORK—(SNS) — A campaign along all fronts, using every resource of the courts, the federal department of justice, and public opinion, is being launched actively by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to guarantee Negro voters in the South the right to the franchise, it was announced here Monday.

The NAACP campaign, now out in the open as a result of the activities of many of its branches in the southern states, dating back a year ago and includes the spectacular fights in Miami, Fla., and Greenville, S. C., in which the Ku Klux Klan was defied. The association's Birmingham, Ala., branch has also been active together with numerous units in the State of Texas.

The NAACP barrage will include action by the Department of Justice, which has been consulted almost continually since last July. The NAACP legal staff has forwarded steadily a stream of memoranda, briefs and affidavits to the FBI on violations of the Negro's right to vote in the South and has cited both to the FBI and to the attorney general's office the federal statutes which have been violated.

GROUND WORK LAID

That the drum-fire of the association on these cases will most likely result in action was indicated at a conference last week between NAACP attorneys and Otis John Rogge, assistant attorney general, in Washington.

In addition to urging action by the attorney general's office, the NAACP plans to bring criminal and civil suits in the federal courts, and the groundwork for several of these already has been laid in Texas and will be instituted in the next thirty days.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, will leave New York shortly for investigation and consultation on primary cases in the states of Texas, Alabama and Louisiana.

The court actions planned in Texas have special significance this year because of the candidacy of Vice-President John N. Garner for the presidency, and the campaign for re-election of Senator Tom Connally, foe of the anti-lynching bill and organizer and leader of the filibuster against it. Congressman Martin Dies, who has refused persistently to investigate the Ku Klux Klan and mob violence, also hails from Texas.

CROSSES BURNED

To back up its campaign, the NAACP legal staff is completing research for a memorandum on procedure for instituting both criminal and civil cases wherever Negroes' rights have been violated.

In Miami, the Klan burned crosses in the Negro neighborhood, and in Greenville, the president of the NAACP youth chapter, who was leading the fight for registration of voters, was twice arrested. An attempt to intimidate the president of the Greenville adult chapter was made by arresting him for carrying concealed weapons. His defense was that he needed a pistol because of threats against him for his activity in behalf of the colored people.

BIRMINGHAM VICTORIES

In Birmingham, the association's chapter has successfully secured the right to register and vote through numerous court actions.

In Richmond, Va., the NAACP branch, working with other organizations over a period of two years, secured the registration of 2,000 colored citizens who last week were the decisive factor in the defeat of Mayor J. Fulmer Bright, noted for his anti-Negro actions.

"We are determined to use the full force of our association and all the legal talent we can must ... that Negroes are not deprived of their right to vote this year," the NAACP statement said. "The issues in the 1940 election are the most crucial in many years, affecting the welfare and very lives of Negro Americans. They must be protected in their right to have a voice in choosing the men who are to run the government. No stone will be left unturned within the financial resources of the NAACP to secure the results desired."

POLITICAL-1940
SUFFRAG

GENERAL

You Should Vote

In talking with many apparently intelligent young men and women concerning the important election to be held on November 5, I was surprised to find too large a number hardly concerned with the issues at all, and far too many who had never registered or even desired to cast a vote. "What's the use?" seems to be the general attitude.

Black Dispatch

Scanning weekly newspapers, I notice that in Brownsville, Tenn., Negroes, in spite of the lynching of one of their members last June, appeared in the courthouse on September 4 and 5, and under the protection of the United States Attorney William McClanahan, registered so that they would be eligible for the November elections.

In Oklahoma City we have no such battles to fight. We may go to the polls and register and cast our votes unmolested and without fear of the mob; yet countless numbers of our supposedly intelligent men and women and youth of voting age care so little of their right of suffrage that they never bother about it.

As this is true in Oklahoma City, so it is true in many other towns and cities over the nation. I have found some who think it is still a crime for a woman to vote.

Oklahoma City

OCT 5 1940

It is not mine to tell men and women how to vote. My only advice would be to look at the record, make sensible deductions and act! But, my goodness, VOTE!

OCT 5 1940

Suppose the amendments to the constitution giving Negroes their literal rights of citizenry had never been written; suppose we could not do as every free citizen of this country, go to the polls on election day and have our individual say as to how we want this government run; suppose we had not these rights! What would happen? From Maine to California, from Canada to the Rio Grande, Negroes on the streets and in the alleys, as well as Negroes of intellect, and the great middle class would raise the roof about our denied suffrage! When we have this privilege, we take it lightly.

Okla.

Negroes in Wagoner county had fought so long for the vote until it was known to every school child when they were finally victorious in their contentions. Negroes who have enjoyed the freedom of suffrage for nearly all of their lives just don't seem to bother.

Now there are millions of Negroes who vote every time there is an election, but the number who vote compared to the number who don't give a hang is a not very encouraging statistic. True, we have come a long way in 75 years, but if we would go onward to greater achievements, every Negro in the land must become vote conscious. Politicians want their jobs and the salaries connected with them so dearly that an effective vote will work wonders for any group.

What visions of a glorious future in this country our poet Dunbar must have had when he wrote in his Ode to Ethiopia of the progress made and of the promise to be fulfilled:

"They tread the fields where honor calls,
Their voices sound through senate halls
In majesty and in power . . .
Go on and up, our hearts and eyes
Shall follow thy continuous rise . . ."

Dunbar is dead but his works live and we know as he knew that we cannot rise and keep those voices in senate halls without the intelligent use of the ballot.

Wake up and vote! It won't do you any harm.

Five Weeks to Decide on Roosevelt or Willkie

Pittsburgh Courier

Heretofore, colored people have been shut out of the navy except as stewards and mess attendants, out of the marine and air corps completely, and out of the army except in the infantry and cavalry.

We have been the army and navy lackeys and servants. We could not expect to enlist as engineers, electricians, radio men, gunners, doctors, carpenters, shipfitters, metal smiths, aviators, officers, signalmen or storekeepers.

Baltimore

Last week something was done about this.

Congress passed a draft bill which authorizes conscription of civilians for all military service without discrimination as to race or color. President Roosevelt talked of a 10 per cent colored representation in all combat units. The War Department authorized announcements of several new colored units.

Wendell Willkie, G.O.P. candidate for President, pledged himself, if elected, to do away with racial discrimination in the armed forces (army, navy, marine corps) and the Civil Service as well.

It would appear, therefore, that no matter whether we elect a Democratic or Republican President, some of the snobbishness and race prejudice in the United States armed forces is going to take a sock on the jaw.

Voters in November will decide which of the two candidates they can trust to go farthest with these democratic processes. Their choice at the polls is an important one for all of us.

SEP 28 1940

In the next five weeks things can happen to help us make up our minds on this question.

Our War and Navy Departments are in the hands of tough babies, mainly from the South. They will devise many a subterfuge to evade the law unless the next President gets quite as tough as they are.

Occasional Poem

OCT 3 1940

The Negro And The Ballot

By Robert P. Edwards

Let him who ponders lightly
Over birthrights of his sire,
Let he who'd trade his ballot
For a paltry sum's desire;
Give ear unto my story
Of the Negro of this land,
Of the price paid for the ballot
Of the dark-skinned sons of Ham.

Philadelphia

For centuries in bondage
Were his ancestors enslaved,
No human rights to cherish
And they filled an unmarked grave
They shrank from cruel shackles,
When the smarting lash held sway,
And they dared not breathe of freedom,
For they feared the blood-hounds' bay.

Evening

Phil. Pa.

But freedom came, though costly
It demanded human life
The white-man loved the Union,
And he entered the great strife.
He called upon the black man,
And he sped into the fray,
Yea, to fight for rights and freedom
For the Negro of today.

He felt the sword at Fair Oaks,
There he faltered not at death,
He feared not Wagner's cannon,
But defied their fiery breath,
He faltered not at Pillow,
Though to him it was a hell,
And he won his peace and freedom,
And our rights yea won them well.

Let him who ponders lightly
(Be he member of my Race)
Remember that his fathers
Died to give to him a place,
Remember that his ballot
Is to him a sacred trust,
And that he must answer for it
To a God exact and just.

COLORED VOTERS MAY BE DECISIVE ELECTION FACTOR

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

OCT 12 1940

NEW YORK, Oct. 10—In the many presidential election polls conducted to date, while President Roosevelt holds a decided edge, it is believed that the Negro vote will be the decisive factor. In the Gallup survey of recent date, the poll showed that the election race would be decided in key cities of states like New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, West Virginia and Virginia.

In most of the above named states, it is claimed that the decision will be reached by a very close margin, in which case, the Negro vote is certain to prove the decisive factor.

In New York, for instance, both Democratic and Republican leaders claim that the Negro vote will reach close to 200,000 if not more.

Pennsylvania also has a big Negro vote, estimated to be gretaer than 150,000 and may reach 200,000 rivaling that of New York. In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the Pennsylvania folk have two gigantic areas from which to draw. Illinois, Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia have powerful Negro voting blocks that will play a vital role in the election.

Another factor that must be reckoned with, is the great number of Negro voters in the South who, for the first time, thanks to President Roosevelt — will vote in large numbers in many sections of the South and Southwest. According to reliable statisticians, the Negro vote this November will be around 3,000,000, exceeding that of 1936 by almost 2,000,000.

Colored Vote Defeats City Manager Issue In Raleigh

Journal and Guide

OCT 12 1940

Staff Correspondence

RALEIGH, N. C.—Colored voters here last week went to the polls and in three predominately Negro precincts cast dissenting votes against the proposed city-manager form of government which had been promoted by the local Junior Chamber of Commerce to replace the present commission form of administration. Thus they repeated their act of 1935 when the same three precincts voted the plurality necessary to its defeat then.

The margin of defeat was 589 votes out of 7,695 cast. The three precincts cast 1,217 votes against the city-manager plan, which was several hundred more than was necessray to defeat the issue.

At all three precincts some Negroes were prevented from voting upon being challenged. Some were unable to read, others had not listed taxes and others were newcomers to the city and were not entitled to register.

EXPECT F. D. R. TO POLL MORE COLORED VOTES

Chicago Def. Chicago Ill.

OCT 13 1940

NEW YORK, Oct. 10—With a prediction that President Roosevelt would poll the greatest number of colored votes ever given a candidate for the Presidency, Attorney Julian Rainey declared this week that "we must not let up, from now on, until the ballots are counted on November 5."

Mr. Rainey is in charge of activities among colored Democrats throughout the nation. In his offices at the Biltmore Hotel, he urged leaders in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri, to confine their activities to getting new voters to register during the next two weeks.

"I am confident," Mr. Rainey said, "that we are in a positon to give President Roosevelt more than 3,000,000 votes on election day. It's useless to talk about voting for a candidate, if you aren't registered."

For the information of those planning to register without being urged by political workers, Rainey issued the following statement:

"New Yorkers are herewith informed that in order to exercise their right to vote on Nov. 5, they must register. Here in the city, registration starts on October 7. Between the hours of 5 p. m. and 10:30 p. m. on the 8, 9, 10 and 14, voters may become eligible by registering in their respective districts. On the final day, October 15, registration will start at 7:30 p. m. and end at 10:30. In other communities, upstate, the final day for registering is October 19.

"In New Jersey, Connecticut and other nearby states, final registration days will be made public by the leaders and workers in these states. And in the middle and far-west, the situation is comparatively the same.

"A qualified voter is a citizen who is or will be 21 on Election Day; has been a resident of the state for one year, county for four months, and election district, 3 days prior to the election. He must be of good moral character, that is, never convicted of a felony or proved to have received or paid or offered to receive or pay any reward for "directed voting."

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
October 5, 1940

Balance of Power

There has been a lot of talk since the recent election which resulted in rejection of the proposed council-manager form of government about Negro voters holding the balance of power in Raleigh.

Similar talk has been heard following other elections in which the determining votes were cast in the Negro precincts. Nothing much has been done about it. There have been some efforts to challenge Negro voters and some amateurish efforts to woo the Negroes away from the politicians who usually control their votes.

Neither effort is likely to succeed. Some of the Negro voters are subject to challenge, but most of them are entitled by the Constitution and laws of the State to vote and will continue to vote. Moreover, they are likely to vote the same way.

But there is one remedy at hand. Aside from the other reasons in favor of it—and they are compelling reasons—annexation of all the areas which are already a part of the city in everything except name would end the talk of balance of power by Negroes in Raleigh. The Negroes now have only about 15 per cent of the voting population of Raleigh. If everybody who belongs in the city was in it, that percentage would be much smaller.

"AMERICA'S VOTELESS MILLIONS"

What Do Northern Negro Voters Intend To Do About This Situation.....How They Can Help ....Southern Democracy Is The Backbone of New Dealism.

By Emmett J. Scott

Washington, D. C.—This observer called attention to the fact that the Democratic South, the backbone of New Dealism, persists in its traditional mistreatment of the nearly 6,000,000 Colored men, women and children in the South, withholding from them the most elementary rights of democracy, and visiting upon them indignities comparable only to the brutalitarian tactics of Europe's totalitarian dictators.

Enumerated among these fundamental rights as American citizens were Disfranchisement, Jim-crowism, denial of Civil Liberties, and those numberless techniques employed to keep them intimidated while cherished liberties are trampled underfoot and their spiritual morale crushed.

Now comes the April issue of Equality Magazine, with an article by Helen Burlin, "America's Voteless Millions," discussing this same subject. So important is the article that was reprinted in the Congressional Record of April 8th.

Miss Burlin calls attention to the fact that in our country, despite the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, millions of citizens are robbed of their right to vote. These millions live in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Many of them are Negroes, but the majority are white.

In these states, during the Presidential election of 1936, she states, only 2,679,473 out of an adult population of 11,606,046 cast their ballots. A bare quarter of the population voted to elect the Chief Executive of the nation.

"How was this accomplished?" Very simply, Miss Burlin writes:

"Each citizen in the Southern section has to buy a privilege which elsewhere is taken for granted—that of exercising his constitutional right to vote. The State sells the right by levying a Poll Tax. Those who register and pay may vote. Those who can't, don't."

Miss Burlin tells the whole story of disfranchisement and the resultant manifestations of outrage and oppression. The Poll Tax, she says, is reminiscent of the head tax of medieval England. It was resurrected, not during the turbulent reconstruction era, as many think, but the white supremacy conventions in the 1890's and 1900's. Ostensibly to disfranchise the Negro, their real purpose, she says, was to break the back of the Populists. In the Populist movement, poor farmers, White and Negro, had found their voice and were threatening the political hold of the Democratic machines in various Southern States.

Together with disfranchisement of the bulk of Negroes through intimidation and varous tests, and of many poor whites through residence requirements which operate against tenant farmers and migrant families, the Poll Tax, she states, is effective in keeping the percentage of the population which votes very small indeed.

An illustration of how the scheme works is told in the case of an average farm family in Mississippi of three persons of voting age with an annual income below $100. "The right to vote", she writes, "would cost that family three times $2.00 or $6.00—six percent of its income. How many households even in fortunate circumstances could afford an investment of these proportions for the sake of exercising the privilege of citizenship? In Alabama and Georgia, for example, the Poll Tax is cumulative. If a citizen hasn't registered for several years, or has lost his certificates, the cost of voting mounts into a tidy sum.

A Member inquired: "What Member of this House would pay the same percentage of his income for the privilege of voting as is expected of the Mississippi farmer? Since Senators and Congressmen receive annual salaries of $10,000 each this would mean $600.

Miss Burlin continues: "It cost Arthur Grover Means of Birmingham, a Negro, $36 to vote ($1.50 for every year of his age past his twenty-first birthday), and his determination to pay the price was so unusual that he got his picture in the papers.

"Sometimes counties levy an additional Poll Tax. Mississippi requires two years' cumulative Poll Tax, 'satisfactory evidence of payment of (other) taxes'.

"In Arkansas, without a Poll Tax receipt, one is not only barred from voting, but from receiving any license, permit, or wages from public funds.

"The Poll Tax becomes a racket in certain localities, notably in Texas, with political machines buying up quantities of blank Poll Tax receipts and passing them out to complaisant or venal voters, (see Survey Graphic, January 1940).

"In some places, Poll Taxes must be paid as much as six or ten months before election, at a season when cash is especially short in farm households. This disfranchisement of two-thirds of the population in the Poll Tax States of the South means in effect the suspension of democracy," she insists.

This "suspension of democracy", she argues: guarantees one-party rule, hinders effective political action by masses of the population, and encourages politicians to remain indifferent to popular needs. Illiteracy, child labor, migration, wages 30 or 50 percent below the national average, hookworm and pellagra, wretched housing—these are some of the crying problems which, if not solely due to lack of the ballot, will hardly receive prime consideration from politicians until their constituents get the vote.

These reflections should challenge the thought and the intelligent interest and consideration of those Negro voters who live in the North. They have often been deluded by the thought that New Deal ism is the answer to prayer. The New Deal is still the old Democratic Party.

During the past seven years nothing has been done by the so-called New Deal to ameliorate this situation in the South as it affects Colored citizens. This Democratic Party is still a flagrant offender and is chiefly notorious for its encroachments on the common rights of citizens.

The first duty of every Negro voter in the North in the struggle ahead of us to think and act for the liberation of those of their race who have not been able to escape the humiliations and insecurities of their fellows in the South. As the nation could not continue permanently half free and half slave, so its best security cannot be assured with millions of its citizens denied the privilege and opportunities granted other citizens.

The Negro voter in the North has a greater opportunity to bring about a change during the coming election than has been offered at any time during the last three decades. The Democratic Party should not be permitted to continue to plead for Negro votes in the North while disfranchising and otherwise humiliating potential Negro voters in the South.

NATIONWIDE VOTE CAMPAIGN GAINS IN CITIES OF SOUTH

NEW YORK CITY—The right-to-register-and-vote program now getting under way throughout the South, under the direction of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is gaining momentum and bids fair to becoming the most important drive sponsored by the organization outside the equlization of teachers' salaries, and the anti-lynching bill.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP is making a tour of the South, setting up the mechanism for carrying forward the program. Texas with every association branch lined up behind the program, is raising $8,000 to carry the fight through the courts, should Negroes be denied the right to vote in the coming July primaries in that state.

Many Cities Aroused

New Orleans, Louisiana; Birmingham, and Mobile, Alabama, and Atlanta, Georgia, are other important southern centers where the programs are now getting under way to push the register-and-vote compaign.

In a statement issue this week, Marshall said:

"The Negro citizen in the South is tired of being denied the right to participate in the election of officials who will have the say as to how he is to be governed. And he is not scared, if indeed he ever was. That is why he has made up his mind to fight all the way for the right to vote, a right long denied him, despite the fact that this righ is guaranteed to all the citizens by the Constitution of the United States."

DRIVE TO VOTE IS GROWING

Movement Spreads Rapidly Throughout Many Southern States.

NEW YORK, May 30—The right-to-register-and-vote program now getting under way throughout the South is gaining momentum, and bids fair to becoming the most important drive sponsored by the organization outside the equalization of teachers' salaries, and the anti-lynching bill.

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Alabaman Attacks Critics Of Out-Moded Poll Taxes

WASHINGTON—(SNS)—A feeble effort to challenge the proposed Geyer bill to abolish poll taxes and critics of the out-moded system was made today by Representative Grant, Democrat, of Alabama.

The Alabaman demanded an end to attempts to "punish the south." He challenged critics of the southern poll tax to "sweep the yard around their own front door."

Grant's statement, published in the Congressional Record, asserted that voting was a privilege over which the states rightly exercised sole jurisdiction. A bill by Representative Geyer would prohibit the collection of poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in presidential and congressional elections. The tax is imposed in eight southern states.

Says Passage Of Geyer Bill Would Not Help Situation

Contending that there is no reason to believe passage of the Geyer bill would mean clean politics, Grant said: "Politics are as clean in states where the poll tax is collected as in states where it is not."

Grant declared the only letter he had received from his state requesting enactment of the Geyer bill came from the Communist party. Few colored Alabamans can vote for Grant under the poll tax-Democratic primary system.

Youth Leader Opens Drive To Abolish Poll Tax Law

NEW YORK (CNA)—A delegate to the recent American Youth Congress meeting held in Lake Geneva, Wis., Dr. James E. Jackson, Jr., director of the Right-to-Vote Campaign of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, was in New York this week to secure financial and other material support for the enfranchisement of 10,000,000 southern people who are barred from the polls by the undemocratic poll-tax system.

"The fight for southern suffrage," he declared, "is not just the concern of the southern people alone. Because if the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution was enforced, there would be only 20 congressmen from the South instead of 78 as is now the case."

Dr. Jackson, who has made a close study of the electorate system in the South, having recently completed a survey of the Negro in politics for the Carnegie Foundation, declared that the bloc of southern congressmen are almost without exception united with Wall Street to get America involved in war and are in the forefront of the fight to cut down on the living standards of the American people.

"It was Woodrum and Byrd who led the economy bloc in knifing WPA. And it was Smith who led and still leads the fight against the Wages and Hours Law," he pointed out.

Of the 78 southern representatives, 70 of them have never received an effective opposition at the polls. Through long periods of office sitting and seniority rights, they are able to acquire a plurality of committee chairmanships and other ruling positions in the House and Senate which they use effectively in subverting and blocking the popular will of the people by barring the passage of progressive legislation endorsed and supported by the majority of the people.

Dr. Jackson pointed out that the mere abolition of the poll tax would not measurably improve southern democracy unless the fight can be organized in such fashion as to insure the abolition of all restrictions on suffrage.

Negroes, he said, would still be barred from voting through such devices as "lily-white" primaries, constitutional interpretation clauses, property qualifications (in Alabama a voter must own $300 in property), discrimination in registration qualifications, and the use of violence and lynch terror as in Brownsville, Tenn., where the head of the NAACP branch was lynched and other Negroes beaten and driven out of town when they attempted to register.

Dr. Jackson stressed that "the struggle of the southern people for the right to vote must receive the wholehearted support of all Americans really interested in democracy."

Contributions may be sent to Right-to-Vote Campaign, 604 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham, Ala.

Plank to Abolish Poll Tax Urged on the Democrats

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 15—A plea that the Democratic National Convention include a plank to abolish the poll tax, prerequisite to voting in eight Southern States, was made to the convention today through a joint statement by Representative Geyer of California and Joseph S. Gelders, secretary of the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Californian is author of a bill to abolish the poll tax in the eight Southern States: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

According to the joint statement, the number of adult citizens exercising their right to vote has been cut down by the poll tax to less than one-quarter of the potential voters.

Four years ago, it was said, the percentage of adult citizens who voted in the poll tax States in the 1936 Presidential election averaged 24 per cent, compared to 66 per cent for the forty non-poll tax States.

Poll Tax Future Is Still In Doubt

Cooper Announced Opposition To Law Before He Was Re-elected

By PAUL MORRIS

NASHVILLE, Aug. 17. — Since the primary there has been divided opinion as to whether or not repeal of the poll tax as a requirement to voting will be one of the major issues coming before the 1941 Legislature.

Chief interest has centered around the attitude of the administration will take on the question, and whether or not Governor Cooper will include the proposal in his program to the Assembly.

According to those seemingly best informed the proposal will not be included in the administration's program. This opinion arises from the fact that there was—as far as the public interest was concerned—little activity in the primary campaign in favor of poll tax repeal. Although George Dempster, anti-administration candidate developed the issue up and down the state, judging by the returns, the proposal either did not hit the public fancy or else those who favor repeal hadn't paid their poll tax and therefore couldn't express themselves at the polls.

The Governor, it is said by those closest to him, heard little from the voters during his handshaking tour preceding the primary that would lead him to believe there is widespread demand for repeal of the poll tax. Particularly is it true that there is only minor interest in repeal in West Tennessee, where the negro vote might play the greatest influence on elections in event the $2 is whacked off the voting privilege in Tennessee.

Cooper Declared Self

That does not mean the Governor will not sign a poll tax repeal measure should one be passed by the Legislature. It will be recalled that at the last Jackson Day Dinner he declared himself in favor of repeal and said he would sign such a measure if it received the necessary vote in the Legislature. To date he has given no indication that he has reversed his stand. It is doubtful that the administration will take the lead in bringing about such legislation, unless agitation for repeal reaches a higher pitch than it has up to this time.

Flare Up For Willkie Dies

Now that the first flurry of Willkie sentiment in the state has passed on, leaders of the Democratic organization are regaining their optimism over the chances of turning in another victory for President Roosevelt in the November general election.

The outcropping of Willkie sentiment during the first weeks following his nomination, spurred the Democrats to earlier action than they had intended, but this appears to have reacted like a shot in the arm to bolster hopes of party stalwarts. Now the Democratic leaders express nothing but confidence in regard to the outcome of the November balloting.

They contend the benefits Tennessee has derived from the New Deal will easily outweigh any opposition cropping out over the third term question, and it will be on these benefits that the party organization will dwell in the coming weeks as it drives headlong in its efforts to roll up a Democratic majority comparable to that the state turned in for Roosevelt in 1936.

TVA To Be Major Topic

During the next several weeks Tennesseans are going to hear more bout the TVA than they've ever heard before despite the fact this gigantic hydro-electric development has its nerve center in the state.

Occasion for the forthcoming TVA discussions will be the presidential elections, with the Democrats upholding and defending it, and the Republican national leaders more than likely criticizing it. Republicans in Tennessee will not participate in any criticism of TVA, for most of them favor it, but that does not mean the issue will not be a live national one as far as the campaign goes.

Tennessee hopes to "cash in" on this nationwide talk about the TVA. In fact, it hopes that the arguments will make more Americans want to see this gigantic project. If that proves true, it will mean an influx of tourists coming into Tennessee just to see the TVA development.

Much of the state's advertising going out of the Conservation Department from now on will feature TVA. According to Ben Gregory, alert state information director, this advertising will invite those who oppose TVA to come and see for themselves whether or not the Federal Government wasted money on the huge project. To those who favor TVA, the advertising will urge that they come and see just what the Federal expenditure has wrought in th Tennessee Valley.

POLITICAL
SUFFRAGE DISCUSSIONS OF
LAWS RELATING TO ETC.
1940

GENERAL

No Legal Bar To Democrats Voting Willkie, But Leaders Seek To Discourage Bolters

Commercial Appeal

Mississippi Party Subcommittee Maps Plan To Ban 'Anti-Third Termers' From Primaries In The State For Two Years

7-31-40

Memphis, Tenn.

Steps to discourage MidSouth anti-third teerm Deemocrats from bolting the party in the November General Election were taken yesterday by a subcommittee of the Mississippi Democratic State Executive Committee in adoption of a resolution barring them for two years from party primary elections.

No Legal Obligation

The action follows announced plans of the Wendell Willkie backers to register a big vote in the South for the Republican presidential nominee.

Meanwhile, a check of the election laws of the TriState area, Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas, revealed that there is no legal obigation to vote the straight ticket in the General Election. The secret ballot system allows Democrats to vote for the Republican presidential electors, or vice versa.

Only in cases where Democrats openly declare themselves or join Willkie for President clubs can checks be made of party deflections. In cases where party irregulaity is suspected, the voter can be challenged when he votes in a Democratic primary. It is then up to the challenged voter to prove his party regularity.

Two G. O. P. Factions

In Mississippi where there are two Republican factions, both groups of presidential electors will appear on the ballot. There is no party designation of the presidential electors, although it is customary for the Democratic group to lead the ticket. The two Republican groups are those of the "Black and Tan" faction headed by Perry Howard, negro attorney, which supported Senator Taft at the recent convention, and the "Lily Whites" headed by former Governor Sheldon of Nebraska and George Forbes, prominent Jackson business man.

The recent Republican national convention declined to recognize the "Lily-White" group. In previous failed to win recognition over the conventions, the group had also Howard faction.

Mississippi Committee Threatens Reprisals

By WILLIAM D. SISSON
From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., July 30.—An official threat to bar anyone joining a Willkie for President Club or voting the Republican tickete from participating in Democratic primaries for two years was made here Tuesday by a subcommittee of the Mississippi State Democratic Executive Committee.

The threat was in the form of a resolution presented by Herbert Holmes of Senatobia, chairman of the committee.

Attempt At Delay

During the discussion, Senator Evon A. Ford of Taylorsville attempted to delay action by insisting that adoption of such a resolution would furnish Northern Republicans with ammunition that Mississippi Democrats were becoming alarmed over growth of Willkie sentiment in the state.

Purpose behind the resolution was officially set out as "in order that no good Democrats in Mississippi may be misled by this propaganda" for Willkie. The action of the committee is somewhat similar to that taken in 1928 when certain Democrats threatened to bolt the party rather than support Al Smith.

The resolution adapted Tuesday follows:

"Whereas, there has been some loose talk and publicity given to same, with reference to organizing 'Willkie for President' Clubs in Mississisippi, and Mr. Willkie has announced through the press that he expects to come into the Solid South with his campaign for President. There are a few citizens of our state who have expressed themselves as favorable to this movement that, we feel sure, have not given the matter serious consideration.

"These misled citizens are not to be censured too severely, for they are being led astray by out-of-state Republican papers who are feeding them only such information as a biased Republican periodical would want them to have. It is a well-known fact that some of the daily papers published outside our state have large circulations in Mississippi, that the majority of the stock of these papers is owned and controlled by Republicans, so that the citizens of our state are being constantly fed by editorials and through news items Republican propaganda.

"Propaganda Hit"

"Now, therefore, in order that no good Democrats in Mississippi may be misled by this propaganda, given out editorially and otherwise, this is to give notice that anyone who votes the Republican ticket or for a Republican candidate in the coming election will be ineligible to run for office in Mississipian the next Democratic primary, and will be ineligible to vote in any Democratic primary for two years; that this ruling will be rigidly enforced."

Actual purpose of the resolution, Senator Ford said, was to stop the formation of Willkie for President Clubs. Membership in such clubs, he said, will be viewed by the Democratic Committee as prima facie evidence of the intention of the member to vote the Republican ticket. Senator Ford said it would be difficult to prove that anyone not joining the clubs had voted Republican, but that in former years persons suspected of voting the Republican ticket had been challenged the next time they attempted to vote in a Democratic primary and only allowed to vote after signing an affidavit that they had voted Democratic before.

Party Loyalty Statute Overlooked In Arkansas

LITTLE ROCK, July 30. — Any Democrat who deserts the party to vote Republican is automatically barred from Democratic Party activity for two years, according to Arkansas Election Laws. Since the ballot is secret, however, there's no definite way to determine who "bolted."

In cases of direct challenges at the following primary of those suspected of having deserted party ranks, the action is not always allowed if the voter declines to declare how he voted. However—refusal to make such a declaration under oath usually results in election officials ignoring the vote's ballot.

Asserted "bolting" has been overlooked in previous elections. In the contest between Senator Miller and Governor Bailey for the seat of the late Senator Robinson this was demonstrated.

Governor Bailey was the "regular" nominee designated by the State Committee. Senator Miller ran as an "independent," after the committee refused to place his name alongside of Bailey, and he won. Despite the charge during the campaign that those who failed to follow the committee would be barred, the party ignored the fact in the next primary after Senator Miller has received a majority vote and was declared winner in the contest.

Dmocratic primary on Thursday are morally obligation to support the party's nominees in the November general election, but there are no statutory requirements compelling them to do so, a study of the Election Laws revealed.

The question of the legality of Democrats participating in their own primary this week, then supporting the Republican nominees on the national or state tickets in Nevember, has become a live one in the state, particularly since many Democrats have indicated they will not support President Roosevelt for a third term, but instead will vote for Wendell Willkie, the Republican nominee. Attorneys questioned on the matter agreed there was only the moral obligation under existing statutes to commend voters to hold the same party allegiance in both trips to the polls.

No Legal Opinion

While no official legal opinion been handed down on the question, one attorney at the Capitol voiced the opinion that Democrats who wish to drop their party allegiance for the November balloting, even though they do participate in picking the Democratic state nominees on Thursday, "will run no risk of being prohibited from so doing under existing laws."

Section 2200 of the State Code declares:

No voter shall be eligible to vote in a primary election of any party unless he be a bona fide member of such political party and affiliated therewith, or unless at the time he shall offer to vote he shall declare his allegiance to the political party in whose primary he offers to vote and states upon oath, if challenged, that he expects to affiliate with such party in whose primary he is offering to vote."

This section, it was pointed out, was subsequently repealed and then re-enacted verbatim by the second extraordinary session of the General Assembly in 1937, and sets up no legal action to be taken against any voter who might switch his allegiance in the period intervening between a primary and a general election.

It was further pointed out that in most localities no registration of Democrats is required, therefore, it would be virtually impossible for General Election officials to determine whether a person participated in the Democratic primary.

May Be Challenged

The law, however, does provide that a person's vote at the primary may be challenged and that person required to swear on oath that he will support the party holding that primary in the following general election. Party leaders here declared that this section of the law had never been used. Furthermore, they declared they had no knowledge of the State Democratic Executive Committee ever taking any action against any individual who changed his allegiance between the primary and general election dates, and one leader declared he doubted that the committee had any authority to take any such action if it so desired.

In past years, it has been often claimed that Republicans particularly in the Eastern part of the state, participated in the Democratic primaries because their own party holds no primary, then go back to their Republican Party affiliation in the general election.

However, Democratic party leaders here predicted that fewer Republicans would participate in the forthcoming Democratic primary than is the usual case, due to the fact that they wished to be certain of preserving their vote for their own nominees in November.

Persons desiring to vote in the general election must pay their poll tax within 60 days of that election in order to be eligible to vote, or that is on or before Sept. 6, it was said.

Poll Tax Abolition Favored

Representative Geyer Believes Levy Is Out of Place in This Country

Times

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your editorial of July 20 deplores the method by which elections were held in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on the issue of becoming part of the Soviet Union. You deprecate, and rightly so, the one-party election and ask how our voters would feel next November were they to be offered a single ticket on their ballots.

A comparable denial of democracy exists in eight of our Southern States, where payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting: Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Virginia. Of the seventy-eight Representatives from these States, seventy have never received any effective opposition at the polls. In the poll-tax States in 1936 an average of 32,400 votes was cast in each district election. In the average non-poll-tax district for that same year 119,500 votes were cast.

Of sixty-four Democratic poll-tax primaries, twenty-two candidates were absolutely uncontested. Thirteen of these faced no opposition in the election. In Alabama in 1934 four of nine Representatives had no opposition in the primary; in Georgia in 1936 five out of ten primaries were absolutely undisputed. In Mississippi voters don't even go to the polls, apparently, where there is no opposition. A winning candidate in 1938, who received the record low of 2,172 votes in the election, received no opposition in the 1934 primary at all.

The percentage of adult citizens who voted in each of the poll tax States in the 1936 Presidential election averaged 24 per cent, compared with the average of 66 per cent for the forty non-poll-tax States.

One of the main reasons for the failure of citizens to vote is the poll tax requirement. In the eight Southern States mentioned this tax deprives Americans who cannot pay it of the right to vote. To make it worse, if through a period of years they have been so poor that they could neither pay nor vote, whenever the time comes when they can pay they have to pay for all the defaulted years in order to vote.

A remedy for this unfair, unjust and un-American tax is passage of the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, H. R. 7534, which will outlaw poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections.

LEE E. GEYER.

Washington, July 23, 1940.

Chorus Of Southern 'Noes' Greets Plan Of Californian For Federal Poll Tax Ban

TriStates Representatives Apparently Are Unanimously Opposed To Petition Seeking To Force Bill From Committee Onto House Floor

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17.—Midsouthern members of Congress appear to be overwhelmingly opposed to enactment of Federal legislation to prohibit collection of a poll tax as a prerequisite to qualification for voting.

Sentiment among representatives of Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi apparently is unanimous against a petition filed by Representative Geyer (D., Calif.) to discharge the House Judiciary Committee from consideration of his bill and thus bring it directly to the floor of the House.

The petition would require 218 signatures. Several hours after Mr. Geyer formally offered it, there were only 13 signatures, including his own, and there wasn't a Southerner among the signers.

Eight states, all in the South, require payment of a poll tax to qualify for voting.

Southerners' Reasons

The Southerners give a number of reasons for refusing to sign the petition. Some of them say they favor elimination of the poll tax, but that it should be eliminated by state legislatures, and not by the Federal Government.

Others contend Mr. Geyer's aim is to increase the negro vote in the South.

Still others say they oppose signing of petitions to take any legislation out of the hands of committees to which bills are referred for study and recommendation.

One Republican, Representative John Jennings Jr. of nKoxville, said he advocated repeal of the poll tax "when the repeal is effected in a manner prescribed by the Constitution of Tennessee, which I think is the only legal way of obtaining such an end."

Mississippians Won't Sign

"Of course I'm not going to sign such a petition," remarked Will Colmer (D., Miss.) "It is aimed at one purpose, and the author admits it, that is, to enfranchise the negro in the South."

Wall Doxey, another Mississippian, said "you can't make my opposition to this bill too strong," and he described Mr. Geyer as "an enemy of the South." Mr. Doxey said he thought the bill "absurd" and told Mr. Geyer so.

"I don't sign discharge petitions," Representative Will Whittington of Mississippi declared. "I am opposed to th epolicy of discharging committees from consideration of legislation. In addition, all poll tax legislation should be left to the states."

Wilbur Mills of Arkansas described the proposed legislation as "an encroachment upon states' rights." Representative Vade Kitchens of Arkansas agreed.

Seen at State Matter

"The poll tax," commented W. F. Norrell of Arkansas, "is a matter for determination by the states concerned. There ought to be some rights left for the individual states."

Another Rrkansan, Fadjo Cravens ,said that if enacted, the law would be "no good."

"The Supreme Court has held that qualifications of a voter are to be determined by the states, not by the Government."

Representative Joe Byrns (D., Tenn.) said the poll tax was a matter for state legislatures "and not for the Government," and he was joined in this view by Representative Kefauver, also of Tennessee, a member of the Judiciary Committee..

Davis Withholds Comment

Representative Albert Gore said he was constitutionally opposed to the signing of petitions discharging committees from consideration of legislation. Representative Dave Terry of Little Rock echoed this sentiment.

Herron Pearson of Jackson, Tenn., said "no" when asked if he would sign it, although he added he was not opposed to state repeal of the poll tax.

Clifford Davis of Memphis indicated he would make formal comment later.

California Democrat Seeks Poll Tax Ban

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17.—(AP)—Representative Lee E. Geyer, California Democrat, contends sentiment in the South is strong for the repeal of laws requiring the payment of a poll tax to qualify as a voter.

"Of one thing I am sure," Mr. Geyer told the House this week "The 3,500,000 negroes and the 7,000,000 whites of the eight poll tax states will never be free from political bondage until some force outside those states comes to their relief.

"Have No Bootstraps"

"The provisions of the requirements of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting are firmly imbedded in the constitutions of the poll tax states, and we can not expect those people to liberate themselves when they do not have the vote with which to do it.

"We can not expect them to lift themselves by their own bootstraps when they have not the bootstraps with which to lift themselves."

Saying that the House Judiciary Committee refuses to report out his bill to make it a violation of Federal law to require payment of a poll tax before voting, Mr. Geyer is circulating a petition to take the bill out of the committee's hands. The petition would require 218 signatures.

Replying to criticism from Representative John Rankin (D., Miss.), who, he said, objected to 241,605, according to the 1930 census. That is 9.16 per cent of the total population. This pales into insignificance when we know that the percentage of the population voting in districts in the 40 tax-free states that year was 31.24 per cent—9 per cent as against 31 per cent."

what Rankin called interference in another congressman's district, Mr. Geyer declared:

"I would like to state that no man in this House has taken more time of the House or more space in the record than has the gentleman from Mississippi on affairs concerning other sections of the Nation than his own.

TAKES SLAP AT RANKIN

"He has interested himself in the power rates of practically all the 435 districts of the United States. It is a little difficult for me to see why he deems it proper for him to be concerned with the power rates in every state and improper for me to be concerned in these perilous days about the right to vote of the citizens of the Nation. Yes, it seems to make a 'difference whose ox is gored.'"

Mr. Geyer said that in the 1934 primary the total vote cast in Rankin's district was 22,140.

"This," Mr. Geyer continued, "in a district with a population of 241,605, according to the 1930 census. That is 9.16 per cent of the total population. This pales into insignificance when we know that the percentage of the population voting in districts in the 40 tax-free states that year was 31.24 per cent--9 per cent as against 31 per cent."

POLITICAL SUFFRAGE 1940

GENERAL

Lewis Quits As CIO Head; Assails Dixie Poll Tax

Amsterdam News
New York, N.Y. NOV 23 1940

ATLANTIC CITY.— John L. Lewis in announcing his retirement as president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, made a bitter 50-minute extemporaneous speech, Monday at the third annual national convention in which he pleaded for an end to the bickering which has torn the C. I. O. into right and left wing factions.

Mr. Lewis was carrying out a pre-election pledge he made to consider it a vote of no confidence by labor if President Roosevelt were returned to the White House. He remains president of the United Mine Workers Union, which is a paid position. In all probability, Mr. Lewis will be succeeded by Philip Murray, vice-president of the C. I. O. and of the United Mine Workers.

There were many political implications in Mr. Lewis' speech and particularly bitter were those in condemnation of the Democratic Party. Pointed reference was made by him to the poll tax in the South, which disfranchises 10,500,000 workers—white and colored.

"There are 52,000,000 people in this country who do not have enough to eat and there are 23,000,000 farmers in America who cannot sell their food stuffs at prices that will give them a return," Mr. Lewis said.

"I associate myself ith the 52,000,000 shrunken bellies in this country and I am for them regardless of any consideration, regardless of their creed or their color, their previous condition of servitude or anything else. They are Americans. They are human beings." Mr. Lewis said in another part of his speech.

Mr. Lewis also expressed the belief that in undertaking to aid that unprivileged segment of our population he is making a contribution to the well-being and the security and the future happiness of the rest of the poplation of America.

A. F. of L. Meets In New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS—The American Federation of Labor, which i headed by William Green, still desires to resume peace negotiations with the C. I. O. and in keeping with President Roosevelt's wish that "labor unity be achieved." This organization is holding its national convention here this week.

The A. F. of L. leader, Mr. Green, when informed of John L. Lewis' resignation as head of the C. I. O., said in effect that unless Mr. Lewis resigns as head of the United Mine Workers Union, he will still be actually and really chairman of the C. I. O.

In attendance at the A. F. of L. meeting are delegates from the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the largest Negro Union in the world. A. Philip Ranlolph, international president, is included in the list.

POLITICAL - 1940 GENERAL
SUFFRAGE

Communist Women Hail 20th Year of Suffrage

Anita Whitney, Maude White Cite Need for Continued Fight

Hailing the 20th anniversary of the right of suffrage for women as a milestone in the development and progress of America, Anita Whitney, leading woman Communist of California, and Maude White, leading Negro woman Communist of Philadelphia, called upon Negro and white women of America to join in the fight against efforts of the reactionaries which would destroy suffrage for women and annul the civil rights of all the people.

Pointing to the imminent threat to democracy, Anita Whitney declared that **"we hail this anniversary with gratitude while at the same time we recognize that our work, as women, is only dignified and important as we merge it into all other channels of progress which lead to the new social order in which men and women will stand truly equal because it is built on a real human brotherhood.**

LESSON LEARNED

"Twenty years ago when the suffrage amendment finally became an integral part of our Constitution, we suffragists felt that the millenium would soon be here. Many of us were still to learn that our social and econofic system has no water-tight compartments and that women's security and progress were tied up with that of the rest of mankind."

"Woman and Negro suffrage," declared Maude White, **"were won after long years of struggle, sacrifice and devotion. Many white women of the Suffrage Movement worked untiringly with the Negro Abolitionists Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth for the emincipation of the Negro people from slavery.**

"On the 20th Anniversary of Woman Suffrage let us work together to protect and advance peace, civil liberties and the welfare of our people. Let us work to prevent war from filling our land with widows, orphans and bringing sorrow and agony to the hearts of millions of mothers."

On Negro Suffrage

"The Attitude of the Southern White Press Toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940"

New York Age

Any person professing to have the best interests of the Negro at heart, be he white or Negro, should read and keep for reference the pamphlet recently published by the Foundation Publishers entitled "The Attitude of the Southern White Press Toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940."

The Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in keping alive to the educational needs of the Negro changed its program from that of "Go to High School, Go To College" to the one of "Education For Citizenship." This pamphlet is a result of an "initial survey of opinion concerning the political status of the Negro in Southern States" completed in 1939 by Dr. Rayford Logan, Ph.D.

The research investigator took copies of selected Southern newspapers and lifted varying opinions on the subject of Negro suffrage from them. This opinion has been presented in this publication without comment, approval or rebuttal to show the present day thinking of the Southerner. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, dean of the Graduate School of Howard University, says in his foreword that "it may be possible on the basis of these expressed views to chart our course for the future, whether this should be in the court or by the slower processes of education.'

Also bringing these views into the open may lead to more being done about the iniquities of suffrage. Opinions vary from that of the Pre-Civil War era to the enlightened present-day thinking from that of, as an editor in Florida says, "Negroes have their place. A great majority of them are good citizens. However, it is doubtful if they, themselves, desire to participate in an election in which they are given the franchise," to the thinking of a reporter in Texas, "if the Negro is willing to die for his country in time of war and pay taxes and bears his part of governmental expense he is entitled to vote at all times. Texas must be a tolerant state."

We enjoyed the chance to read the ideas of these editors and feel that the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity has ineed done a fine piece of work in placing these ideas where the public can read them.

And the South is governed by the Democratic Party.

Our Poll Tax Voting System Has Its Merits

SEP 29 1940

Alexander Recalls Tennessee Campaigns In Defending $2 Ballot Fee

Commercial Appeal

By T. H. ALEXANDER

LIBERAL magazines and newspapers are urging the repeal of the poll tax provisions in the half dozen or eight Southern states which require polls as a prerequisite to voting.

This is well meant advice from sincere, earnest men who believe not only that the disenfranchised portion of the electorate should have a vote but that their vote would help improve conditions in the South.

For a great many years this columnist has held the opposite view. He has never believed in universal suffrage, but in a limited franchise, a belief which he knows full well is held in liberal circles to be reactionary. He has thought there was no reason to suppose that public affairs would be better administered because every citizen voted. On the contrary, he has cited many instances of the breakdown of public administration because of candidates placed in office by high flood tides of votes.

Mr. Alexander

Memphis

I suppose the fault is that I, like so many other men who have had intimate contact with politics, at heart do not entirely trust democratic procedures. Those who give lip service to democracy say that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy, which to me is tantamount to saying that the cure for floods is more water or the cure for fire is more fire. It has been my observation that frequently the offices which are administered the best are those which have least contact with people. In the selection of judges, for example it was always the American ideal to have their choosing as far away from the people's influence as possible.

SEP 29 1940

A Political Snake Bite

I suppose I had as well confess that my views on this subject are tinctured by the recollection of a severe political snake-bite which I sustained when of tender years. It was in the election of the United States senator to succeed the late great Senator Edward Ward Carmack.

That was the first popular election I seem to recall, for the selection of United States senators, they having previously been chosen by vote of the Legislature. The candidates were Mr. Carmack, one of the greatest and most brilliant of Tennesseans, and former Gov. Robert L. Taylor.

Now I do not want to stir up any dying embers of the past, but in my book Bob Taylor, beloved as he was, didn't fit in the United States Senate. He was a rollicking man, a fiddler with a keen zest for life, as honest as the sunshine, but almost completely—and correct me if I am wrong—devoid of any executive ability. Carmack, on the other hand, was so brilliant that his mind dwelt in the lonesome heights of the intellectual aristocracy. He was worthy of the United States Senate at a time when Clay, Calhoun and Webster thundered in that body, or at a time when the Roman senate was at its best. It was unfortunate that he had moody recesses of mind into which his fellow citizens could not penetrate. Like Woodrow Wilson, he was so great that he was lonely.

Tennessee Fortunate

The State of Tennessee should consider itself fortunate to avail itself of the services of such a man for a second term. He was the only man in the Senate who would handle Teddy Roosevelt, for example, and his thinking about the problems of interstate commerce and the Panama Canal have stood the test of many years. He was right about a sea-level canal and had his views prevailed we would not now be put to the heavy expense of depending on so vulnerable a structure. He was right about interstate commerce because the Carmack Amendment yet remains the law of the land more than 30 years after his shocking death.

These men came down the stretch in the race for United States Senate neck and neck in the most brilliant sweepstakes ever run in Tennessee. But the great Carmack was defeated because in that contest no rules prevailed and the great unwashed poured from the hills and hollows to vote for the one they lovingly called "Our Bo|b." It was a great triumph for popular government but hardly a triumph for "hoss sense." How shocking the result was to the New York and Washington press may be gleaned today if the amateur historian will consult the dusty files in any library. To those newspapers, free from local bias and beyond the warm charm of Governor Taylor's personality, the result was almost unbelievable. The point is that a limited electorate would, as I have always firmly believed, have elected Carmack.

SEP 29 1940

Only 1 Now Votes

Coming down to our own day, we find a great hue and cry to get Tennesseans to vote. The total vote has gradually slipped until now hardly one in 10 Tennesseans goes to the polls and votes. This means that the choosing of state officials is in the hands of a highly limited electorate.

I want to ask those who believe that a heavy vote means good government to observe the total vote cast since 1920 in Tennessee elections. The low water mark was the votes given the late Austin Peay for Governor. Fewer citizens voted for Austin Peay than any over Governor in our times, yet his administrations were the golden age of state government in Tennessee. As a Governor he was so much higher than all the other Governors that his administration might

diagnosed in the old race track ...ry: "Proctor Knott first and the others nowhere!" Austin Peay was incomparably the greatest Governor Tennessee ever had. He did more for Tennessee than any six Governors we can recall; he left his mark on the Smoky Mountains, on Reelfoot Lake, on the thousands of miles of the highways, on long-term public schools in every county, and one the state government itself through the administrative reorganization bill. Yet he was actually nominated by a minority of Democrats and he attained a great majority in the regular election from one of the smallest total votes cast in modern times.

SEP 29 1940

Liberals will call me reactionary but these are no new views of mine. I first expressed them 18 years ago and I have reiterated them since. That is why I have never been disturbed about the poll tax. Any man who objects to paying $2 to vote ought not to have a vote anyway. The $2 is a safe filter to fall out those whose vote would contribute little or nothing to government. I never have believed in "letting the people rule." I say let the intelligent people rule.

POLL TAX AGAIN

SEP 26 1940

To The Commercial Appeal:

I have read several letters in the forums from earnest voters who oppose this block to voting. Now don't tell me that you willingly pay your wife's poll tax so she can vote also.

You do not do it and she is disfranchised!

Commercial Appeal

The bill now before Congress would abolish this poll tax question in national elections. We, the people, are 99 per cent for the passage of this bill but it requires 218 signatures to bring it to the floor for action. It has only 39 signatures, and so far there is not a single Southern congressman among them. An able editorial in the Tennessean showed that poll tax amounts to less than 3 per cent of the school fund, but it disfranchises about one-fourth of our voters. Now if you really want it repealed, you cannot sensibly vote for a congressman who opposes the repeal.

Memphis

In other words, if you vote for our present congressmen in the next election, keep your mouth shut about the poll tax question. Why would you want to vote for a representative who did not represent you? Well, I don't! You think it over. All consistent Tennesseans who are antipoll tax in honest sentiment will leave the names of their present congressmen blank at the polls.

Tenn.

This bill was not passed for revenue in the first place, but to disfranchise. It was always corrupt, is still corrupt, and all of its friends are corrupt with it.

J. D. CRAWFORD.

Huntingdon, Tenn.

The Power Of The Ballot

SEP 30 1940

The press has made much comment on the effort of the Willkie and the Roosevelt forces to corral the Negro vote—the reason—the Negro holds the balance in ten of the most populous states. That the Republican convention did not regard this fact lightly is shown in the following plank from the Republican Platform, held recently in Philadelphia:

"We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the army, navy, and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

This is the most favorable attention the Negro question has received in many years. Whether it was sincere is not the question. The fact is they adopted this plank and the Negro voter in these doubtful states is in position to see that it is carried out in the event of Republican success.

'National Defense for Democracy'—

Hollow Phrase in Poll Tax States

DEC 10 1940

Montgomery, Ala.

Editor, Daily Worker:

A recent item in a local paper stating how the registrar boards disqualified voters shows how proud the reactionaries are of their "democracy in the South."

It is a bit ironical on their part to insist that we must have "national defense for democracy," when they in their own press laugh at democracy.

Daily Worker

Thanks a million! (five cents is much to small an amount) for the Daily Worker. For the Alabama workers and sharecroppers we need a paper that truly advocates democracy by demanding an end to the poll tax.

New York, N.Y.

We need the Daily Worker here and are working in every possible way to extend its circulation.

R. C. W.

Why Is The Franchise Denied?

On October 9 the Committee on Election Rights—1940 of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties held a mass meeting in New York City to protest the nationwide attack against the election rights of minority parties. Among the noted speakers was Dr. Walter Rautenstrauch, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University. The following is the speech he delivered.

New Masses

THIS meeting is an answer to all the dictators of Europe. It is also an answer to the aspiring dictators of local origin. It demonstrates the dynamic of the democratic process.

OCT 22 1940

We are here to draw conclusions from the evidence, and we are here to act on the evidence. It is a fundamental principle of democracy, would that we spoke of it more often, that no one shall enjoy a right that can not be shared by each and every one of his fellow citizens. No one should enjoy a political advantage, a social advantage, nor an economic advantage over his fellow men. To preserve our democracy this fundamental principle must be maintained.

The denial of the franchise to vote constitutes a focal point of social infection. That must be eradicated from the body politic; it must be excised, it must be cut out, removed, so that the poison of this virus does not spread and infect every activity and every institution of our democracy.

Furthermore, this meeting demonstrates that we are not interested merely in the *beliefs* of those who are charged with the responsibility of administering the rules and regulations which we have adopted for carrying on this process we call civilization. It is not the beliefs we are interested in; we are interested in the specific performances. We insist and we will see to it, that every right accruing to every citizen in our democracy will be preserved.

OCT 22 1940

We also must ask ourselves the question—why is the franchise being denied? What are the roots of this problem? Why should anyone be interested in not allowing any individual to express himself in this democratic nation? Can it be for any other reason than to acquire and exercise control, not only over that individual, but over all the processes we use in living together, in order to gain political advantage, in order to gain a social advantage, in order to gain economic advantage?

When we uncover the roots of this problem we find that they center at three points. One, the desire to control the raw materials of the earth, one of the fundamental causes, now, of the European and Asiatic conflict. The second point is the access to the tools of production. That conflict is now going on within our borders and is a focal point at which adjustment must be made if we are to preserve the democratic process, the right to work, access to the means of production.

In the early days of this republic, when property rights were defined and rules for their protection were inaugurated, property consisted very largely of the means the individual held for making a living. Today property rights have a very different meaning. They mean among other things the right to withdraw from social use in order to gain an economic advantage. That right must not rest with any individual. or group of individuals, for so long as that right is exercised, our democracy is imperiled. The third point is the distribution of the products of labor. We must provide a workable means by which the products of labor may be distributed in order to sustain and develop our economy. It is these three focal points which lie at the root of the problem we are met to discuss this evening.

Furthermore we need the driving force of a high ideal. We need to have that dynamic in our society which will make us immune to the social diseases which encumber us. That dynamic, that high ideal can not be maintained alone by a few individuals, but must permeate the very fabric of this nation, and must arise from the vitality of every individual in this nation. That vitality is preserved and maintained by each individual having the right to vote, having the right to express himself, and present his opinions. And acting upon that right, may we at this meeting realize fully the implications of the problem which is being presented to us, and may we act with diligence and force to maintain the civil liberties of the American people.

WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH.

Thomasville, Ga. Times-Enterprise
October 2, 1940

WILLKIE WILL SUPPORT ANTI-LYNCH BILL

Before some fifteen thousand voters among negroes of Chicago recently one Wendell L. Willkie made a determined bid for their vote by supporting the demand for an anti-lynch bill. It seems from all accounts available that the politicians have introduced this bill time after time in an effort at appeasement to the negroes in the New York area and the middle west.

The south has fought passage of the bill and succeeded up to this time in forcing its abandonment. However the republicans now propose to put it over if the negroes will go out and swing the north back to the republicans. They compose a sufficient vote in some sections to prove the balance of power and have been voting with the democrats. Willkie wants them back in the republican party, where they were for so long, because the south was in the democratic party.

The appeal did not get far nor will it have much publicity. It is probable that the negro papers will be asked to carry it and the others not to make a special article of it nor to comment too freely in an editorial way. It is such a sensitive question that Willkie decided he might as well take high grounds and approve the anti-lynch bill whenever it appears that there is a need for it. He did not manhandle the south and wave the red flag but he did give the negroes the sop that was sufficient to turn the democratic tide that had been running so that it will not be an issue in the campaign.

We would not trust either party not to sell the south down the river if the result of the election depended on some promise to the negro voters that would despoil the south of its inherent and natural rights in that connection. No matter what the issue or the party this matter will come up for discussion and whichever party gets the inside will win. However it is not an issue in that sense in the south nor will it ever be.

Rome, Ga. News-Tribune
October 12, 1940

The Roosevelt Record

Editor, The News-Tribune:

Your vote has never been, and perhaps never will be, as important as today. It behooves each voter to be informed and to realize what the 1940 election means. Its significance is beyond Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Willkie. There are really no party lines, only empty names of opposing organizations Even Mr. Roosevelt boasts tha he has not always voted the Straight Democratic ticket; has urged voters to elect Republican nominees over Democrats at times, and insists it is often better to defeat one's own party selections—and he is a politician above all else. That cannot be disputed.

The situation today as to the South: "It is in the bag"—already counted. Why the trouble and expense of an election when one voter could cast the ballot? Four years ago, the South's voice was eliminated in national conventions when the two-thirds rule was abrogated. The 1940 convention was a one-man affair. The South was ignored and overrun.

Let's examine its platform. In a current issue of a national magazine, Walter White an eminent colored leader, quotes "due process and the equal protection of the law for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color," in an argument (which is a direct bid for the colored vote) for assurance of the passage of federal anti-lynching legislation, which is a demand and price the negroes exact for their vote. This is directed at the South. We are opposed to lynchings. Such a law on the federal statutes means a negro rapist could be overtaken in our county after such a crime in another county and lynched here by an unknown, lawless mob and our county would be forced to pay the victim's family a large sum of money.

This negro leader boasts that the potential strength and decisive power of the negro vote in certain centers of population will be used for all it is worth That is not all that happened in Chicago in July. Colored ministers offered invocations and a negro congressman named Mitchell addressed the convention. The negro voters in 1936 went for the New Deal, lock, stock and barrel. And in 1940 the trade has been made, no doubt.

How were the veteran loyal Democrats like Garner, Farley, Bankhead and others treated? Very badly. Let's not forget the 1938 purge demand of the party against life-long, true Democrats who dared not to "yes" all New Deal experiments and failures. Roosevelt is bending heaven and earth for re-election on his record. Ample proof reveals dictator ambitions, tactics and means. Every dictator gets an army to force his plans. Roosevelt will have one, too, if reelected. The scope of the New Deal scheme is similar to the way Hitler, Il Duce and Stalin secured power and control. Mrs. Roosevelt is actively engaged in soliciting the negro and foreign support. Northern Democrats are far different from the Southern brand. The best thing to do is to give one some of his own medicine. The Democratic party should purge itself and the nation of the New Deal and thus save the country from bankruptcy.

Roosevelt kept one promise. He gave us liquor. He also gave us a heavy burden of taxes. We had better think before we vote. Roosevelt does not make his own speeches. Let us consider all factors, issues, implications and tendencies involved in this election. Face the facts, vote with discretion, and act while we can. Do you want the ex-Republican Wallace for president? Do you want war? What do you want? Don't be a sheep or a sucker. Be an American!

MAJOR TOM NOODLE.

10 Million Votes Lost by Poll Tax

NOV 9 1940

In addition to some five million residents of Dixie barred from the polls by sheer intimidation, another ten million were denied their right to vote on Tuesday by poll-tax laws in eight Southern States.

Such laws, enacted between 1890 and 1910 for the admitted purpose of keeping elections lily-white, are in effect in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, South Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee and Virginia. These fees ranging from $1 to $3, are in some cases cumulative.

With development of the depression, the realization grew that the scheme was working against poor whites, as well as colored residents, and today, in the eight States affected, an average of only 10 per cent of the adult population is voting, while 58.1 per cent of the adults in the rest of the county enjoys the franchise.

In addition to various Northern elements seeking to have the poll-tax system invalidated, the Southern Youth Congress, headed by Edward Strong, has recently taken up the fight.

White Dixie politicians, however, are equally determined to keep these laws in effect. An Alabama probate judge was recently quoted as saying, "We've been apprehensive since colored people have been participating in the AAA elections. It gives them notions."

Pepper Against Collecting Poll Tax

DEC 13 1940

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Legislation to ban the collection of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections was advocated Friday by Senator Pepper (D., Fla.)

Although he admitted it would draw opposition from most of his Southern colleagues, the Floridian said he would offer a bill or constitutional amendment for this purpose during the session that opens next month.

Similar legislation was sponsored during the current session by Representative Geyer (D., Calif.), but was shelved by the House judiciary committee.

Pepper said Florida had abolished the poll tax "with excellent results," and asserted other Southern states should follow its example. He declared thousands were denied the right to vote because they were unable to pay the tax.

The poll tax is collected in eight Southern states. Pepper said he was not sure yet whether a statute abolishing it would be constitutional. If not, he said he would propose a constitutional amendment.

He said it was not likely that Congress' authority would extend further than the elimination of the tax in presidential and congressional elections.

Guffey Alliance With Bilbo And Other Negro Baiters Held Insult To Race Voters

Philadelphia Tribune
Philadelphia Pa.

By GORDON ALSOP

Every time U. S. Senator Joseph F. Guffey brings a Southern Senator into this State to campaign for his re-election, he insults the colored citizens of Pennsylvania.

It is of such weight that it cannot be effected by a smile or a promise.

But it can be handled effectively when the colored man or woman casts his or her ballot at the election next November 5.

OCT 24 1940

One of Guffey's recent guest sponsors from the South was Senator Ellender, of Louisiana.

Reports are now in circulation that Guffey has invited or intends to invite, the notorious Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi, to stump for the third term candidate for President and for Guffey's own re-election to a second Senatorial term.

Back-to-Africa Bilbo

Even the mere mention of the word Bilbo infuriates the colored citizen. For it was the raucous-voiced Bilbo who introduced in 1938 a bill into the Senate, which if enacted, would have provided authority for sending 12,000,000 colored citizens of the United States to Africa.

We all remember the debate. For three and one-half days Bilbo, once a Baptist minister in his home State, spoke on the floor of the Senate. He pilloried the colored race. He said they could not live in close proximity to white people. He denied them all rights or privileges of citizens. He declared that economically they were out of the picture in the United States.

While Bilbo heaped his insulting tirades on the helpless colored men and women, Guffey either absented himself from the Senate chamber, or if he was there, did not deign to halt the abuse or defend the colored man or woman.

Hits at Guffey

Yet Guffey today, wearing a 2-yard wide smile and eager to shake hands wtih all comers, asks that the colored man and woman vote for him on November 5.

Guffey largely owed his election in 1934 to the colored vote. He distributed a few jobs. He believed then he had effectively handcuffed the colored vote of Pennsylvania to himself. In fact, Guffey let the impression spread that it was he, by virtue of wise political acumen, who had switched the colored vote from the Republican to the Democratic Party.

When Bilbo, however, had the colored race on the torture rack, the voice of Joe Guffey was silent. He was not then the defender of the colored citizen. He is not now the defender of the colored citizen.

Negroes Don't Want War

The United States at present is rushing war preparations. We are told that the United States must have adequate defense. We all saw how our sons and brothers marched away last October 16 to register under the soldier conscript act.

The colored citizen does not want war, but if war comes he will not shirk his obligation. What we do want to know is whose war it is we are getting into.

Is it merely a trick of the New Deal to cover up the blunders of nearly eight years of the New Deal? Guffey doesn't let us in on this secret.

Guffey's voice, too, is silent when the colored man is fighting for proper recognition in the Army and Navy. Has Guffey raised his voice in protest over the discriminations against the colored boy in the two services? Not one word from Coat-tail Rider Joe.

OCT 24 1940

Looks at Record

He apparently has been tipped off that the New Deal War Lords intend to hand out but little to the colored race, and that the vast majority of our sons and brothers will be consigned to labor battalions and stevedore corps.

It is always well, when an election approaches, to glance back at the record.

Therefore, let us study the Bilbo proposal to ship the colored people to Africa, without even so much as a faint protest from Guffey.

In describing provisions in his bill for the purchase of areas in Africa, adjacent to Liberia, from Great Britain and France for the proposed colony for colored citizens of the United States, Bilbo in the Senate said:

"The bill provides for the appropriation of one billion dollars to begin with to resettle these people in their native land. That is a very small consideration when we think what the Negro race has contributed to this nation from the time Negroes were in slavery up to the present time, and it is a small consideration when we consider what the Congress is year after year appropriating to carry several million of our American citizens on the relief rolls.

Babbling Bilbo Blows Off

"I may say that almost 75 per cent of those on relief rolls in many States are Negroes. Take the District of Columbia, with 10,000 persons on the relief rolls. The record shows that approximately 8,000 of those persons are Negroes and 2,000 white, notwithstanding that the population of the District of Columbia is 400,000 white and 200,000 blacks.

"In other words, 8,000 of the 200,000 blacks are on the relief rolls and only 2,000 of the 400,000 white. Already it has been suggested that an appropriation of one billion and a half dollars be made for relief next year.

OCT 24 1940

"At the last session we appropriated over two billion dollars for relief. One-half of that amount of money could be spent in providing for the re-settlement of the Negro in his native fatherland, and the government would save money on the transaction, because if we could succeed in removing 5,000,000; 6,000,000 or 8,000,000 Negroes who are now ready to go to Africa we would solve the unemployment problem and do away with the necessity for relief, for there would be a job for every white man and woman in America."

That's what Bilbo demands and Bilbo is a senatorial New Deal crony of "Brother Joe" Guffey. They both back the New Deal and President Roosevelt backs Bilbo and Guffey.

——A Colored Judge——

Will The South Make The Bid?

NOV 9 1940

IN A RECORD editorial, our morning contemporary comes out with a bold editorial relative to the Negro vote. That paper along with others, cited the impact of the colored vote and emphasized the fact that the colored race was aware o its friends and the administration that had meant much to it.

For many moons we have been discussing the primary system in the southern states. We pointed out the fallacies, the subterfuges with their prohibitive methods which had made our elections burning shames and the suicide route our section was following in annihilating its voting strength.

Daily World

With the great influx of the colored population to such states as Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey and New York, those politicians were quick to seize upon their voting strength. In large numbers our people piled up on the eligible list and with their political rights denied them in the South, they entered actively in the field of politics. The first Illinois District is represented in Congress by an ex-citizen of the state of Alabama. In many other states in the north and west the colored voters figure quite effectively in elections.

Atlanta, Ga.

The South is beginning to learn the lesson, if late, that political power comes from the intensity of the voting strength. For years, it has seen its fields neglected, its farm centers depopulated and its people moving into other sections of the country. Georgia has lost two congressmen from her fall off in population, due directly to the leaving of these people who were not allowed to say who should represent and tax them. Those people who have votes are the people who can make demands and it goes without saying that it is a dangerous situation to have people among us who have no voice whatever in the affairs of government.

NOV 9 1940

Maybe with the coming of new orders of things, the South is realizing that it cannot come upon a level of equal bidding before the nation with half of its population disfranchised.

All through the South Mr. Roosevelt has made many friends for his party. There are thousands who, heretofore have been aligned with the Republican party are going down the road with the leadership of President Roosevelt.

If the southern states would see their fallacy to the extent of wiping away the nefarious primary laws, it would rid our section of the terrible stranglehold that has sent it down the roads of political suicide, neglect, depopulation and starvation, always attendant in a system contending in a democracy—a government without the consent of the majority of those governed.

RESOLUTION IS PASSED URGING BAN ON LEVY

Southerners Lead Fight For Repeat At League Confab In New York

NEW YORK.—Two Southern white women, both from states where the poll tax keeps the vast majority of voters from the polls, led a successful fight for adoption of a resolution denouncing the anti-democratic levy at final session of the fourteenth annual convention of the League of Women Voters at Hotel Commodore here.

The resolution called for inclusion in the league legislative program for next year of a decision to fight for repeal of the poll tax bar on voting in state and federal elections.

It was introduced by Mrs. Carl Stafford of Knoxville, Tenn., president of the Tennessee league, but was defeated by a majority of one in the league's program committee.

Sponsors of the resolution led by Mrs. Stafford then took their fight to the convention floor where a vote of two-thirds was required to bring the resolution out for consideration.

In the fight to bring the resolution out for a test, Mrs. Stafford was assisted by Mrs. Margaret Gayle of Atlanta, Ga., and by Mrs. John Thompson of Norman, Okla. Georgia, like Tennessee, is a poll tax state.

Projection of the resolution on to the convention floor provoked heated discussion and so much support that its foes in the program committee did not even speak against it. When the vote was taken women were lined up six deep at the microphones to speak for the resolution and against the poll tax.

The resolution was adopted without a record vote against it.

CLOTHING WORKERS UNION FLAYS POLL SYSTEM OF SOUTH

Globe

6/7/40

Nashville, Tenn.

NEW YORK, June 4 (CNA)—"We are in the grip of a poll tax oligarchy," declared President Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers Union, in an impassioned indictment of "Southern reactionaries and the Ku Klux Klan before the Silver Jubilee convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union here.

"Poll Tax laws tie the hands of labor in eight southern states, the labor leader pointed out, in explaining the problem of organizing the huge textile industry.

Representatives Martin Dies of Texas, Howard Smith of Virginia, and Eugene Cox of Georgia came in for specific criticism as "poll tax enemies of labor" at the hands of the head of the newly created CIO union.

"Poll tax statesmanship is attempting to destroy the Wagner Act," Rieve continued. "Poll Tax statesmanship is attempting to destroy the Wage and Hour Act. Poll Tax politicians stem from the same root of Southern reaction as the revival of the Ku Klux Klan."

Stressing the importance of the Wages and Hours Law to the South, Rieve declared "We must beware of any further attempts to reduce the Wages and Hours Act to another forgotten law—and those attempts are sure to come. We must strengthen that law and amend it so that no chiseler can worm his way out of it and not amend it for the protection of the chisler.

South Main Problem

The South also came in for attention from the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated, in a 179-page printed report.

"The South remains a major organizing problem," the report states, "not only because of the threat that the low-wage factories there offer to union standards in organized markets, but because of the threat which, in the absence of a strong organized labor movement, reactionary political influence constitute to the permanence and effective operation of the Wage and Hour Law and other progressive social legislation.

4 Million Back Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill in Vote

Daily Worker 6-10-40

90 Per Cent Plurality in 35 States Back Measure

Winnipeg Free Press

By Adam Lapin
(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 9.—A poll conducted by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights revealed today that the overwhelming sentiment of the American people is in favor of the Geyer bill to outlaw the poll tax in the Southern states.

Approximately 4,500,000 votes were cast in the poll with an 89 per cent plurality reported in favor of the Gayer bill.

A total of 4,104,673 persons voted for the bill while 236,422 voted against it and 252,627 said they did not know where they stood on the issue.

Ballots were sent by the National Emergency Conference to organizations from thirty five states with a request that the question on the ballot be discussed at a meeting and that the results be tabulated on a printed form and returned.

Much of the sentiment represented in the 7 per cent vote against the Geyer bill, the conference reported, was evidently due to a feeling that the Geyer bill was not in itself adequate as a solution of the franchise problems of the South.

MANY GROUPS

Organizations throughout the thirty five states involved in the poll included such groups as posts of the American Legion, Masons, Churches, trade unions, lawyers and profesional men, womens clubs, consumers groups, social workers, colleges, universities and seminaries.

The conference said that the Southern vote representing more than seven hundred thousand was particularly emphatic in approving the Geyer bill and sharp in condemnation of what many participants called "attacks designed to keep most of the people away from the polls."

SHARP COMMENTS

The El Paso Texas Refinery Workers stated in their ballot that "nearly all the members in this organization are barred from voting by the poll tax for the reason that their wages are too low to permit payment thereto."

Midwestern opinion representing nearly 1,000,000 votes was summarized in a statement by Verna S. Ballard of the First Friends Church of Indiana and Savilla Simons, chairman of the American Association of Social Workers of Chicago, who said after the voting "there is no question but that the membership of our organizations is strongly opposed to poll taxes."

PAY YOUR POLL TAX

Globe & Independent

The last call to citizens who have failed to qualify to vote this year is now being made. It is still possible for persons who have not already paid their poll tax to do so and be prepared to vote for president in November.

Nashville, Tenn.

But now is the accepted time to do this. Do it, by all means in the month of August. The coming Presidential race will be one of the most important ever held. No citizen, worthy of the name, should fail to take part in it. Pay your poll tax NOW.

Chester, S. C., Reporter
August 8, 1940

If the colored voters, who control the Democratic party, according to Senator Byrnes, can be kept in line, the Solid South plus the big city political machines in New York, Chicago, Newark, etc., should enable Mr, Roosevelt to trample tradition under foot and be the first man in America's history to win a third term.

Maverick Tells of 'Underlying Rottenness' of Poll Tax Law

NEW YORK. — Recently cleared of charges that he had paid poll taxes for prospective voters, Maury Maverick, fiery mayor of San Antonio, Texas, writes in an article in the Nation of May 11 that he has been opposed to the poll tax "ever since as tax collector ten years ago I found out how rotten they were."

Giving what he calls "an elementary lesson to uncultured Yankees," Mr. Maverick describes how the poll tax has made it possible to steal an election:

"In the South only from 10 to 20-odd per cent of the qualified voters vote, whereas in registration States, without a poll tax, from 60 to 70-odd per cent of the qaulified voters vote. And so, by means of the middle-class vote, aided by contributions from Northern interests, with hill-billies and poor people generally excluded, the machine stays in power."

Analyzing the reasons for the small registration in poll-tax States, Maverick lays bare the ecenomic conditions underlying the disfranchisement of millions of Southerners:

"The National Resources Committee recently made a study of consumer incomes in the United States. The study showed that one-third of the nation receives less than $780 a year and is unable to save anything ... We also know from the report of the president on economic conditions in the South that the South has more than its share of poor people.

"According to this report, even in the so-called prosperous year of 1929 Southern farm people receive an average annual gross income of only $186. Earnings of sharecroppers range from $38 to $87 per person ... If you must pay a poll-tax of from $1.50 to $1.75, as we do in Texas, you have to work from 15 to 17 days to pay it."

Poll Tax Controversy Carried to Convention

Hope To Abolish Levy In Eight Southern States

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Failing to get Congressional action on his bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Federal elections, Representative Geyer (D. Cal.) carried his case to the Democratic National Convention, assembled this week in Chicago.

With Joseph S. Gelders, secretary of the civil rights committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Representative Geyer drafted a proposed plank for the Democratic party platform. The plank, which will be laid before the resolutions committee reads:

"We believe that the requirement of payment of taxes as a prerequisite to the right to vote is contrary to the basic principles of the Democratic Party and that it creates a barrier to the establishment of a democracy of opportunity to which our party is already pledged. We now pledge our support to efforts to abolish this requirement."

DIRECTS VERBAL DARTS AT VIRGINIANS

In appealing for acceptance of his amendment to the Hatch bill, Geyer directed verbal darts at certain representatives from Virginia and other poll-tax States for their positions on various pieces of national legislation.

"They tell you it is a local matter," Geyer said. "Did they say that when they asked us to tax all the people for the benefit of the TVA?

"Were my people concerned when the lord high executioner of the WPA came out of Virginia, or the leader against the wage hour law came from Georgia?

FROM CRADLE OF DEMOCRACY

"Was it the concern of the people of Illinois when the State of Tennessee furnished the leader of the fight to kill the slum-clearance program? Was it a local matter only when the impetus to weaken the National Labor Relations act sprang from the 'Cradle of Democracy,' Virginia?"

Abolition of the poll tax requirement, Geyer argued, "will give the ballot to the low-income groups in the eight Southern States that are still following the old Roman system that was in operation when Mary and Joseph presented to the world the Babe of Bethlehem."

Geyer said the percentage of voters to the total population in the 40 States having no poll tax requirement was 31.24 per cent, compared to 25.7 in Virginia.

"About 64 per cent of the white voters in these eight states are disfranchised," Geyer said. "Is this democraccy? Can any member of this body who believes in our Government refuse to support this amendment?

78 FROM POLL TAX STATES

"We have 78 representatives from these poll tax states. If we enforced our Fourteenth Amendment and cut down our vote as provided therein, do you know how many we would have from the poll tax States? Only 18—instead of 78.

"I claim no feudal lord was more secure behind his stone walls than the congressman fortified behind his poll tax barricade. Even Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin are not more secure in tenure of office under their one-party state if reinforced by the poll tax restriction on the ballot."

The Anti-Poll Tax Bill

CONGRESSMAN Geyer of California has introduced into the 76th session of Congress a bill to outlaw poll taxes in the southern states.

This bill should be passed. Colored people throughout the country should urge its passage. Likewise, white people should join in the battle to insure its success.

The enactment of a law ridding the South of the poll tax will be the greatest boost for democracy in the history of the country.

The poll tax laws, which were passed during the Reconstruction period for the purpose of preventing Negroes from voting, are effective in eight states; namely, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Before a person can vote he must pay from one to three dollars for poll tax. Some of the states have a cumulative provision making it necessary to pay the taxes for unpaid years. This provision may require a voter to pay as much as $100 to vote, an amount sufficient to prevent the most active citizen from exercising his suffrage.

With a liberal president and a democratic party in control which is seeking the Negro vote, this is the logical time to pass the measure.

To pass the bill millions of Negroes in the South will be able to vote. Of course the bill is not the only restriction designed to take the ballot from Negroes in some southern states, but it is the most effective one. It also successfully disfranchises poor whites. Three out of four citizens are kept from voting by the operation of this law.

Complete emancipation for the Negro can be achieved only by the right to exercise the ballot. Once that right is restored, without restriction, he will be able to elect people to office in the South who are friendly to him. As it is now the candidate who can best persuade the voters that he is more anti-Negro than his opponent is usually the one who usually is elected.

As a companion measure the Congress should pass the anti-lynching law to protect Negro voters from southern terror.

Although the poll tax law operates only in the South it affects the status of the Negro throughout the country. How much more effective would our demands to our government be if we had ten Congressmen and a couple of senators instead of only one congressman?

100 Southern Women Demand End to Poll Tax

Statement on 20th Anniversary of Woman Suffrage Calls on Congress to Take Immediate Action Against System

Joining with other progressive women of America in observing the 20th anniversary of the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment granting suffrage to women, 100 progressive Southern women made public yesterday a statement calling for the abolition of the poll tax which virtually bars the majority of the Negro and white population of the South from voting.

Copies of the statement are being sent to each member of Congress urging them to enact legislation eliminatng payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

The petition was formally presented to Congress yesterday by a delegation of leading Southern women headed by Margot Gayle of Atlanta and Mrs. Clifford Durr of Alexandria.

All of the 100 women who signed the statement live in the seven Southern states where the poll tax is still in effect. Declaring that action of the 100 Southern women indicates the great sentiment rapidly developing for the abolition of the poll tax, the statement reads:

"STATEMENT OF 100 SOUTHERN WOMEN: On the 20th Anniversary of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the U. S.

"Twenty years ago today, the right to vote was secured to the women of this nation through the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. For years, America's women worked with devotion and courage toward this goal. We now realize that the victory was only partly won. We are gravely concerned that twenty years later countless thousands of women are still, in effect, disfranchised in those southern states which require payment of a poll tax before voting.

"We, the undersigned women of these poll-taxed states, are proud of our states and seek through the removal of this barrier a fuller development of the democratic process. Therefore, we call on the Congress, on this anniversary of the first great step toward woman suffrage, for legislation which will obviate for voting in federal elections the requirement of payment of a poll tax."

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The Wrong Way

There is a poll tax evil. There is need for poll tax reform. But this newspaper, which advocates poll tax reform in Alabama, would dislike very much to see the federal government attempt to abolish the poll tax, or to interfere with the orderly election machinery of Alabama or any other state.

Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, Tex., himself once acquitted of charges of "vote buying" through poll tax payments, is heading a civil rights committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which is seeking an amendment to the Hatch law to abolish poll taxes in states where they exist. The committee seeks legislation which would make it possible to imprison or fine election officials who require evidence of poll tax payment as a prerequisite to voting.

The evils of the poll tax system are serious. But they are evils which should be remedied by the sovereign voters of the various states which impose a levy for privileges of the ballot. The states naturally would keenly resent interference from the federal government, and a sweeping federal law abolishing poll taxes possibly might do more immediate harm than good.

There is some reason behind every political evil. There is sound historical reason behind the poll tax laws. There are several reforms that should be made through education and other channels before Alabama, for instance, would want to abolish the poll tax altogether.

The group attempting to pass a federal law to abolish poll tax payments in reality is hurting its cause. Such attempts tend to solidify opposition to poll tax reforms from within the states.

The News would like to see Alabama take steps toward improving its suffrage system. We would like to see the cumulative features of the poll tax removed, or at least reduced, so that eligible citizens could vote on payment of two years' back poll taxes and for the current year. This would enfranchise many able, intelligent people now denied the privilege of the ballot. Education and progress should eventually cause even further reform.

But poll tax reform should come from within the state, not from the federal government.

Maverick Will Speak Against Poll Taxes

To Be First Witness in House Hearing on Right to Vote

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 1.—Rep. Lee Gever announced today that the first witness to testify on behalf of his bill to outlaw the poll tax before the House Judiciary Committee will be Mayor Maury Maverick of Texas. Hearings start on March 6.

Plans for the hearings were discussed at a conference in Geyer's office yesterday attended by representatives of the A. F. of L. and the CIO as well as of 13 other progressive groups. This was the second conference of this sort on the poll tax held in the last two weeks.

Maverick, long opposed to the poll tax, has been on the warpath since the abortive attempt of the corrupt San Antonio political machine to unseat him shortly after his election.

He successfully defended himself in the courts against an attempt to fasten upon him the charge of buying votes through the payment of poll taxes, a corrupt practice known to be the basis of machine politics in Texas and other poll tax states in the South.

Maverick is chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which is sponsoring the Gever bill

Poll Taxes

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: The poll tax issue seems to be up again. There is one concrete fact in connection with it of which I do not believe your editorial writers are informed.

There was considerable agitation north of the Potomac for repeal of Southern poll taxes in early 1938. It was, in the language of one of your writers, "of all the New Deal movements least traceable to the White House."

It resulted in the placing on the ballot of the State of Arkansas in the general election held in November, 1938, a proposal to repeal the poll tax. The repeal proponents were pretty active; the opponents less so. The issue was thoroughly aired by newspapers, radio and stump speeches.

In the general election, participated in by Democrats, Republicans, Socialists and Communists, white, black or any other color, the vote was: Against repeal of the poll tax, 83,000; for repeal, 42,000.

The election was so fair, the issues so thoroughly discussed, the vote so decisive that repeal proponents made admission afterward that they simply were on the unpopular side of the question. They never made the slightest claim that the election did not express the wishes of the people of the State.

Hereafter, would you mention that the repeal question has already been voted on in one Southern State, and that the people of that State, who know their own problems best and who, under the Constitution, are entitled to settle them themselves, rejected repeal 2 to 1?

ARKANSAS VOTER.

Arlington, Va., Feb. 29.

OPEN HEARINGS ON POLL TAX BAN

Mass Pressure of Unions, Other Groups, Prevents House Judiciary Committee from Pigeon-Holing Geyer Bill; Garnerite Is Hearing Chairman

By Adam Lapin

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 6.—Labor organizations and other progressive groups backing the Geyer Bill to outlaw the poll tax won their first important victory as open hearings on this sweeping democratic proposal got under way this morning.

A firm stand by the CIO the A. F. of L. and other organizations upset a series of maneuvers designed to permit the measure to expire quietly in a commodious House Judiciary Committee pigeon-hole.

Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio led off testimony on the bill before a judiciary subcommittee with the statement that the poll tax has turned the South into a "fractional democracy" which is ruled by a minority and overrun with corruption.

Maverick said he was convinced that a majority of those who do vote in the South are opposed to the poll tax, and that within six months of passage of the Geyer bill which bans the poll tax in federal elections Texas and perhaps other states would be forced to pass similar laws applying to poll taxes in state and local elections.

Witnesses from the eight Southern states where the poll taxes are still in effect are expected to testify later this week or early next week on the effect of these taxes in disfranchising the majority of Negro and white people in the South.

Rep. Francis Walter, chairman of the judiciary subcommittee had attempted to confine the hearings to the narrow issue of the constitutionality of the Geyer bill, but under pressure of the powerful groups supporting the measure he is apparently not insisting on this point now.

Keeping the hearings to the constitutional issue would, of course, have meant that all sociological and economic data bearing on the background of the poll tax would have been ruled out.

GARNERITE CHAIRMAN

Chairman of the entire Judiciary Committee is Rep. Hatton Sumners of Texas, a leading Garner Democrat, who is bitterly opposed to the Geyer bill.

It is believed that Walter, who is head of the Pennsylvania Democratic delegation, has reflected Sumners' attitude in undertaking various moves which have shown a marked lack of enthusiasm for the Geyer proposal.

Walter had made several attempts to stall off the hearings. As late as last night, it is understood that no room had been obtained for the hearings and that Walter had not quite made up his mind as to whether or not they would be held.

Another plan which Walter had considered earlier was for his subcommittee to report the bill to the full judiciary committee where it

would have been kept gathering dust indefinitely.

Rep. Lee Geyer, who introduced the bill to outlaw the poll tax, made public a letter which he had sent yesterday to Rep. Walter urging that the hearings not be confined to the constitutional issue. He said that he took this step at the request of Representatives of the various organizations backing the bill.

Among the groups Geyer listed as desiring full hearings were the CIO, the A. F. of L., National Women's Trade Union League, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Negro Congress, Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers' Guild and the Workers Alliance.

"They feel that a hearing thus limited would be inadequate in view of the importance and magnitude of the evils to be corrected by the legislation proposed," Geyer wrote. "They have accordingly asked me to request of your honorable committee that they be given general hearings rather than one on a narrow technical issue, with full opportunity to present witnesses from each of the interested organizations."

First to take the stand this morning was Crampton Harris of Birmingham, former law partner of the Justice Black and Counsel for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Rep. Walter asked Harris as a constitutional lawyer to give the committee his point of view on the constitutionality of the Geyer bill which would prevent states from imposing poll taxes in Federal elections.

Harris said that he had prepared considerable material on this phase of the question but that the committee should first get "a background of social, economic and political facts."

"You can't have a constitutional question in a vacuum," Harris said, as he urged that Mayor Maverick be heard by the committee.

He called to the attention of the committee the letter written by Rep. Geyer on behalf of the organizations backing the bill.

MAVERICK GETS FLOOR

When Rep. Walter agreed to hear Maverick on the general issues involved in the Geyer bill, it was apparent that he had backed down from his original position that only testimony on the constitutional issue should be heard.

Maverick was recently acquitted by a jury of charges brought by a corrupt San Antonio political machine, that he had bought poll taxes.

"Texas is owned by Chicago and New York," Maverick declared. "I want the South to be ruled by Southerners, by all Southerners."

He said that the poll tax has made the South a "piece-meal fractional democracy."

Drawing on his own observations in San Antonio and other cities, Maverick told how political machines buy up thousands of poll tax receipts from tax officials, put them in safes and then have stooges cast the votes on election day.

Representatives of many of the organizations which have endorsed the Geyer bill differed with one important point made by Maverick; that the bulk of the Negro people should be kept from voting even if the measure is passed.

Although he was the one representative from the South who had voted for the anti-lynching bill in the House, Maverick indicated that he was so incensed because the Negro people of San Antonio had not voted for him in the last election that he did not think they should be given the franchise "until they free themselves of political machines."

UPHOLDS JIM CROW

Maverick said that he considerd so-called educational requirements in many states which are used to keep Negroes from voting as "entirely proper."

He said that restrictions of this sort could be kept on the Negro people and that the Geyer bill, thus "will simply increase the number of white votes, and the white people will keep control of the South."

Turning to statistics to show the effects of the poll tax, Maverick said that 10.6 per cent of the people of South Carolina, 14.5 per cent of the people of Georgia, 14.5 per cent in Mississippi and 27 per cent in Texas, vote as compared with West Virginia which has no poll tax and where 79.3 per cent of the people vote.

Members of the Judiciary Subcommittee considering the bill in addition to Chairman Walter are Reps. Abe Murdock, Utah Democrat, W. Ben Gibbs, Georgia Democrat, Albert L. Vreeland, New Jersey Hepublican, and John W. Gwynne, Iowa Republican.

Anti-Poll Tax Rally Jammed In Washington

Marcantonio, Maverick And Others Speak For Geyer Bill

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 6—A capacity crowd of 1,200 jammed the National Press Club Auditorium Tuesday night to hear nationally known progressives call upon all Americans to rally in defense of civil liberties and to pass unanimously a resolution supporting the Geyer Bill (HR 7534) which would abolish the poll tax in America.

Maury Maverick, former congressman and now mayor of San Antonio, attacked the "well-fed Tories," of the Dies Committee variety and urged a united struggle for the preservation of civil rights, "even for Earl Browder." Pointing out that liberty is meaningless when one is deprived of food, clothing, and employment, he stressed "economic liberty" as the basic need for the American masses.

Condemning race prejudice and the denial of civil rights to minorities, he called for the immediate abolition of the poll tax which denies democracy to the majority of the Southern people, Negroes and whites. He also stressed Government control of monopolies and a united labor movement as essential features in the expansion of democracy.

Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York received a thunderous ovation as he appealed for the defense of the bill of rights "with no ifs or buts." "You cannot fool the reactionaries by hiding in cellars," he said, showing the need for a concerted movement to combat the war hysteria now being whipped up by Wall Street and its new recruits who have abandoned the New Deal program.

The FBI drive against labor and the progressive movement was roundly denounced by Representative Coffee of Washington, who described the Gestapo methods of the G-Men in their recent illegal raids upon Detroit progressives who had supported loyalist Spain.

In showing the need for more democracy in the south, Charles Houston, noted Negro leader, gave examples of the wretched educational facilities for Negroes in such states as South Carolina, where Negroes can attend school only four months a year. He described the use of the poll tax as a weapon to keep political bosses in power and deny all rights to the Negro people.

Dies came in for another verbal castigation at the hands of representative Frank Hook, who reiterated the charges he made on the floor of the House, in which he linked the Texas red-baiter with leading un-american organizations. Kent Keller, Congressman from Illinois, also spoke.

Maverick Leads Southern Group

WASHINGTON—(SNS)—A large delegation Wednesday asked Congress to abolish poll taxes in eight states of the South.

The group, led by Maury Maverick, liberal mayor of San Antonio, Texas, and a former congressman, urged a judiciary subcommittee of the house of representatives to write the Geyer poll tax ban into the Hatch act.

Geyer seeks the abolition of poll tax laws in Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. These states all are in the South. All other states have abolished such laws long ago.

Mayor Maverick in his testimony at the special hearing asserted fraudulent voting in these southern states could be overcome by extending the free ballot to millions of sharecroppers and others now unable to meet the tax requirement.

Maverick said, for example, that a citizen of Alabama who had not voted for ten years could obtain the right of franchise again only by paying $15 of back poll taxes. (Virtually the same condition obtains in the other "poll tax" states.)

The Texas mayor said that conditions among the sharecropper group were so adverse that $1.50 would be the equivalent of $300 to $400 to a man with the salary of a congressman.

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NEGRO VOTERS SHOULD IGNORE WHISPERING CAMPAIGN AGAINST WILLKIE

AN OPEN LETTER

By C. W. RICE

OCT 19 1940

Negro Labor News

Houston, Texas
October 16, 1940

TO: THE COLORED VOTERS OF TEXAS:

Since the Democrats in Texas are split, the colored voters of Texas may determine whether this state will swing for President Roosevelt or for Wendell L. Willkie in the General Election, November 5.

It is not the purpose of this letter to get any person to vote against the dictates of his own conscience but I do think that the colored voters should do some thinking for themselves. They should seek to get facts and not listen to a lot of HEARSAY.

Houston, Texas

WILLKIE'S ANCESTRY:—I understand that the Negroes are being urged to vote against Willkie because his ancesters came from Germany. The colored voters should not pay any attention to this "bunk". Nearly everybody's ancestors in this country came from some other counrty. What is the difference between a German and a Dutchman? President Roosevelt's ancestors were Dutch. The Negroes' ancestors came from Africa. It is not where a man came from or who his ancestors were that counts, but it is what he does himself.

Suppose that when Ethiopia and Italy were at war, the Italians would have turned against all of the colored

ief for all of those who cannot secure gainful employment regardless of race. I promise to do away with the theory that relief is a Negro reservation." He said, "If I am elected president, I will strive to find creative work for the Negro as for every other man. 'It is not right', he says, "that America should continue a practice in which the Negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired".

It is my belief that most of the Negroes in Texas would rather have a job with a living wage where they can make and spend their own money than to have to depend upon getting food stamps to buy a few groceries every two weeks.

OCT 19 1940

NEGRO HOME OWNERS:—The Negro voters are urged to vote for Mr. Roosevelt because he saved their homes. This is not true—it was President Hoover who started a move to save the homes. It was President Hoover who created the Recontruction Finance Corporation and named Mr. Jesse Jones of Houston, now the biggest man in Washington, as a member. The R. F. C. created the Home Owners Loan Corporation that helped to save the homes of the people of this country.

Negro Labor News

NEGRO LABOR:—Negroes are being urged to vote for President Roosevelt's re-election on the theory he has helped the working classes, but the fact remains that the masses of Negroes in both the North and South are still unemployed and must depend upon relief or W. P. A.

Houston, Texas

The Negroes who are employed in the industries are losing their jobs because the white labor unions backed by the government (Wagner Labor Act) are replacing them since Negroes cannot join their unions. Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, charges that Negro workers are denied jobs on the National Defense projects because they can not join certain labor unions which control the labor on those projects.

The charges of partiality on the part of the National Labor Relations Board toward the CIO against the A. F. of L. is hurting the Negro workers in the South.

At present the American Federation of Labor is threatening to call a nationwide strike of longshoremen in protest against the labor board ruling giving the CIO "blanket" bargaining rights on the Pacific Coast. Thousands of Negro workers in the Gulf Coast area, Houston, Galveston, Port Arthur, Lake Charles, etc., will be forced from their jobs if such strike goes into effect.

The National Labor Relations Act Must be changed to make it protect all workers regardless of race. THIS IS WHAT WENDELL WILLKIE AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAVE PLEDGED TO DO.

SOCIAL SECURITY:—Negroes are also persuaded to vote for the "New Deal" because of Social Security but the records shows that the occupations where the bulk of the Negroes are employed do not come under social security and that and that is on the farm, in domestic service and WPA.

Which ever way you decide to cast your vote do it on FACTS AND NOT ON A LOT OF FALSE PROPAGANDA. Mr. Willkie has promised definite consideration of the Negro's problems in America and to give a square deal to all American citizens. We should take his word and give him our support.

Over 75 years ago, a young lawyers from an adjoining state to the one in which Mr. Willkie was born, a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, made a public declaration as to what he would do for the Negro people who were slaves and helpless. His name was Abe Lincoln. He carried out his promise and gave to the Negro his freedom and made him a citizen of the United States.

Those of us who have had an opportunity to talk to Mr. Willkie personally concerning our problems believe that he is sincere and deserves the support of the Negro people.

Vote as you please—BUT ABOVE ALL VOTE ON NOVEMBER 5.

Very truly yours,
C. W. RICE,
Publicity Director
TEXAS CONSOLIDATED NEGRO WILLKIE CLUB

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Publicity Director
TEXAS CONSOLIDATED NEGRO WILLKIE CLUB

Concern Over The Negro Vote

NOV 9 1940

IN HIS masterful article in Liberty, Walter White gave some startling figures and facts relative to the distribution of the colored vote and its impelling effect in national elections. It was shown conclusively where the vote was close, a few Negro votes in pivotal centers might tilt the elections. It is the electorial vote that counts and while a candidate might get a high popular vote in a state with few electorial votes, he can lose the plum in losing by a small margin the electorial vote in big states like Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. This factor is now giving the gravest concern over the coming national election.

Robert Quillan, a world-famous commentator, in his column a few days ago cited as did Mr. White, that the Negro vote was a great factor in this coming election. Mr. Quillan stated in plain language that a few well organized units might uproot a large number of decentralized unorganized units.

Oklahoma City

After his survey, Walter White summarized his article by saying that he possibly could tell how the Negro vote would go in this election, but he would not.

Be that what it may, it must be admitted that the colored vote in the pivotal states is well organized. Despite the fact that disfranchisement and other subterfuges have played havoc with the colored vote in the south, there is no dismay in the north and middlewest. Colored voters turn out in large numbers and ward bosses give great concern over the distribution of this vote. Okla.

Candidates in the pivotal doubtful sections sense that the colored vote is worth going after and are sparing no pains in making bids for that vote.

It is a slow process, but the south is awakening to the fact that ballots are powers to be envied. Forward thinking people seldom overlook power. The south has done this to her chagrin and loss of industry and opportunity. She is gradually awakening and from the lesson that the North is giving in its anxiety over the colored vote, the south some day will seize upon every medium that will enhance the vote counting on election days.

—ATLANTA DAILY WORLD.

The Electoral College

Although few persons will worry about it any longer the President o the United States has not yet been elected—or reelected as the case happens to be. We must wait until the 531 electors who were named on election day cast their votes for the president.

NOV 9 1940

Here we are with the election officially not yet decided and the shouting is all over. For while the good men and women who were chosen as electors on Nov. 5 have never betrayed their pledge, it is entirely within their province to elect any president they might choose. They could name Earl Browder or John Smith and still be legally right.

How many Alabamians can tell you the names of all 11 of the electors from our state who have pledged themselves to vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt? As a matter of fact how many Alabamians can tell you just how the electoral college system works—and why it works as it does.

Birmingham Ala.

Originally it was intended that the people of the various states choose their wisest men who would meet with the wise men of other states and after considering everything, elect a president. The electoral college worked in this spirit for three terms. Then the political parties came into being with full force.

Until 1932 the presidential electors received railroad fare to Washington where they went—if they wished—to report their choice for the presidency. But a law was passed abolishing this gesture at the beginning of the New Deal.

The party system gives the people a more direct voice in their national government than did the electoral college, when the electoral college really functioned as it was intended. This being so, the American people begin to wonder after every election just why they retain the system of naming electors.

The predominantly Democratic South, of course, would fare better in some respects if the president should be elected by popular vote. For then every vote would count. Republicans would make a stronger bid for votes in Democratic states and the Democrats would try to roll up a larger vote for their own candidate than they sometimes do.

Should the electoral college be abolished, of course, there would be a temptation to make suffrage requirements less stringent in the South. This, in itself, would bring a good bit of opposition to a popular vote for the presidency, especially from sources that are entirely satisfied with the poll tax status in the Southern states.

Newport, Tenn. Plain Talk
October 28, 1940

The Negro vote of the country, which four years ago lined up solidly behind President Roosevelt, will not be thrown toward the President this year. Many promises were sent out to the colored people then, and they were expecting a great many favors at the hands of the administration. Like many other promises that have been made, the ones to the Negroes were forgotten and they have not overlooked that fact. One of the promises was an anti-lynching bill and Senate Leader Barkley of Kentucky was one of the best promise makers. Southern senators do not want such a bill and Senator Barkley knew that, but in the scramble for the Negro vote he seemed willing to promise anything. Now the reaction has set in and strenuous efforts are being made to stem the trend against the administration on the part of the Negroes. More promises are being made. One colored leader was heard to remark lately that his race will not be fooled this time, for "a burnt child always dreads the fire," and the Negroes this year are in the category of the burnt child."

Sylvester, Ga. Local
November 7, 1940

The colored voter in the five states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut and Maryland played an important part in the presidential election. The presidential candidates centered their efforts in these states during the last few days of the campaign where the colored voter was given their special attention. A few days before the election President Roosevelt promoted a Negro colonel in the army to the rank of Brigadier General. Of course the President may have had no thought of politics when he made this appointment but it looks so on the face. Of course there are no sound reasons against the promotion of Col. Davis, a deserving Negro soldier, to the rank of General, but it would not have smacked of politics if it had been done before the campaign started or postponed until after the election. The country is now calling upon the Negroes of this country to fall in line to play an important part in the rearmament program. While they will have less to fight for than any race under the flag the Negroes will respond without hardly a word of protest and there is no reason whatever why they should not have as their officers capable men of their own color.

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Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
October 22, 1940

Northern Negroes Claimed For Mr. Roosevelt

(From The New York Times.)

Washington, Oct. 10.—Eighty-five per cent of the 5,100,000 negroes north of the Mason and Dixon line will support President Roosevelt, said William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, today, basing his assertion on a survey just completed by his organization, the National Colored Democratic association.

In this association, he said, there are 2,000,000 voters registered, all pledged for Mr. Roosevelt. He declared the negro vote holds the balance of power in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, West Virginia, Michigan, Oklahoma and California.

"All these states, the survey shows, will be carried by Roosevelt," Mr. Thompkins said. "And with the negro vote solid for the president it is only reasonable to conclude that our voters will put over the elections in these pivotal states. In addition to being a decided factor in the presidential election in these states the negroes are a dominant power in eighty-nine congressional districts."

Asserting that since 1936 this electorate had been with the Democratic party, Mr. Thompkins added: "No influence can get it away, our people believe implicitly in the president and his policies and he has done much for us."

Illinois has the largest number of negro voters, 475,000; New York is second with 340,000 and Pennsylvania third with 330,000. In North Carolina there are 513,000 negroes and 480,000 of voting age in Texas, Mr. Thompkins said.

Following is the registration in other states as reported in this survey:

California, 64,000; Colorado, 1,100; Connecticut, 22,000; Delaware, 24,000; Indiana, 88,000; Iowa, 1,200; Kansas, 59,000; Kentucky, 155,000; New Jersey, 101,000; Ohio, 240,000; Oklahoma, 115,000; Tennessee, 288,000; West Virginia, 90,000; Massachusetts, 26,000; Maryland, 190,000; Michigan, 113,000; Missouri, 175,000; Minnesota, 5,000; Nevada, 12,000.

Of the 190,000 registered in Maryland 105,000 are voters in Baltimore. Of Missouri's 175,000, 72,000 are in St. Louis and 33,000 in Kansas City.

The Negro Vote

There are two and a half million Negro voters in the United States. It is possible, should they all vote alike, they would not only decide the issue next Tuesday, in several important states, but they would decide which candidate shall be president for the next four years.

NOV 4 1940

The Negro vote has come in for much discussion among politicians in recent years. Prior to 1936 it was axiomatic that Negroes who voted cast their ballots for the Republican ticket.

The Constitution

There was, however, a great change in the election of four years ago. Then, realizing all that the New Deal had meant for their race, in better opportunity, better living conditions and a better way of life generally, the great bulk of that vote switched into the Democratic column.

Atlanta, Ga.

Today there is much speculation on the same subject. Some Republicans claim the entire vote of the race, for what reason seems mysterious. On the other hand there may be some who, misled by Republican promises and still reluctant to vote Democratic, will return to the Republican fold.

Negroes, however, should be more vitally interested in the international factor in the presidential race than almost any others in America. There are, on the Republican side, too many "appeasers" who contend that the best way for America, in this changing world, is to be friendly with Hitler and to accept him as the master of Europe. These would abandon Britain to fate and would follow the same fatuous policy of "isolationism" that was tried, with such tragic result, by so many European nations; that through the policies of the Chamberlain government so nearly brought Britain herself to surrender.

The Negroes of the nation should be well aware of this fact and the dangers inherent therein for their race.

For appeasement of Hitler, friendship with Hitler, means friendship with and approval of the man who deifies his own race, who prates of "Nordic superiority" and who has said, of the Negroes, that they are "lower than the apes." That is direct quotation from Hitler's own words.

What of the future for a race so sneeringly damned in a world which is dedicated to appeasement of, and agreement with, such as Hitler?

Race Holds Gains In 1940 Elections

NOV 16 1940

As the result of the national elections, one Negro was elected to the House of Representatives in the United States Congress; three to State Senates and at least fifteen to State Lower Houses.

Arthur W. Mitchell, of Chicago, was re-elected to the House of Representatives in Congress; William A. Wallace, Illinois, Charles C. Diggs, Michigan; James S. Hunter, Indiana, and John Adams, Jr., were all successful in gaining seats in the Upper Houses of their respective States. In Nebraska, Adams was elected to the Unicameral Legislature which corresponds to the Senate.

The Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, Edwin C. Young, William A. Allmond, Ralph T. Jefferson, Dr. Edwin Thompson and Homer Brown were sent to the Pennsylvania State Legislature; Augustus Hawkins, the California Assembly; Frank Hargraves, the New Jersey Assembly.

New York

Daniel L. Burrows, William T. Andrews and Hulan E. Jack, New York State Assembly and Ernest Greene, Colonel William J. Warfield, Charles J. Jenkins and Dudley S. Martin, Illinois.

In Kansas City, Kans., William H. Towers, was re-elected to the State Legislature for the third time, defeating Ulysses Plummer and Rev. Horace White won a seat in the Michigan Legislature.

Outstanding leaders of the race, both Democratic and Republican, hurled aside the masks of partisanship this week, to ask that Negroes present a united front in fighting for further integration into national life.

Julian D. Rainey, of Boston, Democrat, said, "The re-election of Roosevelt will affect the Negro as it will affect a great majority of the people in the Negro's economic group. I am sure we have made enormous political gains and under the President will make further economic and social gains."

S. R. Redmond, of St. Louis, Republican, "The Negro in America thinks and acts very similarly to his white fellowmen which explains in part our vote. Our future course should be to keep up the educational fight."

Mrs. Eunice Carter, New York City, Republican, "It is my sincere hope that the Negro, like all other good American citizens, will unite in an effort to achieve that national harmony without which we shall not be a nation strong enough to withstand the enemies boring from within and without."

J. E. Mitchell, St. Louis, Democrat, "It is a sign of progress to see Negroes divided politically just as other races and groups are."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
October 30, 1940

Smith Interview

To The News and Courier:

I note the interview of Senator Ellison D. Smith to your paper and I thing he is 100 per cent correct.

Being one who was born and reared south of the Mason-Dixon line, I know that the New Deal administration does not stand for the principles of Democracy that were taught to me as a boy. It certainly has ignored and violated everything that has been held sacred in the South.

The enclosed clipping, "Negro Colonel's Elevation Seen as a Bid for Votes" I believe is proof enough that the New Deal candidates do not stand for the principles that the Hon. Cotton Ed. Smith and his constituents hold sacred. How many of our Southern boys are among the list of 154 officers that find themselves with a negro commander?

Wake up, true Southern Democrats and let the world know they cannot do this to us. Save U. S. A.

FRANK R. WARD.
Roselle Park, N. J.

Presidential Results Since 1860 With Popular And Electoral Vote

WASHINGTON.—(U.P.)—Popular and electoral votes for President since 1860:

NOV 4 1940

Nominee—	Party—	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
	1860		
Lincoln	Republican	1,866,452	180
Douglas	No. Democratic	1,375,175	12
Breckinridge	So. Democratic	847,935	72
	1864		
Lincoln	Republican	2,213,665	212
McClellan	Democratic	1,802,237	21
	1868		
Grant	Republican	3,012,833	214
Seymour	Democratic	2,703,249	80
	1872		
Grant	Republican	3,597,132	286
Greeley	Dem.-Liberal	2,834,125	47
	1876		
Hayes	Republican	4,036,298	185
Tilden	Democratic	4,300,590	184
	1880		
Garfield	Republican	4,454,416	214
Hancock	Democratic	4,851,981	155
	1884		
Cleveland	Democratic	4,874,986	219
Blaine	Republican	4,851,981	182
	1888		
Harrison	Republican	5,439,853	233
Cleveland	Democratic	5,540,309	168
	1892		
Cleveland	Democratic	5,556,918	277
Harrison	Republican	5,176,108	145
	1896		
McKinley	Republican	7,035,638	271
Bryan	Democratic	6,467,946	176
	1900		
McKinley	Republican	7,219,530	292
Bryan	Democratic	6,358,071	155
	1904		
Roosevelt	Republican	7,628,834	336
Parker	Democratic	5,084,491	140
	1908		
Taft	Republican	7,679,006	321
Bryan	Democratic	6,409,106	162
	1912		
Wilson	Democratic	6,286,214	435
Roosevelt	Progressive	4,126,020	88
Taft	Republican	3,483,221	8
	1916		
Wilson	Democratic	9,129,606	277
Hughes	Republican	8,538,221	254
	1920		
Harding	Republican	16,152,200	404
Cox	Democratic	9,147,353	127
	1924		
Coolidge	Republican	15,725,016	382
Davis	Democratic	8,385,586	136
La Follette	Progressive	4,667,312	13
	1928		
Hoover	Republican	21,392,190	444
Smith	Democratic	15,106,443	87
	1932		
Roosevelt	Democratic	22,821,857	472
Hoover	Republican	15,761,841	59
	1936		
Roosevelt	Democratic	27,476,673	523
Landon	Republican	16,679,583	8

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

TUESDAY'S THE DAY

OCT 31 1940

Next Tuesday, America goes to the polls to elect a president. More ballots will be cast in this battle of votes than ever before in the history of this country. The issues between the contending political parties, because of the present widespread use of the radio, has reached more voters than ever before and have probably been more fully explained, all of which has made the campaign a seething, boiling pot. There has been brought out little that has differentiated the platforms and the one big question which the election will decide will be whether or not America today is sold on the third term idea. Political prognosticators are much at variance as to the ultimate outcome of the voting, some claiming that the race will be close and others that the great strength of the office-holder relief-worker vote will enable the present administration to continue in power. One man's prediction seems to be as good as the other, with only the actual counting of the votes cast giving the correct answer. The Negro's vote in this election, as in those of the past few decades, will be a big item in swinging the election one way or the other. In the doubtful states he still holds the balance of power. Because of a division of sentiment, this vote can not at present be doped out, some of the knowing ones claiming that it will swing back to the Republicans, while others assert that it is going overwhelmingly for the Democrats, one point in favor of the latter opinion being the large vote of the Negro on relief who will undoubtedly vote for the administration. It will truly take a soothesayer to fathom out just what is going to be the results in next week's voting. One thing is certain, however, more voters are going to register their opinions in this election than have ever before done so in the history of the country.

Rome, Ga. News-Tribune
October 30, 1940

Two Items

Two items in the news, both pertaining to politics and racial matters, irritate us to the extreme.

First is the appointment of Col. Benjamin O. Davis, negro, as a brigadier general in the United States Army. Davis is the first negro in history to achieve this rank. We are not irritated by the fact that he has achieved it, but by how and why he has achieved it. No American president—not even the Republican, U. S. Grant—has dared appoint a negro as a brigadier general, and yet here we have the spectacle of a Democratic president, Franklin Roosevelt, doing it. There are dozens of white colonels in the United States Army who, with the current national defense program would be made general officers except for the practice that unless they have achieved that rank by the time they are 58, they cannot achieve it. Yet this rule is overlooked by President Roosevelt. Davis is 64. His appointment as a brigadier general, within one year of his retirement, means not the slightest thing to this country from the standpoint of national defense. It was a political appointment, bold and without shame, and if you have any doubts about it, consider the fact that the appointment came a scant ten days before a national election when President Roosevelt is moving heaven and earth to get the support of the Northern negro voters.

The second item to which we object pertains to one Joe Louis—and, this time the Republican Party. It does not surprise us that Joe Louis has been enlisted as a campaigner by the Republicans. That party, too, is moving heaven and earth in an effort to get the negro vote of the North. Joe can talk as much as he chooses, for all we care, but when he makes the stupid remarks which he did make in announcing his support of Willkie, and takes an inexcusable slap at the South, it's time for somebody to speak up.

"I was just a poor young fellow coming up from the South," says Joe in explaining his position. "There are things going on down there . . . the way they persecute people. It ain't everybody, just certain people. I've never come out for any candidate before, and I think Willkie will give us a square deal. Roosevelt had two terms to show what he could do, but didn't give us an anti-lynching bill. He hasn't done much for us other ways."

Ignoring the argument about what Mr. Roosevelt has or has not done for the negro, we find ourselves intrigued by Joe's statement to the effect that there are things "going on down" here—and that they "presecute" certain people down here. Well, we'll tell you how things went on down here for a long time. Joe Louis left the South, and made a fortune at prize-fighting. But Joe Louis' father didn't leave the South. Joe left him in Alabama in spite of the way things went on down here—and in spite of the persecution. And this is how Alabama "persecuted" Joe's father. It persecuted Joe's father by taking care of him, for years, in an eleemosynary institution at the expense of the taxpayers of Alabama. While Joe raked in hundreds of thousands of dollars, he permitted the State of Alabama to clothe his father, to feed him and to give him a roof over his head. This Southern state did not object to caring for Joe's father. It cares for other tens of thousands, in the same unfortunate condition, both black and white. But we imagine that Alabama, in view of what it has done for this man, does resent it when this negro Joe Louis comes out for a Republican presidential candidate, and predicates his entire support on a hatred of the South.

POLITICAL SUFFRAGE 1940

GEORGIA

One Lucid Interval

NOV 16 1940

Ralph McGill, executive editor of The Atlanta Constitution, may be as crazy as a hant when he undertakes to defend the state Democratic executive committee for booting 31 thousand humble petitioners into outer darkness instead of hearing their plea for a preferential presidential primary.

Macon Telegraph

But he has made a real contribution to the cause of good government by telling the dear ladies of the Georgia League of Women Voters that they have dropped a stitch in their knitting when they advocate the repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

If anybody will take the trouble to trace the genesis of this repeal movement it will be found that its ancestry is highly questionable, to put it mildly. It stems from the same subversive fellow-travellers who keep raving about a constitutional amendment which would empower a prim spinster in the children's bureau of the department of labor to raise all the American boys and girls up to the age of 18 and make it a crime for a pig-tailed miss out on the farm to help Ma wash the dishes or a freckled youth of barefoot age to drive up the cows from the lower pasture.

Macon, Ga.

As in the case of the anti-lynching bill, the hullabaloo takes on a new intensity at a time when, by the record, the evil has practically ceased to exist. Child labor is no longer a problem.

* * *

Mr. McGill points out that with the largest list in the history of Georgia, the same old apathy and indifference prevailed when election day came this year and the usual large percentage remained at home, content to let George do it.

In the country as a whole the United States census bureau figured that approximately 80 million men and women were of voting age, and while a total of 50 million ballots sounds impressive, the fact remains that 30 million others remained at home in a great national crisis when the shift of slightly more than 2 million voters would have changed the course of events.

Josh Billings said, "I never argy 'agin' a success." If it could be shown that those states which require no poll tax payment as a condition of voting were better governed than the eight states which still exact this modest fee there would be some sense in attributing to the broader base of suffrage the existence of better conditions.

* * *

But nothing of the kind can be shown. The most disgraceful political machines in this country are functioning with sordid efficiency and impunity in those states where the voter does not have to pay poll tax. Things might be better if this little fee had to be paid, but at all events they could hardly be worse.

When a large percentage of the registered voters in poll tax states remain away from the polls, thus indicating their indifference to the cause of good government, it doesn't make sense to say conditions would be improved by doubling the number of political malingerers.

The current agitation for elimination of the poll tax is based on the idea that congress can pass a bill which would wipe it out.

The supreme court of the United States has clearly decided that the federal government has nothing to do with fixing the rights of suffrage in the states, so the whole agitation is one of tilting at windmills.

We we are glad the question came up, if only to demonstrate that the gifted but sometimes erratic Ralph McGill has his lucid intervals.

Believes Poll Tax Should Be Ended

NOV 24 1940

Editor Constitution: In "One More Word" of November 17 were outlined remarkable reasons for opposition to the rapidly growing demand for removal of poll tax voting requirements.

The Constitution

I respect the author's right to the extraordinary view that Georgia has a better government and a higher type of political leader because of its poll tax than have those states without poll taxes. It is his privilege to cling to the cast-off belief that a limited electorate is a better electorate than one embracing all the people. It is also his privilege to find good the poll tax system of selection of that electorate—on the basis of ability to pay the tax, or capacity for mental dishonesty in allowing one's vote to be bought by payment of poll taxes.

Atlanta

However, I challenge the author's privilege to distort, for purposes of his argument, the convictions and tenets of the greatest Democrat of them all, Thomas Jefferson. Quite rightly it is pointed out that Jefferson sought a representative republic, but the author of "One More Word" has apparently explored the utterances of Jefferson only superficially not to have observed that he advocated a demoneratic representative republic. It was this which distinguished him from those of his day who, voicing the opinions of vested interests, demanded restrictions on the ballot.

Ga.

President Roosevelt, in an address of September 20 of this year, emphasizes the importance of holding periodic free elections in this country and avows his support of the principles of Jefferson, to whom he refers as "an advocate of government by representatives of all the people . . . and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage."

In the Empire State of Georgia, as in eight other southern states which retain poll taxes, we do not have representatives of all the people in either the congress or the general assembly, for all the people cannot vote for their representatives. In fact, precious few can afford to buy this basic right.

It is obvious that the ringing paragraphs about democracy which appear in "One Word More" from time to time are mere exercises in rhetoric so long as their author supports and defends a system which denies free, universal suffrage, the foundation stone of true democracy.

MARGOT GAYLE.
(Mrs. Wm. T. Jr.)

Atlanta, Ga.

Macon, Ga. Telegraph
November 7, 1940

Large Negro Vote Recorded in Macon

A decided increase among Negroes in Macon voting in the general election was noted by poll managers.

Only 22 Negroes voted in the Vineville precinct in 1936, but 127 cast ballots Tuesday, according to Fred Bernd, who has assisted with elections for 15 years.

Most of the Negroes indicated openly they were voting for President Roosevelt, he said.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
November 3, 1940

FULTON HAS 62 POLLING PLACES

All Details Complete for 52,387 Registered Voters of County

Arrangements for Fulton and DeKalb Counties' 67,387 white and negro voters to express their preferences for public officers, from President to county surveyor, in the November 5 general election were completed Saturday.

C. C. Mason, of Fulton Ordinary's Court, reported that 52,387 citizens were registered in Fulton County, while DeKalb County officials estimated approximately 15,000.

Mr. Mason announced 62 polling places, containing 82 ballot boxes, scattered throughout the 75-mile length of the county.

Locations Elsewhere

(Location of all polling places by wards, precincts and districts in both counties will be found elsewhere in this edition of The Journal.)

Fulton voters may cast their ballots between 7 a. m. and 6 p. m. in all polling places except 11 country districts having less than 200 registered voters in each district. Here, voting hours will be 8 a. m. to 3 p. m. They are: Grogan, Campbellton, Goodes, Old Ninth, Rivertown, Sandtown, Union, Big Creek, Little River, New Town and Old First.

For the convenience of voters who live in unincorporated areas, but who work in Atlanta, a special voting booth will be established in the Courthouse basement. This booth will remain open from 7 a. m. to 6 p. m.

Rural voting places in DeKalb County will open at 8 a. m. and close at 3 p. m. In DeKalb cities and towns the voting places will open at 7 a. m. and close at 6 p. m.

Fulton voters desiring information as to where they should vote, or whether they are registered, Mr. Mason said, should phone the Courthouse, WAlnut 5310, and ask for the tax collector's office. For further information, they should call the Courthouse and ask for the ordinary's office. DeKalb voters were directed to their Courthouse for information.

County Contests Listed

In addition to the presidential, congressional and statehouse offices, the ballots contain the Democratic nominees for county offices, resulting from the county and state primaries. These includes judges, the prosecutors, elective department heads, legislative delegations, school superintendents, coroners and surveyors.

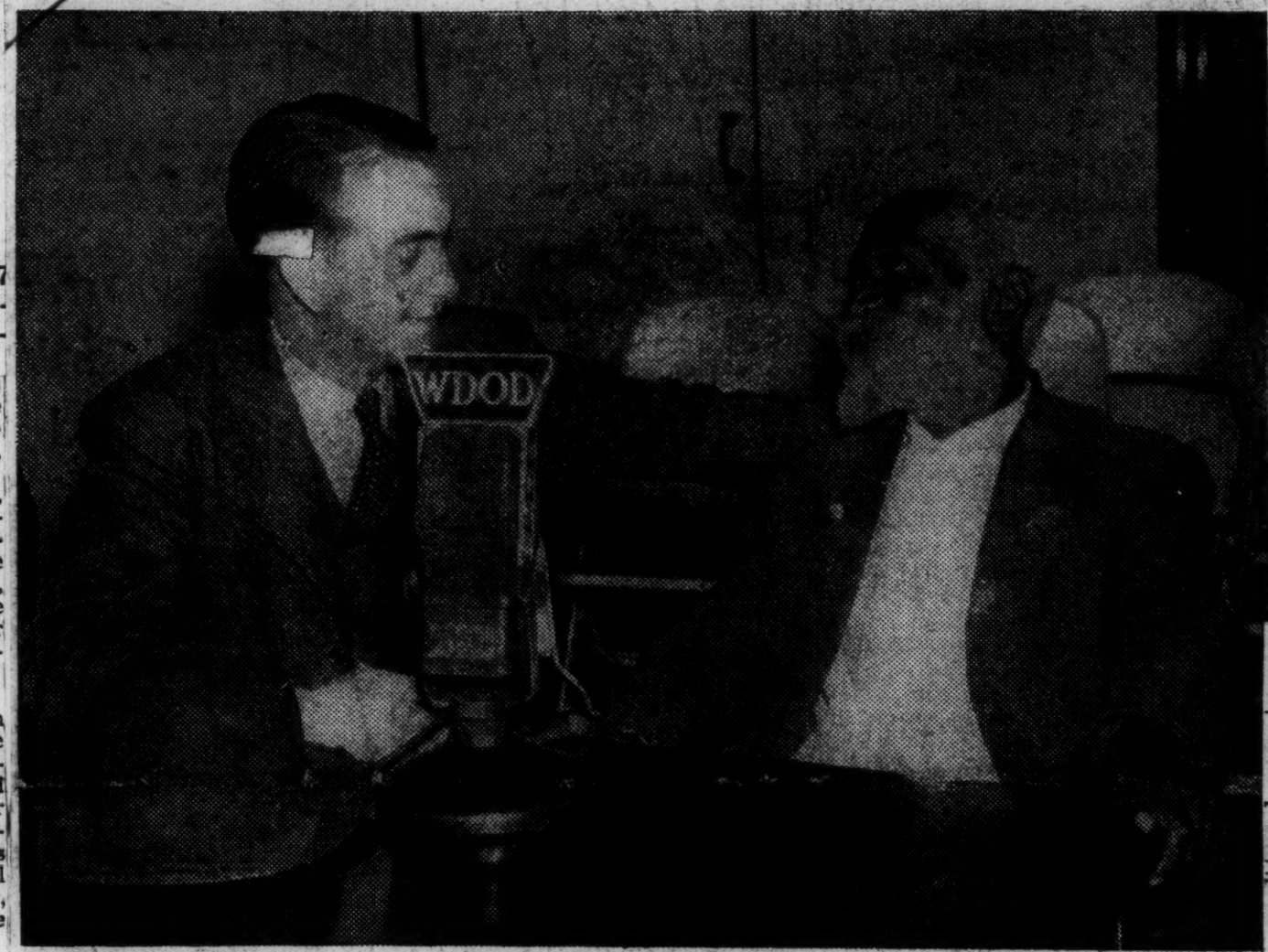
In response to many inquiries, Mr. Mason said no Fulton election clerks may be sent to hospitals, homes or hotels to receive the votes of bedridden voters. But, he added, "curb service" will be given to those who appear at their proper polling places in cars, ambulances or otherwise.

Arrangements for Blind

Special arrangements have been made for blind voters and those unable to read the English language. They will be administered a special oath, setting forth their disability, then an election manager, with another manager as witness, will fill out the official ballot, as directed by such voter, and attach the written oath to the ballot.

Election managers were particularly warned that state law prohibits them from soliciting any disabled voter to vote for any candidate.

Nation's Oldest Voter Casts One For FDR



Said to be the nation's oldest voter, Mark Thrash, 119-year-old ex-slave of Chickamauqua, Ga., is shown at Chattanooga being interviewed on a national radio hookup by Chuck Simpson, after casting his ballot for President Roosevelt. —(Acme)

Carrollton, Ga., Times
December 19, 1940

Taxes, The Politicians' Hobby—They Would Not Perfect Them, If They Could

Why are taxes always unpopular? There is no money that the average man spends that pays better, more certain, nor larger dividends, than his legitimate taxes.

Besides, taxes are absolutely necessary and their benefits are universal; the humblest citizens derives precisely the same benefits therefrom that does the richest; both are protected in and guaranteed their lives, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; without taxes none of us would have any of these and untold other benefits.

Any man who will take time, take a pencil and paper and write down all the benefits and pleasures that are his and that he and his family enjoy as a direct outcome of the taxes that are annually collected, he will be astonished and they are all his, whether he pays one red penny in taxes or not.

The curse of taxes, is that politicians have ridden them to death. Never a campaign passes but that taxes are not ridden by every mother's son who seeks an office.

If men were only fair with each other and if all of us would only realize and recognize the benefits brought us through our taxes, they would appeal to us as our most profitable investment. Then too, every man who handles these funds should give a rigid and accurate statement at regular intervals, of every penny collected and how spent.

So much by way of a premise to what we really want to say, and that is that not half the people of Georgia pay any taxes at all.

Using U. S. census of 1930 and tax rolls of 1938, both the latest record accessible, we find that Georgia's population for 1930 was 2,908,506; it is estimated that 75 per cent of these are adults, that is 2,181,401.

The total tax returns for the state for the year 1938 is given as 702,485. This includes corporations, partnerships, etc. Also many individuals give more than one list, some are nonresidents; thus indicating that probably not more than one fourth of the adults pay any tax at all. This indicates that 1,478,916 Georgians are not found on the tax books and pay no tax at all. Only 160,935 are on the digest to pay a poll tax.

Then too a number whose names are on the digest pay no ad valorem tax, their homes and effects being exempt under the tax exemption law. About 37 per cent of the population of the state are Negroes, and it is well known that they pay a very small proportion of the taxes.

To bring the matter home to our readers, we note that the population of Carroll, in 1930, was 34,272, of whom approximately 25,704 are adults. In 1938, there were returned for poll tax 1679; with 7210 tax returns for ad valorem taxes, leaving 18,494 adults who pay no taxes at all.

These figures should be sufficient to convince any reasonable man that a sales tax is not only necessary but is absolutely the fairest tax that can be levied and collected. These eighteen thousand adults get all the benefits that any of us get.

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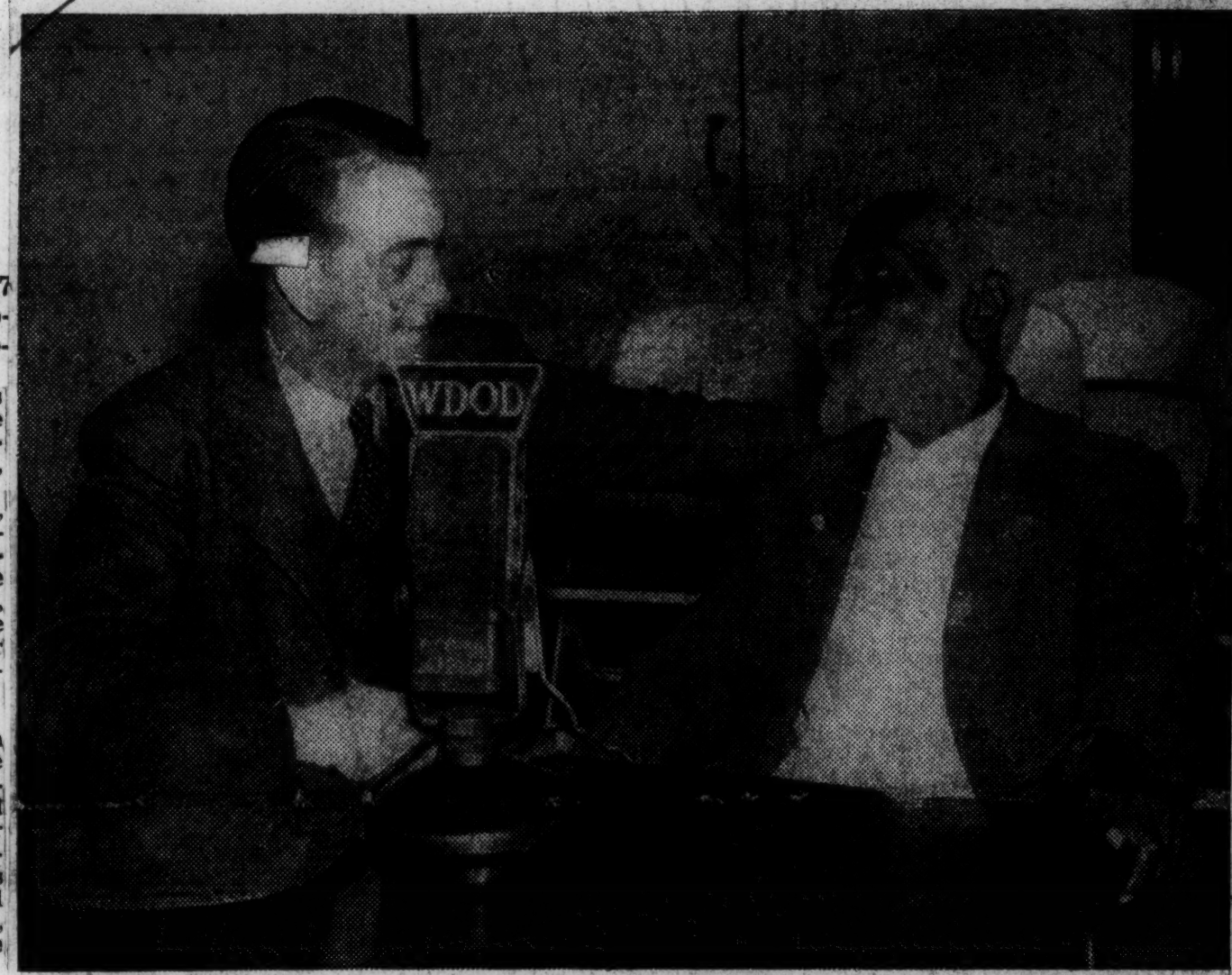

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POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

GEORGIA

Baxley, Ga., News-Banner
January 18, 1940

TO THE PUBLIC, VOTERS AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF BAXLEY:

Voting Suff

You are hereby advised that Mayor and Council of the City of Baxley has called a bond election to determine question of the City using bonds for construction and equipping of a colored school building. The sum to be issued will be $7,000.00 and the question will be voted on February 21st, 1940, all voters to register must have all poll tax paid and must reside in county twelve months and live in City of Baxley six months and must register with the Clerk of the City Council by February 17th, 1940.

Remember that you must register to vote and must have your poll tax paid.

R. M. Dunn
MAYOR CITY OF BAXLEY

JANUARY 17th, 1940.

Poll Tax Deadline May 4, Arnall Says

In order to participate in elections this year, Georgia voters must pay their poll taxes by May 4, it was announced Friday by Attorney General Ellis Arnall in reply to an inquiry referred to him by Governor Rivers.

Arnall said the law requires that poll taxes be paid at least six months prior to the general election, which falls on November 3 this year.

May 5 marks the limit for paying poll taxes, but this year May 5 falls on Sunday. The attorney general pointed out that the rule for allowing payments due on Sunday to be made on Monday does not apply in cases where months or years are to be computed.

Poll Tax Law Threatenen—Only 17 Per Cent of Popularity Vote in Ga.

Jan 24 1940

Washington, (CNA) — Labor organizations and other progressive groups backing the Greyer Bill to outlaw the poll tax won their first important victory as open hearings on this sweeping democratic proposal got under way this week. The bill bans the poll tax in federal elections.

A firm stand by the CIO, the AFL and other organizations upset a series of maneuvers designed to permit the measure to expire quietly in the commodious House Judiciary Committee pigeon-hole.

Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio, Texas, led off testimony on the bill before the judiciary subcommittee with the statement that the poll tax has turned the South into a "factional democracy" which is ruled by a minority and overun with corruption.

Witnesses from the eight Southern states where the poll taxes are still in effect are expected to testify on the effect of these taxes in disfranchising the majority of Negro and white people in the south.

Rep. Francis Walter, chairman of the judiciary subcommittee, has constitutionality of the Greyer bill attenmted to confine the sociological and economic data bearing on the background of the poll tax. Under pressure of the powerful groups supporting the measure, Walter dropped insistence upon this point, however.

Chairman of the entire Judiciary Committee is Rep. Hatton Sumners of Texas, a leading Garner Democrat, who is biterly opposed to the Greyer bill.

It is believed that Walter, who is head of the Pennsylvania Democratic delegation, has reflected Sumners, attitude in undertaking various moves which have shown a marked lack of enthusiasm for the Greyer measure, including several efforts to stall off the hearings.

IN PROTEST OF POLL TAX AND POLLS OF TODAY

Editor Constitution: I have just read "One Word More," by Ralph McGill, in an exposé of conditions at polling places. What we need is more writers with the grit and gumption of Mr. McGill to educate the public as to just what kind of government they are likely to have if they don't wake up.

His article gives one a gilmpse into the rottenness of politics as fostered by those who make a luxurious living by getting the "right" people elected.

This is not a condemnation of all persons elected to public office. Occasionally honest people are elected. But it is a fact that in some quarters every effort seems to be used to keep honest, intelligent voters from voting. Even the unconstitutional poll tax works to the advantage of crooked forces—the less voters there are, the less chicanery is required to swing an election!

CARL F. MORGAN.
Hapeville, Ga.

Lavonia, Ga., Times
July 12, 1940

The Hazard of Abolishing the Poll Tax

There seems to be growing sentiment for the abolition of the poll tax as a required qualification for voting. Many who advocate abolishing this tax perhaps haven't thought of the dynamite with which the propostion is loaded. The poll tax is the only safeguard we have from a possibility of negro Legislators in many counties and two Congressional Districts of Georgia.

The Neil Primary Law under which primary elections are held in Georgia gives ample protection for the white voters against the possibility of negro dominance in primary elections. There is protection in our primaries even though the poll tax be abolished as a required qualification for voting.

But General Elections are held under the provisions of the State Constitution and the Federal Constitution. The Neil Primary Law doesn't hold in General Elections. The Constitution of Georgia and the Constitution of the United States are not in harmony on the qualifications for voting. The general provisions for voting as provided in the State Constitution and the Federal Constitution are: Residence in the state for one year next preceding the election, and in the county in which he offers to vote six months next preceding election, and shall have paid all poll taxes he may have had opportunity of paying agreeable to law. The Federal Constitution makes no reference to Poll taxes as a required qualification for voting, but the United States Court has held that it's a valid tax, since it goes to Education. There are other qualifications for voting required by the State Constitution, but these are not concurred in by the Federal Constitution.

Negroes who pay their poll taxes can and do vote now in General Elections. Though not sufficient number vote to become a factor in deciding the results of the election. But if the poll tax is removed as a qualification for voting there is nothing to prevent negroes going to the polls and casting their ballots for one of their choice or one of their color, in General Elections. In 47 Georgia counties and in two of Georgia's Congressional Districts the negro population out-numbers the white population. If the poll tax is abolished there would be the possibility and also the probability of seeing negroes again serving as members of the Georgia General Assembly and as members of Congress from two of Georgia's Congressional Districts.

The provisions of our State Constitution seem ample to provide protection against the possibility of such occurrences, but the provisions of our state constitution are not concurred in by our Federal Constitution relative to the qualifications for voting and the Federal Constitution takes precedence in cases of conflict.

It is wise to pause and think on this question before the agitation for abolishing the poll tax goes too far. We might step into something that we hadn't thought about.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
July 17, 1940

Supplemental Registration Totals 8,432

The supplemental registration in Davidson County prior to the primary election August 1 brought in a total of 8,432 registrations, it was revealed today.

The total of regular registrations prior to the supplemental listing was 45,458, of which 29,907 were in the city and 15,551 were in the county.

W. B. Connell, secretary to the Davidson County Election Commission, estimated this morning that probably not more than 20 per cent of the supplemental registrations could be tallied as new registrations. He said that usually 75 to 80 per cent of the supplemental registrations were of persons who had previously registered but had changed their address.

Based on this estimate, the approximate total registration in Davidson County is now about 47,000, which is regarded as the largest registration of prospective voters ever recorded in the county.

One of the most significant developments of the past two years as revealed by a breakdown of the total registration figure is the fact that the Negro vote has practically trebled since Mayor Thomas L. Cummings took office.

Statistics show that there are nearly 7,000 Negroes registered on the books, as compared with the average registration of previous years of between 1,500 and 2,000.

The total white vote in the county as recorded by the last regular registration was 38,543.

With indications that Davidson County's total voting strength may reach a new high in coming elections, a report from Memphis indicated that a little less than twice the number of Davidson County registrants are on the registration books of Shelby County.

It was reported here that approximately 85,000 registrations are on the books, including some duplications.

Georgia Negro Leaders Seeking Vote For Race

LOG CABIN CENTER, Ga.—(AP)—A group of representative Negroes urged members of their race today to "exercise every legitimate means to obtain the right to vote as all honorable citizens should."

The resolution was drafted for the State Central Planning Commission yesterday by leaders in various circles of Negro life who met here to study methods to raise the economic standard of their race.

The commissioners pledged themselves "to register and vote, to constitute ourselves individually as committees of one to see to it that others register and vote. That we pay our taxes and assume the obligations of citizenship while working for recognition as worthy citizens."

Bishop W. A. Fountain, second senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, struck at "white primaries" and said they deprived "a large number of useful citizens of the privilege of representation in government."

The clergyman, who initiated the commission action, asserted he hoped he would never "see the day when Negroes en masse will vote the Democratic ticket" and said "the most hurtful thing to the Southland today, is the one-party system."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 18, 1940

"Democrats" Adopt "Colored Brother"

When a Southern Democrat of national prominence introduces a negro congressman as a speaker in a national Democratic convention it means of course that Southern Democratic politicians are schooling themselves to join the Northern Democrats in adopting the negroes. Northern Democrats run the party.

Mr. Bankhead is speaker of the national house of representatives and an Alabamian. Suppose that a South Carolinian had been presiding over the Chicago convention and it had fallen to him to introduce Mitchell would he have refused?

If he had refused all the negro Democrats would have been insulted. His influence and standing in the party would have been destroyed.

The New Deal party is so committed to the negroes that the Southern New Dealers will be forced to accept them, to take them into their primaries. The pressure will be more than they can resist—and not long will they resist it. These Northern Democrats will not for long allow the South Carolina New Dealers to exclude the negroes from the primaries.

That is so clearly written in the national Democratic program that The News and Courier urges an independent party of white men in national affairs.

If South Carolina shall be a "doubtful state" in the election of the president, both parties will be afraid to interfere with its state politics, and the exclusive white primary for the selection of state and county offices can be preserved.

If our people cringe and fawn for the offices, we shall have to do the bidding of these Northern Democrats in the Big Cities who depend on the negro vote for their control.

Preserve the Poll Tax

A drive to repeal the poll tax in several Southern states is once more under way. Over in Mississippi Governor Johnson has lined up behind the demand, but the two senators are divided. Bilbo is for repeal, but Pat Harrison is strongly opposed to it.

This movement is one more illustration of the power of emotionalism to obscure more logical considerations and we feel strongly that the best interests of the country not only demand that the poll tax shall be retained in those states where it is in force but should be extended to every state in the Union.

It is more necessary today than ever before, since the prodigality of the federal government has encouraged the notion on the part of thousands of people that somebody "owes them a living" and that bounties from the public treasury can be handed out indefinitely.

Over and over it has been shown that one reason why we have drifted into such a deplorable situation is that a vast majority of the taxpayers do not know they pay taxes. The pressure groups are tireless in their demands for government spending, but they are under the delusion that they do not have to pay the cost. Everybody who pays an income tax knows he has to pay it, but only a fraction of the voters even have to make out an income tax return.

It is the insidious and invisible indirect taxes which devour the public like the seventeen-year locusts, and every man has to pay, down to the man and woman on relief. The 50-odd taxes on a loaf of bread merely gives us an illustration of how the necessaries of life cost more because of the tax-gatherer.

If we abandon the poll tax another levy which every man realizes he pays will vanish. The amount in all states is so small that it is not a burden. Certainly the privilege of exercising the franchise is worth the money.

It is frequently contended that a larger number of people would go to the polls if it were not for the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. We have an idea that there is much overstatement here. The indifference of the people is the one thing against which we must contend. Thousands of persons whose poll tax is paid remain away from the polls in every election.

However, the one point we make is that every man who is qualified to vote on a spending program, state or national, should be sensible that he has to foot the bill, however poor he is.

And the poll tax is one of the direct reminders that this is true.

Fighting the Poll Tax

The administration at Washington is making a determined drive to abolish the payment of poll tax as a condition of voting in eight Southern states where the requirement exists.

Immediately after John L. Lewis challenged Roosevelt to "restore voting rights to the low income groups in the South," a double-barreled judicial and legislative attack was inaugurated.

It was learned that the so-called "civil liberties" unit of the department of justice which has been making a study of this tax for some time, has been asked to intervene as a friend of the court in a test case now pending before the sixth United States circuit court of appeals.

A strategy conference has been held between representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a radical organization, and Congressman Geyer, of California. They would seek to bring about congressional action on the Geyer bill, which would amend the Hatch act so as to eliminate the poll tax as a condition of voting in any federal election.

John Lewis, in speaking before the communistic America Youth Congress, demanded that Roosevelt instruct the attorney general and the civil liberties unit to bring a judicial proceeding "to attack and strike down those damnable provisions inflicted upon the citizenship of those Southern states in these iniquitous poll taxes."

Mrs. Roosevelt, who listened to Lewis' speech, said she thought court action in the matter was "a swell idea" if it doesn't infringe on the sovereign rights of the states.

Roosevelt himself, in a speech in 1938, delivered a blast against the poll tax, which he said "discriminated against a whole economic class."

Of course he had in mind the economic class which has been supported by handouts from the public treasury and may be counted upon to vote for his continuance in office if they can get up money enough to pay their poll tax and vote.

In no state is the tax more than $2 a year and in most instances is only $1.

The purpose behind this campaign is plain enough. The fact that Roosevelt and John Lewis are behind it ought to be enough to subject it to suspicion.

The man or woman who is not willing to pay $1 or even $2 a year for the right to vote has no business with the franchise.

The effort to show that the poll tax is responsible for the failure of large numbers of votes in certain states will not stand up, since it is a fact that a large proportion of those who are qualified do not go to the polls.

At all events, the South proposes to stand by its constitutional right to control the franchise as against federal encroachment.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 21, 1940

"We Have the Spectacle"

This from The Rome, Georgia, News-Tribune, discussing the fact that the national Democratic and Republican parties have both come to be negro parties:

"Thus, in Georgia today we have the spectacle of many a white Democrat who feels that he has been politically jilted and hoodwinked—who knows in his own heart that he has been sold down the river, and that he now stands as a man without a party—the victim of one of the greatest double-crosses in the history of American politics."

What prevents the "jilted and hoodwinked white Democrats of Georgia" forming their own party, nominating and voting for their own presidential electors, then making the best terms they can with the candidates of the other parties? They might even cause a deadlock in the Electoral College, throw the election of president into the house of representatives and effect the election of one not a candidate of a convention.

When Hill, Gordon and other great men were senators of Georgia, the Republicans were a "negro party", bad as they were they did not "jilt or hoodwink" white Southerners, and the Northern Democratic party protected the South. It is the national Democratic party that has turned against the South, "hoodwinked and jilted" it.

It looks as if the white Democrats of Georgia would take it lying down. They are not "sold down the river." They are sold up the Potomac, for the offices, the treasury swag.

Monroe, Ga., News
November 12, 1940

The Negroes' Version

There are but few negro voters in Walton county. A number of them voted in this county last Tuesday and, believe it or not, so far as we know, every one of them voted the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket. One of the managers at the polls here, none other than Mr. R. Paul Burson, with more than passing pleasure, told friends about what some of them said ,to the effect that "they could not vote against their friend, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt." The Walton county negroes, hundreds of them, have been the beneficiaries of Mr. Roosevelt's relief program, and would have suffered greatly without it.

Young Men's Civic Club Arouses Colored Citizens

SAVANNAH, Ga.—(SNS)— The Young Men's Civic Club was organized in the city of Savannah, Georgia, a little more than a year ago. At the time of the club's inception there were 45,000 Negroes in this city; but of this number only 600 were registered voters. The members of the club, after much difficulties succeeded in adding 511 to the original number by direct methods. Indirectly, the club is responsible for many more to become registered voters. This was done in a year and six months.

The conditions in the city of Savannah correspond in most instances with those in any other southern city. A group of young men, at first, saw these many inequalities and injustices, so they decided to do something about it. They immediately found that getting some Negroes on the registration books was the first thing to be done. So they came together and formed an organization which has in view to change the political, social and economic picture in this city.

This group called itself the Young Men's Civic Club in the beginning, as it is now doing, for there were only young men in the organization. But since the men registered men and women alike quite a few of the ladies felt that they should also be members of the club. After many were admitted, thy now feel that name should be changed from that of the YMCC.

The YMCC has an array of speakers. It sends these speakers around to churches and social clubs for the purpose of driving home the importance of registration to the folks. Its other line of attack is based on staging mass meetings. The club has staged three very successful ones the first Sunday afternoon in the month of March. After each mass meeting large numbers of persons were made ready for registration.

The YMCA started the new year with a drive for new members. It opened its New Year drive at the old historic. First Bryan Baptist Church with Dr. A. Clayton Powell of Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y., N. C., as the guest speaker. The night, which was January 31, will be long remembered, in that standing room was at a premium. Dr. Powell, Jr., spoke on the subject "The Place of the Negro in Today's Society."

The work of the Young Men's Civic Club is well known throughout this entire section, and many public characters have asked for the opportunity of speaking for this club. All those wishing to contact this body can do so by writing to Mr. Geo. Fuller, care of Schawb's Optical Co., Savannah, Ga.

The club has three mass meetings planned for the year of 1940. The one already mentioned for the month of March; then another for month of April. Those in the State of Georgia who wish to vote in the November election must be qualified on the books by the 6th of May. This is the cause for the doubling-up. Then there is one planned for the latter part of Oct. This one is to get out the voters for the November National party.

Seeking Race Voters In Savannah, Ga.

SAVANNAH, Ga.—(SNS)—Seated, left to right, Geo. Fuller, president; Miss Mamie Brown, recording secretary; D. W. Scott, general supervisor. Second row, standing, (l to r) Miss Ruth Anderson, Ulysses Elleby, treasurer; Johnnie Hill, J. H. Andrews, H. L. Artest, S. A. Jones, and Henry Franklin, group leader. Back row, (l to r) Leon Davis, Mrs. [illegible] Hawkins, Hampton Lindsay, field secretary; William Solomon, Mrs. D. W. Scott, McKinley Cary, district secretary; Miss Bernita Brown and Christopher Jenkins. The pennant which is being held by Mr. Scott contains these words: Young Men's Civic Club; THINK! REGISTER! VOTE!

Greensboro, Ga., Herald-Journal
August 30, 1940

We don't subscribe to the efforts being made to encourage the negro to vote in Georgia and other Southern States. By reading the history of the Populist Party and reconstruction days, one will see where the negro was used as a political football by southern white men. The same thing will occur again. We don't see where woman's suffrage improved politics to any great extent.

Sylvester, Ga., Local
September 26, 1940

NEGROES FOR ROOSEVELT, SAYS POLITICAL LEADER

Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the Negro division of the Democratic National Committee, declared Thursday that "Mr. Roosevelt, despite all Republican claims and promises, will draw the united support of Negroes in the November election."

"For fifty years," Rainey said, "the Republican party has included in its platform every type of sop to the Negro, but never did anything about it."

The Democratic 1940 platform pledged the party "to continue to strive against discrimination . . . in the national defense forces," he said, adding that two months after it was adopted Congress passed a law giving all races and creeds the right to enlist in the nation's land and naval forces.

Atlantan Leads Fight Against Poll Tax Law

Mrs. Gayle Will Ask Congress To Remove Restriction.

Mrs. William T. Gayle Jr., of 2047 Chelsea circle, clubwoman and wife of an Atlanta accountant, is scheduled to present a petition to congress today asking that poll tax restrictions in federal elections be outlawed.

The declaration will bear the signatures of 100 southern women from eight states. Its presentation will follow on the 20th anniversary of the women's suffrage amendment.

The complete text of the petition follows:

"Twenty years ago today the right to vote was secured to the women of this nation through the 19th amendment to the constitution of the United States.

"For years, America's women worked with devotion and courage toward this goal. We now realize that the victory was only partly won.

"We are gravely concerned that 20 years later countless thousands of women are still, in effect, disfranchised in eight southern states which require payment of a poll tax before voting.

"We, the undersigned women of these poll-taxed states, are proud of our states and seek through the removal of this barrier a fuller development of the democratic process.

"Therefore, we call on the congress on this anniversary of the first great step toward woman suffrage, for legislation which will obviate for voting in federal elections the requirement of payment of a poll tax."

Mrs. Gayle, who authored the petition, is an administrative assistant in the Georgia League of Women Voters.

Georgia's Rotten Boroughs

SIR: Come September 12, Georgia is going to nominate its next Governor. Right now it looks like a clean sweep for red-galluses Gene Talmadge. People in the know are trying to decide whether it is 143 or 156 of the state's 159 counties he will carry. The only opposition candidate with any visible support is Abbit Nix, Georgia Power Company lawyer and prominent Rotarian. Nix is backed by a strange combination: business men, good-government conservatives, New Dealers who can't forget Gene's opposition to Roosevelt when he was 100-percent New Deal and by those members of organized labor who can't forget that Talmadge had National Guardsmen put textile strikers in barbed-wire pens back in 1934.

Oh, but Talmadge, he's a New Dealer now! He has changed his mind about old-age pensions; he swears he won't interfere with the New Deal farm program (his particular peeve in the 1934 and 1936 primaries). He has even admitted he has made some "mighty grievous errors" during the textile strikes. All this has given the façade New Dealers their cue. Lawrence Camp, defeated Galahad of the 1938 purge attempt, climbed on the Talmadge bandwagon last week. With Camp went a skimming of other surface New Dealers.

All in all, it is going to be an excellent primary to watch the working of the machinery of Georgia's political system. Liberals will make a gesture of opposition—about all they can do—toward Representative Cox, labor's most powerful congressional enemy. Cox comes from a district that has only one town of more than 10,000 people. It has no organized labor. Cox is the darling of the plantation owners who control these counties, all with heavy Negro populations.

Congressman Welchel is a fluke of Georgia's county-unit system of voting. In 1936 he got over 2,000 votes less than his opponent. Because he got a one-vote majority in one county—the vote that gave him two extra unit votes—he received the nomination. He holds his place by paying up poll taxes for the poor farmers and unorganized textile workers in the red, eroded hills of northwest Georgia. Recently Welchel was prosecuted by the federal government, charged with selling postmasterships. Special Prosecutor Rogge was on the job. The judge gave the jury instructions that called for conviction. Welchel was freed and now is running on a "persecution" platform against the New Deal opposition.

Gene Talmadge is himself a product of the county-unit system of voting that makes one vote along the rutty roads worth a dozen along street-car lines. McIntosh County with 788 popular votes, for instance, has two unit votes. Fulton County (Atlanta) with over 30,000 popular votes, has six unit votes. The devotion of the small farmers to Gene reminds one of their old devotion to Tom Watson. The loyalty of the cliques around Georgia's wretched, latrine-stinking courthouses springs from their knowledge that Talmadge can be counted on to leave them free to enjoy their little dominions.

A few days before Georgia's primary, South Carolina will select its sheriffs, legislators and congressmen. Congressman Hare's relatively liberal record is going to be attacked by the stodgy old time-server whom he replaced two years ago. The Greenville cotton-mill owners and Klansmen are trying to throw a scare into Joe Bryson, whose voting record has been too satisfactory to organized labor for their taste. Charleston's machine will get a tight workout replacing its late congressman with a new faithful-unto-death. Of less interest to folks outside the state, but of much more importance to South Carolinians, are some races for sheriff and state senator.

Georgia's primary will illustrate the workings of the second worst poll-tax law in the South. South Carolina does not charge a poll tax to vote in the primary. (Those few who bother to vote in general elections must show tax receipts.) So the percentage of white adults who will vote in South Carolina will be more than twice the number voting in Georgia. Both campaigns will be standard servings of the potpourri of prejudice, plutocracy and pauper-politics that is called "democracy" in the South.

Atlanta, Ga.

Dobbs Denounces White Primary As Being Against Democracy

Says It Deprives Negro of His Constitutional Rights and His Defense of Life and Home

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is a copy of a letter which John Wesley Dobbs, grand master of Georgia Masons and president of the Atlanta Civic and Political League forwarded last week to Ralph McGill, executive editor of the Atlanta Constitution. The WORLD is reprinting it herewith as a matter of public interest. SEP 20 1940

Editor Atlanta Constitution.

Your Editorial Sept. 7, 1940, "The Ballots of Democracy" was one of the strongest arguments for the ballot I have ever read. It was sound as the doctrine of either Lincoln or Jefferson. In definition it was so plain that the wayfaring man could not mistake its import or its meaning.

You say "The root of democracy is the ballot. Anything which takes away the right of the citizen to vote is a weapon aimed at the very foundation of the democratic system of government." In that paragraph you have summed up in dynamic language all the dreams that Jefferson or Lincoln ever had about American Democracy.

Further on you say "When any citizen, properly qualified as a voter, is deprived of the whole or any part of his balloting right, those who thus deprive him are striking at the very taproot of democracy." That definition is so plain and convincing as to be readily admitted by all who strive to be fair and just with their fellowmen.

I am a Colored citizen, proud of the fect that I was born and raised in the State of Georgia. I, too, sing the poem of the late Edward Sherman, a loyal black Georgian, who lived in Savannah:

"I love her red old vine-clad hills,
I love her rivers and her rills,
I love the brooks that turn the mills—
In Georgia."

I have faith in Georgia, I believe in her yet unborn possibilities. I further believe with you that "Government in Georgia, as in every state of this nation, stands upon the foundation of the ballot box. Whatever weakens that ballot box is weakening the entire structure of democratic, American government."

Since 1865, the Negro has endeavored to work out his salvation, as a citizen, despite his peculiar handicaps. Starting from scratch, with neither plow nor frying pan he could call his own, unlettered and untutored in the intricate ways of a complicated civilization, he made friends, worked hard and learned to save part of his earnings. The last report of our Comptroller-General, for the State of Georgia, shows that the Negro pays taxes on nearly one and a half million acres of farm land besides his city and town property. The Negro pays his taxes cheerfully knowing full well that—"Taxation without representation is unjust," as well as Un-American.

The Negro has always been loyal to the principles of American Democracy. Traitors are never looked for in our ranks because we always march in one of the four regular columns, and know absolutely nothing about a fifth. We belong in your column of assets and not among your liabilities. Our right to American Democracy has been purchased through the years with sweat and blood.

I often wonder if the White people of Georgia realize the fact, that for the past quarter century, or longer, no Negro has been permitted to cast a ballot for the election of his Governor, his Congressman or his Senator. The rules of laws of the white primary system in our state both deny and deprive him of this privilege. This is done despite the 15th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution which plainly reads: "The right of Citizens of the United

Poll Tax Attacked
By Augusta Rector

NOV 8 1940

AUGUSTA, [AP]—The poll tax, a pre-requisite for voting in some states, is "crushing" democracy and has disfranchised half of Georgia's citizens, says the Rev. John E. Hines, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal church here.

"Instead of protecting democracy from the 'ignorant' people who would abuse it, it is crushing democracy by making it co-terminus with privilege," Hines wrote in The Augusta Rotary Club's weekly letter. Te pointed out that 19 per cent of Georgia's adults voted in 1936 compared with 92 per cent in West Virginia, which has no poll tax.

THE NEGRO VOTE

There are two and a half million Negro voters in the United States. It is possible, should they all vote alike, they would not only decide the issue next Tuesday, in several important states, but they would decide which candidate shall be president for the next four years.

The Negro vote has come in for much discussion among politicians in recent years. Prior to 1936 it was axiomatic that Negroes who voted cast their ballots for the Republican ticket.

There was, however, a great change in the election of four years ago. Then, realizing all that the New Deal had meant for their race, in better opportunity, better living conditions and a better way of life generally, The great bulk of that vote switched into the Democratic column.

Today there is much speculation on the same subject. Some Republicans claim the entire vote of the race, for what reason seems mysterious. On the other hand there may be some who, misled by Republican promises and still reluctant to vote Democratic, will return to the Republican fold.

Negroes, however, should be more vitally interested in the international factor in the presidential race than almost any other others in America. There are, on the Republican side, too many "appeasers" who contend that the best way for America, in this changing world, is to be friendly with Hitler and to accept him as the master of Europe. These would abandon Britain to fate and would follow the same fatuous policy of "isolationism" that was tried, with such tragic result, by so many European nations; that through the policies of the Chamberlain government so nearly brought Britain herself to surrender.

The Negroes of the nation should be well aware of this fact and the dangers inherent therein for their race.

For appeasement of Hitler, friendship with Hitler, means friendship with and approval of the man who defies his own race, who prates of "Nordic superiority" and who has said, of the Negroes, that they are lower than the apes". That is direct quotation from Hitler's own words.

What of the future for a race so sneeringly damned in a world which is dedicated to appeasement of, and agreement with, such as Hitler?

SOURCE: THE CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
November 4, 1940

Favoring a Free Ballot

Attention has been called to the fact that the registration books for the 1940 primaries will close on May 5, and in this connection it is recalled that a drive is being made in congress to prohibit any state from collecting a poll tax as requisite to register and vote.

Commenting on this drive, Governor Rivers is quoted as saying that he is in favor of such legislation and he has always felt that three things should be free—schools, highways and the ballot.

Since the governor is definitely opposed to the holding of a presidential preferential primary and is unwilling for the friends of Vice-President Garner to have an opportunity to vote for him, it would appear that he is not so enthusiastic about a free ballot as he would have us believe.

It is fair to ask what good it will do for the people to register, with or without the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite when they are denied the privilege of voting when the time comes.

Even if we look at the point of view of those who want to abolish the poll tax it may be asked which is the greater hardship, to disfranchise those citizens who cannot or will not pay a poll tax or disfranchise the entire electorate. When no primary is held the man who failed to pay his poll taxes has at least saved his dollar, but the man who has paid the tax loses both his dollar and his vote.

At all events, we hope that every citizen of Georgia comes forward and pays his poll tax before the registration books close on May 5, in the hope that the state Democratic executive committee will yet relent and give the people an opportunity to cast their ballot in a presidential preferential primary, which is the only way in which they can take part in naming the Democratic candidate for the presidency this year.

It is neither wise nor necessary to be harsh with those who feel that the poll tax disfranchises many persons who cannot afford to pay it. And yet the weight of authority and good judgment seems to be on the side of those who contend for the collection of a modest poll tax, such as is prescribed by the constitution of Georgia.

The news story which points out the drive now being made in congress to abolish the poll tax goes on to show the inequalities existing in this state because of the county unit plan, together with the indifference of the average citizen to his right to exercise the franchise.

Conditions in DeKalb county are cited by way of example.

For the moment we are most concerned with the showing that in DeKalb, in 1936 there were 12,494 registered votes and of these only slightly more than 8 thousand went to the polls. Approximately the same number voted in 1938, when the senatorial primary aroused the greatest interest we have seen for years.

Is it not fair to say that the real fault with our electoral system lies in the apathy and indifference which lead one-third of the registered voters in a highly cultured and intelligent community to remain away from the polls?

Moreover, it is impossible to see how Governor Rivers or anyone else can believe that congress has the constitutional authority to forbid the various states to collect a poll tax as a requisite to the right to vote.

Among the decisions of the supreme court of the United States the leading case comes from Georgia in which the high tribunal supports the supreme court of Georgia which in turn upheld the superior court of Fulton county in holding that the right to vote is not an inherent right, but a conventional right, which is to be granted by the state on such conditions as it sees fit to prescribe so long as it does not contravene the federal amendment forbidding discrimination on the grounds of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

The case of Breedlove vs. Suttles, reported in 302 U. S. 277 should make it plain, once for all, that the poll tax is valid as a condition of the right to vote, and that the terms and conditions of the franchise are to be fixed by the state, even where the election involved the choice of senators and representatives in congress.

The second headnote in that case says:

> The privilege of voting in state elections is not derived from the United States, but is conferred by the state and save as restrained by the fifteenth and nineteenth amendments and other provisions of the federal constitution, the state may condition suffrage as it deems appropriate.

As we have seen, the decision also holds that the levy of a poll tax does not violate any of the federal amendments cited in the decision.

In the face of such a decision it would seem to be a waste of time for anybody to be making a drive on congress for a removal of the poll tax.

Seminole County Gets In The Headline

SEMINOLE COUNTY, right on the bottom of South Georgia, has stolen the show. It is well and widely known that a terrible fracas, threatening to rend in twain the Democratic party in the heart of the stronghold of the solid south, is going on. There is one faction, somewhat silent on the third term business and lending its gesture to an uninstructed delegation to the national convention of the Democrats to be held in Chicago. The other wing, headed by Roosevelt haters and all around anti-new dealers are pressing their claim for a presidential primary. The latter claims that the people should be heard and that there is an attempt on the part of the former to send up a delegation that can be traded to Roosevelt. They contend that the forces opposing a presidential preferential primary are afraid of their candidate.

Now, down in Seminole, where there are less tendencies of thimble rigging and modern political sculduggery, the first blood was drawn in almost a unanimous approval of a third term for Roosevelt. Here the farmers, mill factors and small business men expressed themselves. These are the people close to the hearts of the common herd, flinging traditions to the winds and fixing their eyes on modern times and higher humane purposes.

It is apparent from the straw vote in Seminole that the people are tired of being fooled by the superficial and shrewd manipulators who have in the past been able to blind them with technical terms and brow beating campaign tactics, bulging with race hatred and religious intolerances.

The South has been bled white on this premise. Its voters have been led blind, like sheep to slaughter by the designers, who fattened in the past on petty family quarrels and their abilities to sell race hatred to the electorate.

A system of primaries has sprung up in which an honest expression of all the people in the line of men and measures is impossible. A system of political slavery has followed in the wake and today the South suffers from the handicaps enforced on a non-voting region. A one party rule has invited the oppression and exploitation of other sections. As a result we are the last to be admitted to the table and then for the crumbs.

Let us hope that a new day is dawning in the South. Seminole county says in so many words that she is not interested in the superficial and technical skulduggery and the shrewd manipulations of the demagogue which have given the South the poor representation that has cursed it for over half a century.

Atlanta Ga. Constitution
March 8, 1940

MAY 5 IS DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION IN STATE PRIMARY

Many Citizens Are Paying Poll Tax; Rivers Favors Plan to Abolish Ballot Privilege Levy.

By ED BRIDGES,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

Georgians safely past the February 16 motor car license crisis, and girded now for the income and intangible tax returns by March 15, face an electoral deadline coming up May 5.

That is the date on which registration books close for the 1940 Democratic primary. Many Georgians are paying their $1 poll tax, one of the prerequisites for voting.

Informed of a drive in congress to prohibit poll tax collection as a voting requirement, Governor Rivers said "I have always felt three things should be free to the public—schools, highways and the ballot."

10 Per Cent Vote.

In the 1940 ballot battle in Georgia, only about one in 10 will vote if the record of past elections is maintained. But upon the registration depends the ballot box reaction to campaign questions to be discussed by candidates throughout the summer.

To the apathetic or penniless citizen, the poll tax and registration requirements put up twin bars. These plus the county unit system make rare in Georgia cities the house-to-house canvasses to turn out the voters which mark balloting in two-party states north and west.

A close-up is provided in DeKalb county, as typical of the medium-sized southern community as the Confederate memorial on its courthouse lawn.

Same Unit Vote.

DeKalb county's 90,000 residents have exactly the same unit vote power—six—in the Democratic primary, as the 450,000 of adjoin-

ing Fulton county, of which Atlanta is the county seat.

In the Democratic primary senate race of 1938, the three candidates polled a total of 8,410 votes. (The Fulton total was 30,700).

The DeKalb registration for 1936, the last presidential election, was 12,494, men outnumbering women two to one. The county's 12,500 Negroes were represented by 87 registrations, 76 men and 11 women. The general election vote for President was Franklin D. Roosevelt 7,391 and Republican Alfred Mossman Landon 1,137.

State revenue officials said about 80 per cent of the $1 poll tax assessments was collected in Georgia as a whole. In 1936, the poll tax was assessed against 323,334 and paid that year by 251,827 persons. Revenue officers said, however, these figures did not present a true picture because some assessments were collected in later months.

Registration List Grows As Deadline Nears

Today is the last day for Georgians to register and qualify to vote in primaries and general elections during 1940.

Long lines were formed in the tax collector's office in the Fulton County Courthouse Friday afternoon, indicating a last minute effort of numerous eligible voters to register and pay their poll taxes. The long line of colored people to the window of registration was especially impressive.

The tax collector's office is officially set to close at noon today, but officials have indicated they will keep the office open until 4:30. However, prospective voters are urged to get down to the courthouse as early as possible.

Persons just turning 21 years of age may register without payment of the $1 poll tax fee required by the state. Women who are registering for the first time are also exempt from the tax. Those who have registered before and who have missed a number of years must pay the tax and a penalty for each year missed.

Colored people have been especially urged to qualify and be prepared to vote as a requirement of citizenship and a protection.

ONLY ONE OUT OF 68

The Negro as a voter in Chatham county presents a sad picture, according to information made public this week by the county tax collector. It showed that only one in every 68.4 Negroes in Chatham county is eligible to vote in the coming general elections. In contrast to this deplorable situation the figures released by the collector show that on the other side of the racial line the ratio of white voters to non-voters is 1 to 3.6. These calculations we have made on a basis of a county population of 100,000 persons which is divided practically on a fifty-fifty racial basis. This meager Negro voting strength is a shocking disappointment to those who are interested in the Negro's welfare as a citizen. It represents, beyond doubt, one of the smallest total number of Negro voters Chatham county has had in a general election year for several decades and is a long way off from the several thousand eligible Negro names that were on the county registration books shortly after woman suffrage went into effect. This alarmingly deplorable situation indicates conclusively how negligent we have been of our duty as citizens. In fact, it shows us as having been not only disinterested as a people to our best interests, but downright criminally negligent as to our citizenship obligation. A breakdown of the eligible Negro registration voting lists to see who is registered and who is not would make an interesting study. No doubt, it would reveal startling facts and show the name of many a loud-mouthed so-called race leader missing. The gravity of the situation in which we find ourselves before the coming general election beggars description. We can only say it is amazingly shocking.

NEGRO MEETING RAPS POLL TAX

Age-Herald 8-6-40

"White" Primaries Held In South Are Target Of Commission

Birmingham, Ala.

(From Yesterday's Final Edition)

LOG CABIN CENTER, Ga., Aug. 4—Negroes searching for methods to raise the economic level of their race in the United States denounced at a meeting here "exclusion of the black man from the ballot" by such political barriers as "white primaries and the poll tax."

Assembling in this rural community where the parents of some of them had been slaves, representatives of church, business, educational, and fraternal organizations yesterday drafted a resolution for the State Central Planning Commission, urging:

"That all Negroes exercise every legitimate means to obtain the right to vote as all honorable citizens should."

The commissioners pledged themselves "to register and vote, to constitute ourselves individually as committees of one to see to it that others register and vote; that we pay our taxes and assume the obligations of citizenship while working for recognition as worthy citizens."

Bishop W. A. Fountain, second senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, initiated the commission action by denouncing "white" primaries—traditional methods for nomination of Democratic office-holders in the South—as "violating the constitution and depriving a large number of useful citizens from the privilege of representation in government."

'White Primaries,' Poll Tax Laws Scored at Convention of Negroes

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
August 5, 1940

By the Associated Press

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The several score Negroes at the conference were told by John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta businessman, that "the ballot is yours; you ought to get it; and when you get it, you won't have to beg anybody for anything."

Dr. Benjamin F. Hubert, president of the Georgia State college at Savannah and chairman of the commission, cited the presence of Bishop Fountain and Dr. L. A. Pinkston, of Augusta, Ga., head of the state Baptist convention, including 525,000 members, as "the first time to my knowledge that the leaders of two such powerful church organizations have come together in a program not strictly a religious effort."

Previously the commission had called for inclusion of Negroes in all phases of the national defense program "on the basis of population."

NEGROES HIT VOTING CURBS

Journal 8-5-40

Georgia Meeting Condemns 'White Primaries and Poll Tax'

New York

LOG CABIN CENTER, Ga., Aug. 4 (AP)—Negroes seeking methods to raise the economic level of their race in the United States, denounced at a meeting here the "exclusion of the black man from the ballot" by such methods as "white primaries and the poll tax."

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POLITICAL - 1940 GEORGIA

SUFFRAGE

Preserving the Poll Tax

The suggestions scheduled for discussion in the Georgia Progress program of Georgia Teachers College, Statesboro, next week are, indeed, thought-provoking and with many of them this newspaper is in hearty accord.

The proposal to abolish the county unit system and substitute representation according to population seems so clearly in the interest of fairness and efficiency that there ought not to be any dispute about it.

A truly secret ballot is also highly desirable.

There is an alternative proposal that Georgia establish a one-house general assembly of 30 members paid by salary, meeting annually as long as necessary to discharge the state's business, or reduce the senate to 30 members and the house to 110.

We believe the framers of the constitution of the United States were right in regarding a second chamber as a "saucer" in which "the coffee could cool," as Washington explained to Jefferson.

Georgia started out with a one-house assembly and the experiment has been tried in various countries. We have never seen any advantage in the unicameral idea.

That the senate and house alike should be substantially reduced in membership is entirely sound and we would like to see it come about.

It is a matter of regret, however, to find the framers of the program falling in with the current propaganda in favor of abolishing the payment of poll tax as a condition precedent to the use of the franchise.

If, instead of abolishing the poll tax, we could extend its provisions to every state in the union it would operate as a tax to reduce taxes and we would soon make some headway in the movement to curb the pressure groups which demand handouts because they feel they can dance without paying the piper.

Ninety-six per cent of the adult population of this country sit back blandly and assume that they do not pay taxes and yet the humblest worker is simply devoured by invisible taxes on everything he eats and wears and taxes are a factor in increasing the rent of the shabbiest hut he may occupy.

The poll tax is direct and the man who has to pay it realizes that he does so.

John Rustgard, in his "Problem of Poverty," points out that of more than 1.5 million recruits for the army examined by our psychologists in 1917 and 1918, "25.3 per cent were unable to read and understand newspapers and write letters home." Seven per cent were rejected as "high-grade feeble-minded."

If this proportion holds good today—and there is no reason to doubt it—there are 25 million persons over 10 years of age in this country who lack the capacity to vote with any degree of intelligence.

Dr. Donald A. Laird, a recognized authority, has said that a person who can figure out how much 7 feet of cloth would cost at 15 cents a yard "is above average ability."

Dr. Rustgard says recent data collected in this country show that in 1932 there were 48 per cent more births in families without any employed workers than in families with one or more full-time workers. Families that were poor in 1929 and continued in that condition in 1932 had the highest birth rate of all.

These are cold facts which we must keep in mind if we are not deliberately to set up a system of perpetual doles, demanded by those who have come to feel that the government owes them a living.

It is in the interest of this permanent paternalism, leading to final collectivism, that this fight on the poll tax has been started.

We might gather this from the fact that Crampton Harris, of Birmingham, Ala., chairman of the civil rights committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, asserted in Washington this week that "a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in a federal election was a state tax on a privilege derived from the federal government and hence was unconstitutional."

He was testifying before a house judiciary subcommittee in support of the bill (HR-7534) to prohibit collection of poll taxes in connection with such elections.

The decision of the supreme court of the United States in the case of Breedlove vs. Suttles (302 US. 478), which was determined in 1937, affords a complete answer. Incidentally, the decision sustained a Georgia supreme court ruling. The federal court said:

The right to exercise the elective franchise is not guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. The several states may grant the right as they desire and may withhold the right, or condition the right thereof, at will.

In short, it is absurd to say that the federal government grants or guarantees the right of the franchise.

Certainly it is not expedient to throw down the bars to the pressure groups whose cry is, "Give, give."

One of the further suggestions to be brought before the forum at Statesboro is the proposal that we hold an election for delegates to a convention which would write a new constitution for the state of Georgia.

It is true that a new constitution is one of the crying needs of the state. The present organic law has been amended more than 120 times and is a thing of shreds and patches.

But this is a reform which should be approached with the greatest caution and certainly not on the basis of an election in which everybody could vote without the payment of a modest poll tax of $1.

A model constitution has already been drafted by some of the best minds in the state. The general assembly could submit it to the people for ratification by sections, so that any part of it could be rejected.

But if the organic law is thrown into the melting pot of a convention elected without any restraints on the ballot, our sheet anchor will be gone.

The Last Chance For Registration

MAY 5TH will mark the deadline in Georgia for qualification to vote this year. From time to time this column has emphasized the importance of being a full-fledged citizen. Without the ballot one cannot claim the benefits derived from popular government neither can he truthfully assert that he is a citizen in the full sense of the word.

Free government cannot exist without free expressions from the governed. A government so constructed as ours is dependent upon every citizen doing his full duty as a citizen. Anything short of this makes our government a government of the minority.

It is a poor citizen who allows one dollar to stand between him and his ballot. Until the poll tax is repealed it is the duty of the citizen to pay this tax and register. The cry against the poll tax as being a subterfuge to keep the Negro from voting comes with poor grace. It cannot be said that this tax is directly aimed at the Negro because this tax was in effect for years before the Negro became a citizen. It was paid in the time of Christ. We can never rid our country of the many evils of which we complain until we enter full force and the highest caliber men to hold our offices and spend our taxes.

Remember there is a law on our statute books which makes it an offense for any one to take part in any political convention who is not a qualified voter. This we recall is provided in the Griffin bill and every citizen who wishes to participate in our district and state conventions should busy himself in getting his name on the voting list.

After May 5th, the roll of voters will be complete. Every citizen is hereby warned to get his or her name on that list. At no time in the nation's history was this more important and every real believer in our democracy will spend his full strength to see that we go over the top with the longest voting list in the history of this great state.

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ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL.

THE LONESOME ROAD Mr. Thomas L. Stokes, whose book "Chip Off My Shoulder" is a best-selling story of politics in Washington, recently wrote that the flow of callers to the Jack Garner office had slowed down to a dribble—"almost as if a smallpox sign had been hung on his door."

Mr. Ulric Bell, the Courier-Journal's Washington correspondent, recently did an article on this same subject, saying, in part:

"With the primary results what they were, the unvanquished isolation of Mr. Garner becomes one of the great political poignancies of all times. Other primaries ahead are even less promising for the first mate who set out to undo the "Cap'n". Not so long ago—only a few months—the Garner suite was a kind of caravanserai. . . . Even though some crumbs of comfort may be found in the primary results, the great exodus from the once-cheery Garner suite is too pronounced to be reversed. It is now said that Jack has some difficulty in even reaching by telephone some of the stout fellows who sold him the idea he was Saint George. . . ."

Something of that atmosphere seemed in the air in Atlanta Friday when the gentlemen who once were shouting the Texan's name and sending out expensive pamphlets extolling him appeared with their small bundle of petitions.

They were not, they made haste to say, seeking a primary for Jack Garner. They were not even for Jack Garner. They just wanted to have a preferential primary. Apparently the only thing which bound them together was an anti-Roosevelt and an anti-third term bond. They, too, had left Mr. Garner in his lonesome suite.

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER It seems a bit odd to see Mr. Edgar Dunlap and the organization once headed by Mr. Lawrence Camp laboring shoulder to shoulder when their motives are so widely separated. Mr. Camp, with his customary scrupulous regard for the rules, resigned as head of his Democratic organization immediately on passage of the Hatch bill. Yet his one-time organization is laboring with Mr. Dunlap to obtain a preferential primary. Both have reasons. The reasons of the former Camp organization are puzzling, because the national administration, which it supports, prefers a free, or uninstructed, delegation. Everyone knows the motives of the other group.

The petition which Mr. Dunlap's organization submitted to Chairman Jim Gillis, of the state executive committee, reportedly bore the signatures of 22,115 persons.

The mountain had labored and brought forth a mouse.

Wholly aside from the politics of the petition, an analysis of the number of voters is interesting.

Georgia has an approximate 3,000,000 population. There is believed to be an approximate 1,200,000 persons of voting age. About one in each three persons are registered. This would mean that about 400,000 persons are registered in Georgia.

It also would mean that, of the 22,115 persons signing the petition, one-third would be registered, eligible voters. In other words, something over 7,000 eligible voters of about 400,000 have petitioned for a primary.

Not yet officially denied is the claim the organization paid solicitors ten cents per name.

Atlanta Ga Constitution
July 24, 1940

County System and Red Tape Held Two Chief State Defects

Fact Finders' Report Says Georgia Lacks Central Authority and Recommends 30 Instead of 159 Counties.

The two chief defects in Georgia's political system are its multitude of local units of government, principally counties, and its lack of central authority.

This is a summary of the state's problems, contained in a report prepared by the Citizens's Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia in which every aspect of its governmental system is considered.

"If some beneficent power should erase all county lines and obliterate all county sites, it would be a comparatively easy task to reform the political system so as to make it far more efficient and far less expensive," declares the study, made public yesterday. "Instead of 159 counties, Georgia might be divided into some 30 counties. In making such a division of the territory, consideration should be given not only to natural boundaries, but to economic conditions and to the convenience of citizens. The county site, as far as possible, should be approximately in the center of the county, and equally accessible from every part of it."

Advantages Named.

The fact-finding movement is composed of a group of state-wide organizations with a membership of 250,000 persons. The political analysis was made by a committee headed by Judge Orville Park, of Macon.

It is pointed out that the proposal would eliminate about three-fourths of the state's courthouses and jails; would reduce greatly the personnel of 2,500 engaged in county occupations, and would have beneficial effect on administration of justice, the character of legislation, efficiency of public services, and end much overlapping of city and county governments.

The history of the present county system is described: "When the counties were first laid off, the idea was to make them small enough that any citizen riding a horse or driving a horse-drawn vehicle could go to the county site attend to his business, and get back to his home by nightfall."

Plan Suggested.

It is suggested that consolidation could be effected by the favorable votes of a majority of those participating in an election held in the counties concerned at the request of one-fifth of the registered voters. Pointing to one specific advantage, the document inquires:

"Why should not schools, particularly high schools, be located for the convenience of the people regardless of county lines? Why should pupils from the county have to pass by the city high school and go miles farther to reach the county high school, and vice versa?"

Legislative Set-up.

Concerning the legislative set-up of Georgia, the report asserts:

"(1) Representation bears no relationship whatever to population.

"(2) The house of representatives is so large as to be unwieldy.

"(3) The entire personnel of the senate under the prevailing rotation system changes at each session, and the composition of the senatorial districts is such that, practically, the senate represents nothing."

It is declared unequivocally that the present distribution of representation "permits a very small minority of the people to elect a very large majority of both houses, thus partially disfranchising most of the citizens of the state."

In suggesting changes for the executive department, the report quotes Alexander Hamilton: "A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution, and a government ill executed, whatever may be its theory, mut be in practice a bad government."

Of the judiciary the investigators declare:

"Perhaps no department needs a complete revision so much as the judicial department. There are entirely too many courts, and the procedure in these courts is at least 50 years behind the times. There are more than 300 courts of all grades, and under the present system no one knows, except in the most casual way, anything about the business done in these courts. Each judge is left to work out his own salvation without supervision or aid."

Sacrifice Principles.

Georgia's efforts to disfranchise Negroes have been successful, the report declares, but "at the sacrifice of democratic principles."

Tax requirements for voting are especially condemned. Jay Franklin, author of the column, "We, the People," is quoted: "The southern poll tax is not a device to keep the Negroes from voting—that is accomplished by the 'white Democratic primary' laws in the eight poll tax states. It is not a device to raise revenue. It is a device to prevent the poorer white people from voting."

To show how poll requirements discourage voting, the report cites that the proportion of voters in states having this requirement runs from 14 per cent in South Carolina to 33½ per cent in Tennessee, while in non-poll tax states the proportion voting ranges from 64 per cent in Kentucky to 92 per cent in West Virginia. Only 20 per cent vote in Georgia, a poll tax state.

Fetish of Democracy.

"We have made a sort of fetish of democracy," the study believes, "but have departed very far from its principles. The present system would not be tolerated were it not for the fact that there is only one political party in Georgia and the party machinery is all in the hands of the faction which happens to be in control at the time. . . .

"If democracy is to work, the people must work it, not a little handful of politicians. . . .

"In these days when the individual is so little esteemed and has so few rights and privileges in much of the world, we, in America, must jealously guard our liberties and our rights of self-government.

"Our indifference has almost lost us these rights in Georgia."

Needs for changing the constitution are suggested.

Vote Frauds

OCT 20 1940

A sub-committee of the United States Senate, composed of Senators Lester Hill of Alabama, Clyde Reed of Kansas, and Guy M. Gillette of Iowa, is launching an investigation into the vote-fraud situation in the Chicago elections. The evidence concerning voting irregularities here as uncovered by impartial bodies and the courts suggests that some effective method should be resorted to that the evil may be abated.

Chicago Bee

Coercion, intimidation and vote buying are as prevalent during election days in Chicago as southside policy is the year round.

We are certainly glad to know that there is a body in the United States Senate that is interested in correcting voting irregularities. Such a body can do this country a lot of good. It can show up the weaknesses in our election laws. It can point directly at those who are guilty of promoting such unsavory acts without fear and without punishment.

However, we do not think that Chicago needs such a committee as other parts of the country which have had an over surplus of intimidation directed at voters since the days of Reconstruction. The committee can even get information from one of its illustrious members who happens to hail from the state of Alabama. The sub-committee may go to one of the most reliable places in the country to confirm our statement—the records of the United States Supreme court which will disclose the facts that America's largest minority is denied the ballot in most all the southern states.

Chicago

Chicago has the machinery to correct vote frauds. It has courageous judges and fearless prosecutors that have more than once committed to the county jail many violators of the election laws. Chicago, in other words, is doing something about it.

Ill.

But we have yet to hear of a white person being arrested for intimidation directed against a Negro in the South for attempting to vote. We know that Negroes are intimidated and beaten for attempting to vote. The state of Florida and the state of Tennessee gave us our most recent examples. It would appear from these two incidents that this august body would have flown upon the scene, as it flew to this city and pounced upon the thugs that were guilty of one of the worst evils of a democracy. But nothing happened from Washington.

The state of Oklahoma has been so particular about permitting Negroes to vote as indicated by the most recent case that went to the Supreme court. The committee might drop down there for a while to see who is violating the election laws and the Constitution of the United States.

Most of all, the committee ought to stop in the state of Texas, since it will be near there when it finishes at Oklahoma, and make a report to the United States Congress concerning the circumstances surrounding Negroes voting in the Democratic primary. The Supreme court has ruled that a party could bar Negroes from voting in its primary. The Democratic party did. The sub-committee, no doubt, will find that there is a close correlation between the right to vote in a primary and the right to vote in an election. It will find out that when the former is denied the latter becomes an empty gesture, so far as the South is concerned.

OCT 20 1940

Since the subcommittee is interested in that sort of thing we trust that it will take some of our suggestions. If it should desire more we would be pleased to refer it to Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for additional volumes to supplement that which the committee may obtain in the capital's records.

3 CHICAGO VOTERS DIE IN ELECTION DAY EXCITEMENT

NOV 6 1940

Three Chicagoans died of heart attacks yesterday in the excitement of election day.

Chicago Tribune

Mrs. Speranza Greselin, 55 years old, 11149 St. Lawrence avenue, who came to America from Italy 27 years ago but was about to cast her first vote, collapsed at the polling place of the 37th precinct, 7th ward, at 626 East 112th street. She had received her final naturalization papers only six months ago.

Chicago

Wolf Gold, 70, a clothier, of 2210 North Kedzie avenue, was leaving his home to go to vote a Democratic ballot when he was stricken.

Mrs. Maggie Conerly, 46, colored, of 6028 South Wabash avenue, died while standing in line to vote at 6003 South State street.

Ill.

Mayor John A. Peterson of Crystal Lake died of a heart attack Monday night while carrying a Waylan Brooks banner in a Republican parade thru the business district. He was 68 and had been mayor since 1931.

No Shame Could Be Greater

To act without being dominated by others, to do as one pleases limited only by circumstances and the equal rights of others is so much the desire of men at all times and in all places, that we confess we were stunned to have Negroes in Kansas City explain that the reason they did not vote for members of their own race who were candidates in the election November 5 was that they preferred to be represented by whites. The Call

There is no accounting for tastes. Roosevelt was the choice of many voters, Willkie of some, and Browder of others. All these made their choice with a view to their own advantage. But Kansas City Negroes either seek no advantage or believe they cannot get it themselves. Either way there speaks the slave. No man who has freedom in his blood can think that his welfare is utterly in others' hands.

No, we will not say that is slave thinking. To describe the self-abnegation which Negroes were guilty of when 250 of them living between 18th and 20th streets, and between Woodland and Brooklyn avenues gave only 7 votes to a Negro candidate, is to libel the slave. He had more manhood, more self-assertiveness than that. Again and again he revolted. He fought back at the risk of being "sold down the river," that severest punishment for insubordination which is a standard phrase for undeserved harsh treatment to this day. Finally when war came, though his hand knew only the plow, he picked up the musket and acquitted himself a man. Kansas City, Mo.

No, these Negro voters who threw away their chance to make both parties give them representation, are not up to the level of the slaves who wanted freedom so badly that neither time, nor distance, nor bloodhounds, nor fear of punishment stopped their efforts to escape. NOV 22 1940

Throughout the central Negro district Negroes showed surprising disregard of what this election could mean to them. For some of it we do not blame them. They have had the worst of training for citizenship. Neither the white nor their own leaders have taught them the value of the ballot, and they have been too slow-witted to learn it for themselves. But when they offer an excuse for not making wise use of their power, they confess they know they have it. That is what hurts!

The only difference between man and a dumb animal is that he adjusts himself to circumstances. The others have life, show affection, have needs. But we seriously doubt that any animal is so dumb as to deliberately throw away that by which it lives as did these voters who let an election opportunity which could serve them go by without trying to use it.

We do not blame the white politicians who are beneficiaries of this idiotic voting. It is reasonable that they salvage valuables that are thrown away. But why in the name of high heaven do Negroes think that only white nominees are fit for office. Nowhere else are these people of ours such fools. Chicago Negroes elected one of their own to Congress on the Democratic ticket, which proves that it is not any demand by the Democratic party that keeps Kansas City Negroes from standing on their feet and in their own strength. We here asked nothing, and that is exactly what we got.

You watch what the result will be of 14,586 Negroes casting only 4,117 votes for one of their own! It warns political parties against nominating that sort of candidate. When these same voters seek public jobs, the whites whom they elected know they have no need to appoint them because they have their votes anyway. And finally, private employers are human and cannot have respect for a people who do not respect themselves so that private employment also will be less for them.

Above all we need to be men, which we did not show ourselves to be when we voted for every kind of candidate except our own, and then were shameless enough to say we did it because we did not want to.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

KENTUCKY

Atlanta, Ga Constitution
November 6, 1940

A Negro voter in Louisville, Ky., appealing from a precinct officer's ruling that he couldn't cast a ballot, presented Circuit Judge Churchill Humphrey with his registration duplicate marked "moved and dead." The jurist lost no time in holding him "alive and moving" and entitled to vote.

Ellender Defends Vote Fraud In Louisiana Elections On United States Senate Floor

Waves Copy of Negro Journal As He Warns of "Negro" Rule Which May Follow Franchise

Senators Decamp While Outburst Continues

By LEON LEWIS

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Fraudulent election proceedings in the recent Louisiana primaries were defended on the floor of the senate chamber this week by Allen J. Ellender, junior Louisiana senator, as he made a vicious attack upon New Orleans newspapers, including the Sepia Sociality, a Negro weekly, and G-men investigation into corrupt state government practices.

Campaigning on behalf of Gov. Earl K. Long several days prior to the primaries, Senator Ellender viciously attacked the Sepia Sociality and its editor, Alonzo B. Willis for the bold stand taken against the exclusion of Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries. Willis had directed a letter to G-man O. John Rogge, asking if proposed investigation into state election fraudulent practices would be extended to the Negro being denied participation in state financed primaries.

Ellender admitted that it was Rogge's duty to see to it that Negroes vote and in the same breath stated, "if he does, God pity him." He also said election commissioners would be subjected to heavy fines if they refused Negroes, registered as Democrats, the right to vote.

The senator carried this attack to the floor reading a copy of the Sociolite supporting his reference to the carpet-bag regime in Louisiana when Negroes ruled the state government and the "fear" that Negroes may again burst forth into power.

Some 50 or more senators seated in the chamber left during the Louisianan's one and a half hour blast.

In an effort to put the exclusion of Negroes from participation in Democratic primaries to a real test, the New Orleans branch N. A. A. C. P. is manipulating to carry the issue to courts. The branch has not made public its plan of procedure, but last week the executive council adopted a resolution securing the regular legal services of Atty. R. P. Tureaud to be backed up by the legal defense council of the national body.

THREATENED IN BROADCAST BY U.S. SENATOR

Chicago Defender
1-20-40

Tells Race He Pities Those Who Go To Polls;

FBI On Spot

By HAYWARD JACKSON

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 19—A moth-eaten, time-worn skeleton was snatched from Louisiana's political closets last Saturday night by United State Senator Allen Ellender, and its dry bones rattled in the Delta valleys—the "race issue," a marrowless relic of bygone days.

But despite the rumbling a large number of Race citizens went to the polls Tuesday and voted in a primary for the first time since reconstruction.

Senator Ellender, chafing under widespread criticism for his denunciation of Assistant Attorney General O. John Rogge's investigation in Louisiana's political scandals, in a paid political radio address over station WDSU at 10:45 last Saturday night declared, "As a sworn officer of the law it is his (Rogge's) duty to see that the niggers will vote—but if they attempt it, God pity them."

A chorus of weak cheers followed the senator's statement which grew out of an open letter to Rogge an bill last year, placed the Federa Department of Justice and its interpretation of the U. S. Constitution on the spot by bellowing, "I want to see what Mr. Rogge's answer will be to that. As a sworn officer of the law it is his duty to see that the niggers will vote—but if they attempt it, God pity them."

In their daily publications last Sunday the Item Tribune headed the story under "Rogge Hit By Ellender In Speech." The Times-Picayune stated "Ellender Raises Racial Issue As Test For Rogge."

Attempts to reach Mr. Rogge for a statement proved fruitless Sunday.

The assistant attorney general and his staff, according to federal authorities' anouncements, are probing alleged election frauds in Louisiana.

Repercussions in various circles ranged from the vilest utterances to the calming tones of prayer band members who said, "We'll pray for Mr. Ellender."

Others who once feared it steeled themselves against fright from the sinewless spectre, relegated it and those who believed in it to the unlighted closet from whence it was drawn, and watched approvingly as hundreds of Race voters held their final factional rallies in the very heart of "America's Most Interesting City."

The outcome of Tuesday's primary is not known as we go to press. A complete story of the part played by members of the Race will be published next week.

Greensboro, N. C., News
February 15, 1940

NEGROES ASSAIL RACE ISSUE IN LOUISIANA

"Vote Baiting" Tactics Charged Against Long Machine By Group.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 14.—(AP)—Injection of the race issue into Louisiana's current political campaign was denounced as "a cheap and antiquated technique of vote baiting" by negro leaders here today.

J. E. Wilkins, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Leon Lewis, negro editor, said paid advertisements appearing in negro publications were "another of the Long faction's tricks".

The advertisements implied that Sam H. Jones, gubernatorial candidate against Gov. Earl K. Long, was friendly to the negro cause.

"The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was not and is not aware of this friendliness," Wilkins said in a statement.

"The local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. resents the injection of the negro into the Democratic primary campaign after every known scheme has been used to prevent this minority group of American citizens from voting.

"We wish to go on record as objecting to the use of the negro as a political football. In our present voiceless state, whoever emerges victorious on February 20 is of little concern to us."

Reds Seek To End Southern Poll Tax

Amsterdam News New York
SEP 28 1940

NEW ORLEANS—The fight for repeal of Southern poll tax laws which disfranchise Negroes and poor whites was carried into the heart of the South, this week, in a speech broadcast from here by Pat Toohey, white, of the national committee of the Communist

Reveal Trick to Remove Negroes From R.R. Jobs

Louisiana State Senator Proposes Bill Tha Would Allow Only 'Bona Fide Voters' To Work On Railroads

Call 6/14/40 Kansas City Mo

By Staff Correspondent

BATON ROUGE, La. — One of the shrewdest legal maneuvers in the history of those seeking to displace Negro laborers from their jobs, was bared here last week when Senate Bill No. 100 sponsored by Mr. LeBlanc was circulated through the Louisiana Senate seeking to require railroads operating within the state of Louisiana to employ in their services "only bona-fide and qualified voters of the United States of America."

Must Be Voters

Various subterfuges are resorted to by Louisiana officials to keep Negroes from voting, and the bill stipulates that only those shall be employed who have "participated and cast their ballots in the primaries and general elections within the confines of any state in the Union."

Informed circles state the LeBlanc bill has the backing of white labor unions which for many years have eyed with envy the stragetic places occupied by Negro laborers of the Southern Pacific, Missouri Pacific Texas Pacific, Illinois Central, Gulf Coast Lines, Louisiana and Nashville and Southern railway systems operating within the confines of the state and on which important positions are held as brakemen firemen, porters, etc.

Would Displace Negroes

It is claimed that enactment and enforcement of such a law would displace many thousands of Negro workers, some of whom have been in the employ of the railroads for over a quarter of a century and according to the employers of the Negro laborers who would be affected, these Negro employees are not only competent and capable of holding their jobs but have rendered invaluable service to the companies during the years of their employment. These employers claim that many of them are indispensable.

The text of the bill in question follows:

SENATE BILL NO. 100
By Mr. LeBlanc
AN ACT

To require railroads operating in and within the boundaries of the State of Louisiana to employ in their services only bona-fide and qualified voters of the United States of America.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Legislature of Louisiana that the different and various railroad companies, corporations, individuals, firms and associations operating railroads in and within the boundaries of the State of Louisiana are hereby required to employ only men and women who are qualified and bona-fide voters of the United States of America.

SECTION 2. That for the purpose of explaining the intent of this act, it is understood that by a qualified voter it is meant any person who has participated and cast their ballots in the primary and general election within the confines of any State in the Union.

SECTION 3 Any violation of this act shall be deemed a misdemeanor and punishable by fine of not less than one hundred ($100.00) dollars and not more than five hundred ($500.00) dollars and imprisonment in the parish prison or police jail for not less than six (6) months nor more than one year

SECTION 4 That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent herewith or in conflict herewith [redacted] be and the same are hereby repealed.

POLITICAL -1940
SUFFRAGE

MASSACHUSETTS

POLICE LISTING

Police officers will call at every building whether a dwelling, business house, stable or manufacturing establishment, and every suite in every apartment building in each district to get the following information for use in the preparation of the voting lists of Boston: DEC 28 1940

Name The Guardian
Age
Occupation Boston, Mass.
Whether a citizen of U. S.
Residence Jan. 1, 1941
Residence Jan. 1, 1940

of every person (both male and female) twenty years of age or upwards, whether a citizen or not, residing therein.

This information should be left with someone in the house for the officer when he calls.

Time for beginning police listing is January 2.

LISTING BOARD:

JOSEPH F. TIMILTY, Chairman

WILLIAM A. MOTLEY, Jr. FREDERIC E. DOWLING, Sec'y
FRANCIS B. McKINNEY HILDA HEDSTROM QUIRK

MICHIGAN ONLY STATE WITHOUT VOTER BAN LAW

Daily Journal

8-1-40

In all states except Michigan, the privilege of voting can be denied under state laws. This was revealed in a study made public yesterday by the Council of State Governments, with headquarters in Chicago.

Chicago, Ill.

There are at least 50 reasons for the disqualification of voters in the various states. South Carolina, with 28 reasons, and Alabama, with 25, lead the list. The most general disqualifications are for conviction for a felony [in 40 states] and for insanity [in 38 states]. Illiterates are barred in 19 states. Five states may disqualify "immoral" persons. Illinois disqualifies voters only upon conviction for a felony.

Laws of all except four states prohibit soldiers and sailors from voting in the state in which they are stationed, altho they usually may vote by absentee ballot in the state of their legal residence. Indians may not vote in five states—in Rhode Island the ban is specifically on Narragansett Indians.

RAP DECEPTION OF VOTERS BY DISTRICT SHIFT

Defender

Candidate For State Post Explains Why Negro Office Seekers Fail

8-10-48

DETROIT.—In a speech at the Michigan Federation of Democratic clubs last Friday evening, Petry Fisher, deputy sheriff and candidate for state representative, explained why Race members have failed in the past to elect members of their group to public office.

Chicago, Ill.

After berating the intelligent group and leaders in the political, social and religious life in the city for not enlightening the people on how to vote, Mr. Fisher said: "It is certainly unfortunate that the Race leaders raise money and fool the unread and non-political-minded Race members into believing that it is possible to elect Negroes to city, county and federal offices with our present setup.

According to the constitution of the state, Michigan is reapportioned every ten years. The men who are selected this year to the legislature will reapportion Michigan in 1941. Four congressional districts were added in 1931, and the district in which the majority of Negroes reside was split up in such a manner that it was impossible to elect a Negro to Congress.

Should this district be rearranged, it would be possible to elect a Negro to Congress, and Fisher has declared his intention of fighting for such reapportionment.

EDITORIAL OF THE WEEK

BILBO'S 'MAJORITY'

SEP 19 1940

The final count of the Democratic primary election in which Senator Bilbo was renamed in Mississippi shows that he received 93,000 votes to his opponent's 65,000. That makes the total vote 158,000.

Christian

Since Mississippi has, by the 1940 census, a population of 2,200,000, this means that only 7 per cent of the state's population participated in the primary election. Assuming that the state has a total population of voting age of 1,200,000, we find that only 13 per cent of potential voters voted in the election that nominated Bilbo.

Recorder

But of course there are a lot of Negroes and a scattering of Republicans in Mississippi who probably did not vote in the Democratic primary. Assuming that 51 per cent of Mississippians are Negroes, the percentage in 1930, and eliminating the small Republican vote as indicated by the 1936 presidential election, there are still left in Mississippi 580,000 white adults who are nominally Democratic.

Phila Pa.

But there were only 158,000 votes cast, or 27 per cent of the adult white Democrats in the state. Bilbo's vote of 93,000 was only 16 per cent of the vote that should have been counted had all the white adult Democrats gone to the polls.

Perhaps it is democracy when a man is named as senator for his state with only 4.2 per cent of the population voting for him, with only 8 per cent of the adult population expressing a desire for him, and with only 16 per cent of the white Democrats of voting age of the state indicating a desire for him.

During the campaign Bilbo went up and down the state defending the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. As a great beneficiary of the poll tax which contributes to disfranchising most of the Democrats of Mississippi, Bilbo has reason to hope that it will be retained in the eight states which now alone have it.

Birmingham News

SEP 19 1940

Christian Recorder
Phila. Pa.

WHITE SUPREMACY IN MISSISSIPPI NEEDS POLL TAX

Nashville Tenn. Banner

State Also Requires Other "Skin-Game" Devices To Preserve 'Democratic' Rule

SEP 27 1940

JACKSON, MISS., Sept. 26—(ANP)—A statement last Saturday by former Governor Hugh White, that repeal of the poll tax would turn the State back "into the dangerous conditions of the carpet-bagger days by permitting Negroes to vote," has resulted in spirited discussion by friends of both the former governor and U. S. Senator Bilbo who also favors the poll tax repeal.

Many declared that White's statement was groundless, as every school boy knows the Constitution was so written to guarantee white supremacy whether a poll tax is in force or not."

Explaining how the poll tax works, and reciting the legal safeguards erected to assure white supremacy, the Daily Clarion Ledger, last Tuesday declared:

As far as the poll tax is concerned, Negroes just 21 years old and Negroes past 60 years old would now be privileged to vote without poll tax payments except for other prohibitive provisions now set up in the state constitution which was drawn up in 1890.

Any Negro offering to vote must first interpret the Mississippi constitution before any circuit clerk in the counties, to the satisfaction of both the circuit clerk and the county democratic executive committee.

And besides, if there were sufficient Negroes meeting this qualification to elect a member to office, the Negro nominated could not be seated because the constitution provides that all successful candidates "must be acceptable to the electoral college," which is composed of the membership of the legislature.

Thus the requirements are so strict in the first place to allow the Negro to vote and even if these conditions are hurdled, the existing officials could bar the nominee from a voice in affairs of the government.

And all this has no relation to the poll tax which White has expounded as "one of the issues." Repeal of the poll tax would not affect the provisions for the primaries and could not, in any manner, "return the state to the carpet-bagger days."

SEP 27 1940

The corrupt practices act, which provides that persons offering to vote must present two poll tax receipts, has eliminated many persons from participation in the balloting but it has had no effect on the Negroes. Their status remained unchanged.

Senator Bilbo's advocacy in the past of repealing the poll tax was aimed at helping the great number of low-income earners produced by the past few years of "depression and recession." Friends of the senator point out that this would be helpful, too, to the persons on relief rolls "whose every dollar must be used for food and clothing."

Birmingham, Ala. News
September 3, 1940

Bilbo's 'Majority'

The final count of the Democratic primary election in which Senator Bilbo was renamed in Mississippi shows that he received 93,000 votes to his opponent's 65,000. That makes the total vote 158,000.

Since Mississippi has, by the 1940 census, a population of 2,200,000, this means that only 7 per cent of the state's population participated in the primary election. Assuming that the state has a total population of voting age of 1,200,000, we find that only 13 per cent of potential voters voted in the election that nominated Bilbo.

But of course there are a lot of Negroes and a scattering of Republicans in Mississippi who probably did not vote in the Democratic primary. Assuming that 51 per cent of Mississippians are Negroes, the percentage in 1930, and eliminating the small Republican vote as indicated by the 1936 presidential election, there are still left in Mississippi 580,000 white adults who are nominally Democratic.

But there were only 158,000 votes cast, or 27 per cent of the adult white Democrats in the state. Bilbo's vote of 93,000 was only 16 per cent of the vote that should have been counted had all the white adult Democrats gone to the polls.

Perhaps it is democracy when a man is named as senator for his state with only 4.2 per cent of the population voting for him, with only 8 per cent of the adult population expressing a desire for him, and with only 16 per cent of the white Democrats of voting age of the state indicating a desire for him.

During the campaign Bilbo went up and down the state defending the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. As a great beneficiary of the poll tax which contributes to disfranchising most of the Democrats of Mississippi, Bilbo has reason to hope that it will be retained in the eight states which now alone have it.

Republicans In Mississippi May Poll 35,000 This Year

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn.

By JOHN BREAZEALE
United Press Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 28.—The most ardent of Wendell L. Willkie's supporters has no substantial basis for any hope or belief that Willkie will get Mississippi's nine electoral votes, but the indications are that the Republican nominee will get more votes in Mississippi than any of his predecessors since reconstruction days, and it is possible that one or two counties may "go Republican."

OCT 29 1940

The presidential electors nominated by the "Independent Republican Party," this being the so-called "Lily White" faction headed by former Gov. George Sheldon of Nebraska and its electors including two Democrats, may poll 35,000 votes, getting the full support of the "Willkie Democrats of Mississippi."

The electors nominated by the "Regular Republicans," the "Black and Tan" faction controlled by Perry Howard, negro lawyer and Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, are not likely to poll more than 2000 votes.

Results In 1936

Four years ago the "Lily White" electors received only 1665 votes; the "Black and Tans" 2745; the Socialists 325 and the Democrats 157,300.

Forty thousand votes for the "Lily White" electors would be a modern Mississippi record. They made their strongest showing in 1928 when Al Smith was the Democratic nominee, polling 26,200 votes while the "Black and Tan" nominees got only 525, and the Democrats swamped both with 124,000.

Sam V. Anderson, Greenville lawyer, former state representative from Washington County, a lifelong Democrat until this year, heads with Clayton Rand, Gulfport publisher, the "Willkie Democrats of Mississippi," and is one of the presidential electors nominated by the "Independent Republicans." Phil Enochs of Fernwood is the other Democrat on this ticket.

Mr. Anderson believes 50,000 Mississippi Democrats will vote this ticket. He may be better informed than this reporter. He may even be right. But any estimate of this vote cannot be anything but pure guessing.

It is harder to estimate than the "silent vote" in the ordinary state primary. Only a very small minority of them are announcing their intentions or sporting Willkie buttons. The others are silent. Some are silent for social and business reasons, because of the stigma that has so long attached to the Republican Party in Mississippi. Others are silent for fear of being barred from the Democratic State Primaries for two years, which would amount to disenfranchisement for that period.

Law Provides Ban

State law and resolutions of the State Democratic Executive Committee both provide that persons voting against the Democratic nominees in a general election shall be barred from Democratic primaries for two years. The law authorizes any citizen or election official to challenge any voter on this grounds and to require the voter to state under oath whether or not he supported the party nominees in the previous general election. And the State Executive Committee has repeatedly warned in this campaign that this law and the committee's regulations will be enforced.

This has been one of the two major obstacles with which the "Willkie Democrats in Mississippi" have had to contend. The other is the fact that the "Independent Republicans," the "Lily Whites," are not recognized by the Republican National Committee; that their delegates have never been seated at a Republican National Convention; that the recognized Republican Party in Mississippi has been and is negro controlled.

The "Willkie Democrats" are attacking the first obstacle by reminding that the ballot is secret, and by contending that this law will not be enforced, that no candidate for county or state office would antagonize the Willkie Democrats in future primaries by challenging them.

They contend that they have not abandoned the Democratic Party, but that the party has abandoned its fundamental principles, and they quote President Roosevelt's statement that in 1904, voting for the first time for a President, he voted for the Republican candidate because he deemed him a better Democrat than the Democratic candidate.

Fight 35 Years Old

In the attack on the second major obstacle, the fact that the Howard-Redmond-Booze Republican faction is the recognized Republican Party, the Willkie Democrats are joining the fight the Shelron Republican group waged 35 years.

They emphasize that the Independent Republican Party, the Sheldon group, "is no more allied with the party of Perry Howard, Redmond and Booze than it is with the Communist Party;" that this is the fourth time the Sheldon Party has in Presidential elections in Mississippi "offered a separate, all-white, antinegro electoral ticket to the voters;" that "for years this independent party has been trying to rid the Republican Party of Mississippi of negro domination."

Mr. Anderson, in a radio speech Friday, went further to say regarding the "negro issue:" "We have some material at headquarters out of which we shall make a five-minute talk before long. When you hear the truth about how the New Deal Party has coddled the colored brother these past years you will ever after be ashamed to use the phrase, "Nigger Republican."

Besides their attacks on these two obstacles, Mr. Anderson and the Willkie Democrats, in radio speeches and literature, have concentrated on the third term issue. The most effective of these attacks was probably one by Mr. Anderson in which he quoted the late Senator John Sharp Williams, Mississippi idol and statesman, who in Senate debate in 1913 spoke in favor of a resolution to limit the Presidential tenure to one six-year term.

John Sharp Williams still is a name to conjure with in Mississippi, and he is quoted as saying then:

"Thus far the people have said. 'Washington would not, Jefferson would not, Grant could not, Roosevelt could not, and nobody else shall;' but it does not follow necessarily that they will always say it.

"I said the only dangerous men to free institutions were popular men. They must first be bold; then they must be ambitious. If you give them these three things and then give them a 'crisis,' they would prevaile. You are going to have crises in your history and you are going to have men of that sort."

Was Speaking Of "T. R."

Senator Williams was speaking of Teddy Roosevelt but the Willkie Democrats are applying his "prophetic word" to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "crisis" of 1940.

"The Willkie Democrats and Independent Republicans have no apparent chance to win their fight in Mississippi for Willkie, but if they poll 35,000 votes, or even 30,000, the Nov. 5 general election may not end either the campaign nor the effects of the fight.

The dent they made in Democratic solidarity in Mississippi might be solidified as a permanent split, with the Independent Republicans seeking to drive the wedge deeper.

That possibility, coupled with practical political logic, if the Willkie Democrats poll anywhere near 40,000 votes, might make improbable any official or statewide effort to bar the Willkie Democrats from party primaries for two years.

Should President Roosevelt be elected, the Willkie Democrats and Independent Republicans would probably maintain their organizations and alliances seeking more recruits during the next four years.

Last but perhaps most importan, regardless of whether Willkie wins or loses nationally, if the "Lilly White" faction in Mississippi makes any such an impressive showing while the "Black and Tans" polled only 2000 or so, Governor Sheldon's group might gain the recognition the National Republican Committee has denied them and become the regular or recognized Republican Party in Mississippi.

They will probably make the effort regardless of whether Willkie wins or loses. And if Mr. Willkie wins they would have an extra weapon. They could not only show him and the G. O. P. leaders the showing they made in Mississippi for him, as contrasted with the "Black and Tan" vote, but could and probably would remind Willkie that the "Black and Tan" delegation went to the National Convention this year bound to Taft.

Those are possible effects and consequences of the campaign now being waged in Mississippi and not this general election but the 1943 state campaign might write the final chapter.

Declares Mississippi State Contitution Was Written To Make Whites Supreme

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Says Elimination of Poll Tax Will Not Make Negro Eligible To Vote

There Are Many Other Restrictions

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—A statement last Saturday by former Governor Hugh White, that repeal of the poll tax would turn the state back "into the dangerous conditions of the carpet-bagger days by permitting Negroes to vote," has resulted in spirited discussion by friends of both the former governor and U. S. Senator Bilbo who also favors the poll tax repeal.

SEP 28 1940

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"As far as the poll tax is concerned, Negroes just 21 years old and Negroes past 60 years old would now be privileged to vote without poll tax payments except for other prohibitive provisions now set up in the state constitution which was drawn up in 1890.

"Any Negro offering to vote must first interpret the Mississippi constitution before any circuit clerk in the counties, to the satisfaction of both the circuit clerk and the county Democratic executive committee.

And besides, if there were sufficient Negroes meeting this qualification to elect a member to office, the Negro nominated could not be seated because the constitution provides that all successful candidates "must be acceptable to the electoral college," which is composed of the membership of the legislature.

Thus the requirements are too strict in the first place to allow the Negro to vote, and even if these conditions are hurdled, the existing officials could bar the nominee from a voice in affairs of the government.

And all this has no relation to the poll tax, which White has expounded as "one of the issues." Repeal of the poll tax would not affect the privisions for the primaries and could not, in any manner "return the state to the carpet-bagger days."

The corrupt practices act, which provides that persons offering to vote must present two poll tax receipts, has eliminated many persons from participation in the balloting but it has had no effect on the Negroes. Their status remained unchanged.

SEP 28 1940

Senator Bilbo's advocacy in the past of repealing the poll tax was aimed at helping the great numbers of low-income earners produced by the past few years of "depression and recession." The senator's friends point out that this would be helpful, too, to the persons on relief rolls, "whose every dollar must be used for food and clothing."

Mississippian Says Repeal Of Poll Tax Law Would Be Threat to White Supremacy

The Call
Kansas City, Mo.

SEP 27 1940

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MOVE TO REPEAL POLL TAX SCORED BY HUGH WHITE

Would Create 'Dangerous Situation,' Declares Former Governor

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Kosciusko, Miss., Aug. 17.—Speaking before a huge crowd that assembled here today to hear him make an address in the interest of his candidacy for United States senator, Hugh White declared himself flatly opposed to repeal of the poll tax.

"Bilbo is on record as favoring repeal of the poll tax," said former Governor White. "I say to you that I am opposed to repeal of the poll tax. If the poll tax were repealed, the white people of Mississippi would find themselves in the most dangerous situation since carpetbag days. We don't want that to happen again, and we must start fighting at once to prevent it happening, for already a bill is before Congress providing for the repeal of the poll tax."

"Here is an article that appeared yesterday. It reports the words of Lee D. Geyer, a congressman from California. This is what he says: 'Of one thing I am sure; 3,500,000 Negroes and 7,000,000 whites of the eight poll tax states will never be free from political bondage until some force outside those states comes to their relief.'

"There it is. He was talking for the Negroes, not the white man.

"Now you don't want a man in the Senate who will have to vote for that bill, a man who has already said he is for repeal of the poll tax.

"I have a letter here that shows the Negroes as well as Geyer and Bilbo want repeal of the poll tax law. The letter is from R. T. Arnold, president of the Colored Agricultural Workers' Union, asking that the legislature be called together to abolish the corrupt practices act that prohibits the Negro from voting.

"Would you send a man to the Senate who would be forced to vote for repeal of a law that protects the white people of the South from a return to carpetbag days? Do you even want to take a chance?

"I tell you Hugh White will oppose repeal of the poll tax law as long as there is a drop of blood in my body."

Alton Massey of Attala county acted as master of ceremonies at the speaking. He presented Charles Beacham, member of the board of directors of the farm bureau, who introduced former Governor Hugh White.

MISSISSIPPIAN BRAGS HE'LL NOT REPEAL POLL TAX

Nashville Banner
8-30-40

But Geyer Insists Right To Vote Must be Given Masses in Southern States

Washington (ANP)—The Geyer bill which provides for the abolition of the poll tax in the southern states which still follow this ancient system, will never be passed, said Rep. Rankin of Mississippi on the floor of the house of representatives last Wednesday.

"The bill will never become a law, as all well-informed members of the house know. But I am getting tired of having a few members arise on this floor and make these misleading statements without regard to the facts or the feelings of the rest of the membership", Rep. Rankin said.

Mr. Geyer, the representative from Cal., had previously placed a petition on the speaker's desk, asking that the anti-poll tax bill be discharged from the committee for further consideration.

"When we are talking these days about reaching down into the eight southern states and taking those young men and putting them into uniform, let us first give them a little democracy for which they can fight. There are 3,500,000 colored people without the vote and 7,000,000 white people without the vote in these southern states. I hope my colleagues on my right (referring to the Democrats) will do something to clean this thing up that exists in our own democratic one party states."

Rankin was on his feet instantly, clamoring for the floor.

"They are constantly calling the country", he said, in referring to Mr. Geyer's speech, "that only a few thousand voters go to the polls in Mississippi or in other southern states, and then pointing out the number of their representatives in the house, to try to leave the impression that only a few people are permitted to participate in selecting their members of congress or other officials.

"Now, as a matter of fact, in those states where there is only one party, as is he case in Mississippi, and practically all other southern states, our battles are settled in the primaries, and there is no opposing vote in the general election. Therefore, the vote in the general election is very light."

An article from the New York Post was introduced into the Record which stated:

"In 1938 when the last vote for new congressmen was counted, it was estimated that one representative from the city of Chicago received 28,000 more votes than all the 32 congressmen from the eigh poll tax states put together."

SAY POLL TAX REPEAL WILL NOT AID RACE

Chicago Def.

Claim Miss. Constitution Guarantees Supremacy Of Whites

SEP 28 1940

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And besides, if there were sufficient Negroes meeting this qualification to elect a member to office, the Negro nominated could not be seated because the constitution provides that all successful candidates "must be acceptable to the electoral college," which is composed of the membership of the legislature.

Thus the requirements are too strict in the first place to allow the Negro to vote, and even if these conditions are hurdled, the existing officials could bar the nominee from a voice in affairs of the government.

And all this has no relation to the poll tax, which White has expounded as "one of the issues." Repeal of the poll tax would not affect the provisions for the primaries and could not, in any manner, "return the state to the carpetbagger days."

WHITE SUPREMACY IN MISSISSIPPI NEEDS POLL TAX

Nashville Banner

State Also Requires Other "Skin-Game" Devices To Preserve 'Democratic' Rule

SEP 27 1940

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Nashville

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SEP 27 1940

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Mississippi Daily Says State Constitution Was Written To Guarantee White Supremacy

Journal and Guide
Nashville, Tennessee

OCT 5 1940

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Journal & Guide

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VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI MAY TOTAL 160,000

Commercial Appeal
Memphis

State Officials Urge All To Cast Ballots

WOOD ISSUES AN APPEAL

NOV 5 1940

Says Democrats Should Turn Out To Show The Axis Powers; Many Republicans Are Expected To Back Willkie

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Tennessee, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 4—Approximately 160,000 of Mississippi's 400,000 qualified voters are expected to participate in Tuesday's presidential election.

General elections in the state create very little interest due to the heavy Democraic majority, and as a result less than a third of the number that are cast in the primary elections are registered in general elections.

In an effort to offset this apathy on the part of the voters, all state officials have called on voters to go to the polls "in order to give the Democratic standard-bearers a huge popular vote."

Heavy Vote Is Urged

Walker Wood, secretary of state, in appealing for a heavy vote among the Democrats, said this would "show the Axis Powers that the people are behind the President, and would also strengthen the state's position in national affairs as the General Election vote is the one considered in dealing with affairs affecting the particular states."

The only question as to the outcome in Mississippi is the number of votes the two Republican factions will receive. There is no threat of the state deserting the Democratic fold.

Forecasts range from 15,000 to 40,000 for the combined Republican electors.

In addition to voting on the presidential electors, the voters will decide a constitutional amendment providing for the sale of lieu lands in two South Mississippi counties owned by schools in 48 counties, and the formality of re-electing Senator Bilbo and the seven congressmen.

A new question arose Monday when the regular Republican group headed by Perry Howard, negro lawyer, announced that "many voters throughout the state are planning to vote for Maj. L. E. Oldham, Republican candidate for the Senate and six candidates for Congress."

Names of the Republican candidates for these offices, however, will not appear on the ballot as they failed to comply with the Corrupt Practices Act and were ruled off the ticket. Secretary of State Wood said that the proposed "writing in" of these names was contrary to law and that they should not be counted by election officials.

Mr. Wood explained that the blank line carried under each of the nominees on the ballot was intended for use only in event of death of the candidate after the ballots had been printed and in the hands of the county election groups.

Hoover Polled 26,000

Mississippi's normal General Election voting strength is between 125,000 and 160,000. In previous years, the heaviest Republican vote was in 1928 when Herbert Hoover received around 26,000 votes. In that campaign, the heavy anti-Democratic vote, the religious question, was attributed. Al Smith was the Democratic presidential nominee in that election.

The names of the nine presidential nominees of each party or faction will appear on Tuesday's ballot without designation, with the Democratic group first, the regular Republicans next, the Independent Republicans, which include two Willkie-Democrats third, and two Socialists electors last.

The electors follow:

Democrats: Dees Stribling, James L. Davis, W. L. Sharp, Kermit L. Cofer, J. M. Talbot, J. E. Eudy, R. C. Russell, Kelly Hammond, H. V. Wall.

Regular Republicans: Fred W. Hale, F. S. Swalm, H. D. Holley, F. M. O'Shea, R. A. Whalen, W. L. Frazier, Jasper Boykins, Mrs. Ruth W. Bertrand, J. H. Gearhart.

Independent Republicans: George L. Sheldon, Nelson Taylor, J. B. Butler, W. N. Etheridge, Sam V. Anderson, Dave Woods, Roy Russe'l, E. L. Batten, Phil H. Enochs.

Socialists: L. Z. Cook, Wade McDonald.

West Point, Miss. Leader
December 6. 1940

Better Keep It.

The Atlantic (Iowa) News Telegraph says, "the movement to abolish the electoral college is a worthy one. The electoral college is like the appendix. Possibly it once had some reason for existence, but that reason is no longer apparent. An operation is recommended."

We're not so sure about that. For one thing, the electoral college has served to keep the "Solid South" solid—and that's something.

Should the electoral college be abolished, we have a hankering suspicion that a lot of misguided men and women, from Iowa and elsewhere, might insist that we permit Negroes to vote in Mississippi, and in some of the other Southern States.

We're opposed to the suggested "operation."

Why Some People Voted

There is a very enlightening story in the Bible. Asked why a certain unfortunate man was afflicted, was it for his sins or for his father's sins, the answer came that he was born so that the power of God might be made manifest.

Keep this thought in mind in considering the public career of John D. Taylor, member of the Missouri legislature representing Chariton county. With enough ability to continue to win that office and aspiration enough to seek to become attorney general of the state, Taylor does not see that he owes a duty to all the people. Both in Keytesville where he is the Great Man, and in the house of representatives where he is a leader, he has failed to play fair with Negroes. It would be nearer the truth to say he has gone out of his way to show how little regard he has for them.

It is a good thing for the Democratic party in Missouri that Attorney General McKittrick beat Taylor in the primary, because he would have been a blight on his whole ticket. Until Taylor uses his high standing to right the wrong done Negroes in Keytesville, he may as well kiss state office goodbye. Yet he has served his purpose, like the afflicted man in the Bible narrative. He gave Negroes an incentive to take part in the primary. All over Missouri they took the ballot and sought out his name the first thing, to cross it off! Bitter opposition to Taylor made them purposeful in voting, another proof that good comes out of evil.

TWO LAWYERS SEEKING OFFICE LOSE IN NEGRO PRECINCTS BUT GET SUPPORT IN WHITE WARDS

The Call Kansas City, Mo.

NOV 15 1940

James H. Herbert and L. Amasa Knox Lose Because Colored Voters Supported White Democrats

An analysis of last Tuesday's election figures reveals that the two Negroes running for office in Kansas City could have been elected if the Negroes registered in the districts in which they ran had voted for them.

The figures show conclusively that James H. Herbert, candidate for the legislature, and L. Amasa Knox, candidate for justice of the peace, lost because their own people did not support them.

They lost heavily in the all-Negro precincts of the second, fourth and eleevnth wards. Both received more support in the wards and precincts predominantly white than they did in the so-called Negro precincts.

Carries 9 Precincts

Herbert carried nine precincts, eight of them white and only one Negro. The one Negro precinct he carried was the twenty-first of the fourth ward. The other eight, all exclusively white, were the second and tenth of the thirteenth ward, the 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the fourteenth ward, the ninth of the sixth ward and the twenty-fourth of the eleventh ward.

Knox carried no precincts, but made a better showing in some of the white precincts than he did in the colored.

Defeated By Whites

Herbert, who was running for the legislature from the fourth legislative district, was defeated by Thomas J. Gill, white Democrat. Knox, running for justice of the peace from the sixth district, was beaten by Max Asotsky. Both Gill and Asotsky were supported by the strong Democratic organization of Fifteenth street once headed by the late Casmir J. Welch and the late Gil Bourk. But since 70 per cent of the inhabitants of the two districts are Negroes, Herbert and Knox could have won had the Negro voters supported them.

Following the publication the publication of election returns, citizens here were trying to understand how and why two Negro candidates running in districts predominantly Negro, should lose.

Both Knox and Herbert are influential citizens, holding places of leadership in the community. Knox, a lawyer here for 36 years, is a past president of the N.A.A.C.P. and is a former member of the state legislature, having served in 1929.

Herbert is chairman of the board of directors of the Kansas City Negro Chamber of Commerce, is chairman of the legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P. and is prominent socially.

The trend of voting in the Negro precincts was Democratic. Roosevelt polled 10,850 votes in the Negro precincts, almost twice as mayn as cast for Wendell Willkie who received 5,584 from the precincts considered Negro.

Good Eyes at 94 Because He Doesn't Read

SNOW HILL, MD. — (ANP) — Isaac Wright, 94, who proved he still had excellent eyesight last week by threading a needle by moonlight in one attempt, attributed his sight to not reading. "No reading; no eyestrain," he explained.

Vote in Herbert-Gill Race

The Call Kansas City, Mo.

NOV 15 1940

(Fourth Legislative District)

SECOND WARD.

Precinct.	Herbert.	Gill.
5	114	341
6	104	323
7	172	199
8	144	249
15	114	214
16	138	279
23	103	256
24	81	309
14	98	370
26	182	218
27	148	238
Ward Total	1,398	2,996

FOURTH WARD.

Precinct.	Herbert.	Gill.
1	109	193
2	100	333
3	22	88
4	66	252
5	139	315
6	140	290
7	7	166
8	59	184
9	172	263
10	163	285
11	159	276
12	200	231
13	210	268
14	217	219
15	116	332
16	90	247
17	122	235
18	205	348
19	173	306
20	246	246
21	214	161
22	96	205
23	143	403
24	246	292
25	169	370
26	157	246
27	145	381
Ward Total	3,885	7,135

SIXTH WARD.

Precinct.	Herbert.	Gill
3	96	127
4	258	283
8	126	226
9	98	90
Ward Total	578	726

NINTH WARD.

Precinct.	Herbert.	Gill
1	20	169
4	62	64
24	132	201
28	27	87
Ward Total	241	521

ELEVENTH WARD.

Precinct.	Herbert.	Gill
1	22	41
3	40	107
7	54	50
11	60	90
15	99	132
20	0	292
21	153	234
22	220	313
23	232	276
24	271	224
25	170	312
26	224	346
27	159	289
Ward Total	1,704	2,706

THIRTEENTH WARD.

Precinct.	Herbert.	Gill
1	260	344
2	314	287
3	214	292
4	240	323
5	222	235
6	186	299
7	267	296
8	174	297
9	162	219
10	231	215
11	230	254
12	197	—
Ward Total	2,697	3,061

FOURTEENTH WARD.

Precinct.	Herbert.	Gill
17	86	257
18	227	312
19	126	186
20	113	172
21	130	129
22	218	213
23	239	236
24	177	160
Ward Total	1,316	1,665
Grand Total	11,819	18,810

Vote in Knox-Asotsky Race

(Sixth Justice of the Peace Dist.)

SECOND WARD.

Precinct.	Knox.	Asotsky.
17	62	360
18	82	334
19	68	313
20	74	340
21	97	287
22	62	275
23	115	244
24	97	314
25	132	228
26	196	203
27	160	231
Ward Total	1,147	3,129

THIRD WARD.

11	25	66
12	54	163
18	73	172
20	98	306
Ward Total	250	707

FOURTH WARD.

Precinct.	Knox.	Asotsky.
1	124	395
2	111	331
3	27	110
4	67	250
5	160	312
6	141	290
7	74	161
8	137	322
Ward Total	841	2,171

NINTH WARD.

4	62	64
24	109	220
28	72	372
Ward Total	243	656

ELEVENTH WARD.

Precinct.	Knox.	Asotsky
1	110	309
2	134	242
3	115	189
4	89	222
5	59	228
6	139	351
9	8	34
Ward Totals	654	1,575
Grand Total	3,135	8,238

NOV 1 1940

How Negro Precincts Voted on President, Senator, Governor

NOV 1 5 1940

SECOND WARD

Pcts.	Roosevelt	Willkie	Truman	Davis	McDaniel	Donnell
7	215	163	201	168	205	168
8	262	136	256	136	255	139
9	308	167	323	147	328	145
13	363	87	363	82	363	83
14	390	94	377	97	378	98
15	234	100	227	102	225	103
16	296	128	287	129	294	129
23	278	99	261	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
24	324	75	316	77	316	77
25	241	121	241	122	238	124
26	248	157	246	145	247	153
27	261	145	250	142	246	145
Wd. Totals....	3,420	1,472	3,348	1,447	3,357	1,465

THIRD WARD

Pcts.	Roosevelt	Willkie	Truman	Davis	McDaniel	Donnel
11	75	22	72	22	71	22
12	165	52	165	51	165	52
W. Total.....	240	74	237	73	236	74

FOURTH WARD

Pcts.	Roosevelt	Willkie	Truman	Davis	McDaniel	Donnell
1	410	113	405	114	403	116
2	340	102	334	99	335	105
3	119	23	114	24	115	23
4	260	64	254	65	255	64
5	340	123	333	123	332	123
6	306	139	301	134	304	134
7	169	65	168	67	168	67
8	324	139	322	139	320	139
9	291	159	287	157	284	157
10	309	150	298	151	297	151
11	289	152	278	161	276	161
12	264	180	247	181	247	188
13	291	195	286	193	284	194
14	274	176	250	182	243	186
20	257	232	246	242	245	242
21	215	186	161	183	197	181
Wd. Totals....	4,458	2,198	4,284	2,215	4,305	2,231

SEVENTH WARD

Pcts.	Roosevelt	Willkie	Truman	Davis	McDaniel	Donnell
16	173	195	170	195	171	194

NINTH WARD

4	66	60	64	62	64	62

ELEVENTH WARD

Pcts.	Roosevelt	Willkie	Truman	Davis	McDaniel	Donnell
1	311	112	311	111	313	108
2	241	137	237	140	234	144
3	226	77	226	78	227	77
7	291	218	280	219	278	223
11	312	206	305	210	309	206
12	222	155	217	158	212	164
15	305	200	299	201	296	204
Wd. Totals....	1,908	1,105	1,875	1,117	1,869	1,126

TWELTH WARD

Pcts.	Roosevelt	Willkie	Truman	Davis	McDaniel	Donnel
11	253	135	247	139	240	138

FOURTEENTH WARD

28	95	111	94	111	95	110
29	148	134	144	133	144	134
Wd. Totals....	243	245	238	244	239	244

SIXTEENTH WARD

22	89	100	86	101	86	101
Grand Total	10,850	5,584	10,549	5,593	10,567	5,635

ST. LOUIS REGISTERED NEGRO VOTE UP 94.6 IN TWENTY YEARS

DEC 21 1940

Courier

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 19—(ANP)—The heavy influx of Negroes from the South and the exodus of whites to the country are reasons advanced to explain why the registration of Negro voters in St. Louis has virtually doubled in the past 20 years, actually increasing 94.6 per cent, while the volume of white voters enrolled has increased by a third.

In the past four years the rate of increase of the Negro electorate has been three times as great as that of the white electorate. Negroes, holding a balance of political power, have been showing signs of a shift from the Democratic column, where they have been to a large extent since 1932, to the Republican.

ST. LOUIS NEGRO VOTE UP 94.6 IN 20 YEARS

DEC 22 1940

Chicago Defender

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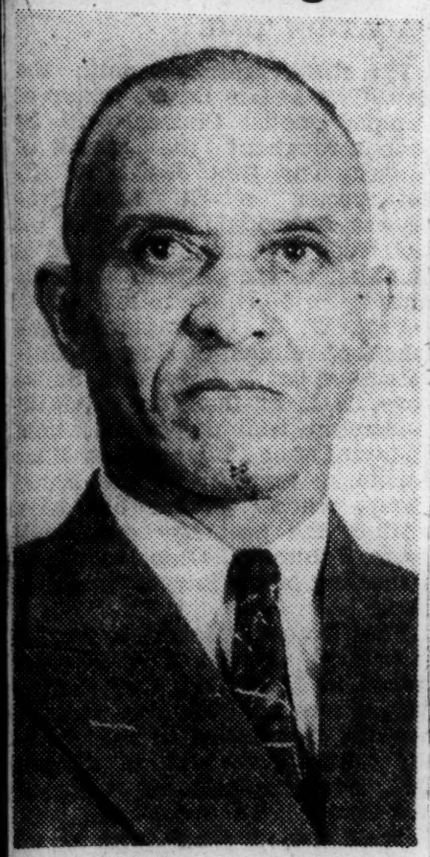
James E. Giles Heads Passaic Voters' League



JAMES E. GILES

PATERSON, N.J. — Effecting a new Republican organization, the Independent Republican Voters' League met at the Men's Association Hall last week, and elected James E. Giles, active Passaic County Republican, as president of the organization.

The organization of the new voters' league and the election of Mr. Giles is the outgrowth of what is said to be a revolt against the old leadership. This new group will work for the election of the county organization ticket.

Backs Organization

Among speakers at the meeting, the Rev. George R. Brabham stressed the necessity of the group affiliating itself with the national colored organization. The organization will work for the election of a Republican President, governor and for the re-election of Senator Barbour.

The Rev. Charles L. Tarter, recently appointed commissioner of recreation, also was a speaker at the meeting. Officers elected at the meeting included:

Officers Elected

James E. Giles, president; the Rev. George R. Brabham, first vice-president and chairman of the executive board; Dr. A. D. Maxwell, second vice-president; Peyton Hairston, third vice-president; Mrs. Fanny Odom, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Clara L. Smith, executive secretary and publicity director; Mrs. Pauline Barnes, assistant executive secretary; Miss C. E. Field, treasurer, and Robert Easton, financial secretary.

These officers and Dr. Norman T. Cotton, William C. Monroe, and William Young constitute the advisory and executive committee. Other officers elected are:

Lester Greene, assistant financial secretary; Miss Constance Dotson, recording secretary; Mrs. Cecilla Johnson, assistant recording secretary, and James Mitchell, secretary.

LeRoy Brown, Louis Travers and Peyton Hairston, Jr., were elected publicity assistants.

(Baltimore Afro-American) AUG 7 1940

POLITICAL - 1940 NEW YORK
SUFFRAGE

Columbia, S. C. Record
November 2, 1940

BATTLE OF NEW YORK.

New York state has 47 votes in the electoral college, almost nine per cent of the total. This is more than the votes of Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Wyoming and Utah, 13 states, combined. It is more than the total electoral vote Landon received in 1936, almost as much as the total electoral vote for Hoover in 1932, more than one half as much as the electoral vote for Smith in 1928.

And it isn't strange therefore that the campaign now centers in New York. The president spoke there last night. Willkie speaks there tonight.

In only two elections since the Confederate war has the country failed to go the same way as New York—those of 1876 and 1916. But in 1876, when New York voted for Tilden, Tilden was really elected, only to be unfairly counted out by the margin of one vote in the electoral college, according to most historians. At all events, Tilden had a majority of the popular vote. So the only presidential election in the last 75 years in which New York and the whole country have really been on different sides was that of 1916. Then New York gave Hughes a substantial majority; the country gave Wilson narrow electoral and popular majorities. In the last 12 elections the national result would not have been different if the result in New York had been different.

New York city accounts for 55 per cent of the population of New York state (1940 census). The city is Democratic in national elections (even in the Republican landslide of 1928); the remainder of the state turns in a Republican majority. Even in the Democratic landslide of 1932 the counties containing the large cities of Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse voted for Hoover over Roosevelt. So it is commonly said that the result in New York state depends on how large a majority the Republicans bring down to the Bronx.

This year the polling places in New York state are to be kept open until 9 o'clock, so the trend in New York will not be known until late on election night.

With the administration's attitude toward the war in Europe a prime campaign issue in 1940, and with charges of anti-Semitism and pro-Semitism unfortunately bandied about, the racial composition of the inhabitants in New York state may have considerable influence on the election results in that commonwealth. The census of 1930 showed 26 per cent foreign-born. The Negro population was 3¼ per cent of the total (almost 5 per cent in New York city). The census does not classify separately members of the Jewish race, native-born or foreign-born. The Jewish Statistical bureau estimates that about 28 per cent of the population of New York state is Jewish.

In 1930 the largest foreign-born group in New York state was of Italian descent followed by the Russian-born. There were about as many born in Poland as in Germany. The Irish-born ranked fifth.

New York seems to have been influenced hardly at all by whether a New Yorker was a presidential candidate. In 1916 it did go for Hughes, but in 1928 it voted against Alfred E. Smith, in 1924 against John W. Davis (a resident of New York for the previous three years), in 1912 against Theodore Roosevelt, in 1904 against Alton B. Parker.

Since When Has Poverty Become Reason for Denial of Ballot?' Walter White Asks New Jersey

Call 3-8-40

NEW YORK.—The spectacle of New Jersey's state legislature acting favorably on the recommendation of a state committee investigating relief, which would deny the vote to all persons who have been on that state's relief rolls for three years, was vigorously condemned in a joint telegram sent to Governor Harry Moore by the N. A. A. C. P. and its fifteen branches in New Jersey.

The telegram, which was sent February 26, and signed by Walter White, urged the governor to throw his weight against the recommendation.

Kansas City Mo.

The telegram said in part:

"Since when has poverty become a crime or justification for denial of constitutional rights? Adoption by New Jersey of such a proposal would work especial hardship on New Jersey's 300,000 Negroes, many of whom are unemployed and on relief through no fault of their own but solely because of discrimination by public and private employers and by some labor unions. We strongly urge full weight of your office and personality against so vicious and undemocratic a proposal."

Poll Tax Abolition Favored

Representative Geyer Believes Levy Is Out of Place in This Country

Times

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your editorial of July 20 deplores the method by which elections were held in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on the issue of becoming part of the Soviet Union. You deprecate, and rightly so, the one-party election and ask how our voters would feel next November were they to be offered a single ticket on their ballots.

7-26-40

A comparable denial of democracy exists in eight of our Southern States, where payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting: Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Virginia. Of the seventy-eight Representatives from these States, seventy have never received any effective opposition at the polls. In the poll-tax States in 1936 an average of 32,400 votes was cast in each district election. In the average non-poll-tax district for that same year 119,500 votes were cast.

Of sixty-four Democratic poll-tax primaries, twenty-two candidates were absolutely uncontested. Thirteen of these faced no opposition in the election. In Alabama in 1934 four of nine Representatives had no opposition in the primary; in Georgia in 1936 five out of ten primaries were absolutely undisputed. In Mississippi voters don't even go to the polls, apparently, where there is no opposition. A winning candidate in 1938, who received the record low of 2,172 votes in the election, received no opposition in the 1934 primary at all.

The percentage of adult citizens who voted in each of the poll tax States in the 1936 Presidential election averaged 24 per cent, compared with the average of 66 per cent for the forty non-poll-tax States.

One of the main reasons for the failure of citizens to vote is the poll tax requirement. In the eight Southern States mentioned this tax deprives Americans who cannot pay it of the right to vote. To make it worse, if through a period of years they have been so poor that they could neither pay nor vote, whenever the time comes when they can pay, they have to pay for all the defaulted years in order to vote.

A remedy for this unfair, unjust and un-American tax is passage of the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, H. R. 7534, which will outlaw poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections.

LEE E. GEYER.

Washington, July 23, 1940.

NEW YORK'S COLORED VOTE!

8-22-40

(By Anthony Ferguson for Calvin's Service.)

Both parties are shaping programs intended to woo and win the colored votes, which is admitted the balance of power in 16 states of the nation controlling more than enough electoral votes to elect a president.

New York State with its 47 electoral votes depending on the way the 285,000 colored voters decide to cast their ballots is pivotal in as much as the Republican and Democratic Party registrations in the state is almost equally balanced, making the colored vote decisive.

Both the Republicans and Democrats are having difficulties in the selection of key people to head their various set-ups in New York State, with several factions fighting each other for control of the campaign and no large financial contributors to either party among them.

Neither the Democrats or Republicans have named a colored candidate for Congress but Rev. Adam C. Powell,Jr., pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church is the American Party designee for the seat now held by Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan.

Defections in the Italian-American and German-American vote will no doubt mitigate against the New Deal.

Wilkie followers claiming many influential colored leaders to be in their camp expects to carry the colored vote by a huge majority. Impartial and independent polls show that the colored vote is not in the bag for either party, but decidedly on the fence, waiting to see how the wind will blow.

GOP Campaign Director Confident Of Support Of Borough Negro Voters

New York Age New York N.Y.

OCT 5 1940

If Kings County is found in the Republican columns after the votes have been counted this fall, you can lay a great deal of responsibility and credit at the door of an energetic youthful lawyer who has a spirited faith in Wendell Willkie's ability to win and a likeable confidence in his own ability to do his part in affecting that victory.

Hero of this piece whose career reads like many another success-story thriller is Nathaniel L. Goldstein, whose official title is Campaign Director for the Kings County Republican Campaign Committee, but whose policy is to act just like any ordinary human being.

Forty-two years of age, Goldstein was active in Republican politics even before he was old enough to vote. Surrounded with the dignity of less than seventeen years of experience on this globe, the ambitious youth took on the task of campaign secretary for Kings County's patriarch of the GOP forces, Supreme Court Justice Charles Lockwood.

Since that time, he has directed various campaigns in between his duties as law partner to the jurist. in 1937, he earned a well-deserved reputation for efficiency when he managed the successful fight to re-elect LaGuardia. At Phliadelphia this year he held the all-important post of Secretary to the New York State delegation.

A war veteran, outstanding barrister and past commander of an American Legion Post, Goldstein's activities have been wide and varied.

In the swing of campaign work, the young attorney is at his best. It is then that he feels the glow that comes to all who love the keen contest of wits and the contact with obstacles and difficulties. Down at 26 Court street, headquarters of the Campaign Committee, he is busier than the well-known bee these days. Hour after hour he sits at his desk, dictating letters, conferring with candidates and listening good-naturedly to the boasts of confident job-seekers with their inevitable assurances about how he can achieve party victory—to their assurances about how many votes they "control".

His is the job of administering funds where they will do the most good; of surrounding himself with that type of worker and committee which he feels is sincerely interested. It is a big job, but that's the way he likes them.

Asked about his attitude on the chance of capturing the overwhelmingly Democratic Negro vote in the current election, he expressed his frank opinion that "we have fertile territory among the colored votes."

He is sure that the greater number of Negroes here and elsewhere would rather have jobs than WPA aid or relief and doles.

"Knowing the Negro people as I do", Goldstein says, "I feel that the majority of colored voters want a chance to earn what they get; that they realize as do most people of my own race that we may only survive in a democracy; that a third term may mean the start of dictatorship. The Negroes as well as my own people must think twice and realize the importance of their suffrage this fall. This election may mean the difference between the wreckage or preservation of liberty for all peoples in the United States. Our civil liberties and Constitutional rights are at stake. We must preserve what we have of them that we may increase them and give to the word democracy its greatest significance in our daily lives."

OCT 5 1940

The Republican Campaign Director was thoroughly warming up to his subject now and there was a sincere bleam in his eye. Just then however, his secretary barged in with sheaves of papers and several calling cards and your correspondent stole gently out of his office while he got back down to the task of giving Kings County's votes to Wendell Willkie.

Watchtower

By ROY WILKINS

NOV 2 1940

HARLEM should not be so busy with the national campaign that it forgets to vote on matters close at home. Two of our judges are running for re-election. Judge Charles E. Toney and Judge James S. Watson have made excellent records during their ten-year terms. They have proved that we can produce good jurists capable of dispensing justice as well as other men. During their term they have earned the respect of members of the bar and of the citizens generally.

Roy Wilkins

Amsterdam News

It seems to this column that they deserve re-election. As a group we complain frequently that the *"wrong"* representatives often get themselves into prominent positions. Here we have two *"right"* and competent men in places of honor. We ought to keep them there. Messrs. Toney and Watson have been good representatives and should be returned to office.

New York N.Y.

In the national campaign the battle has settled into a slugging match for the last week. Anything goes—rabbit punches, blackjacks, brass knuckles, and perhaps even "goofer" dust. I am sure either candidate would welcome a little "go away" powder sprinkled on the doorstep of the other until after November 5.

New York Focal Point

The close race in New York State makes the New York City Negro a very important factor in the national election. If the Republicans come down to the Bronx county line with 750,000 majority, the Democrats are going to need every block of votes in the city they can get.

But Harlem is mad. In fact, all Negro America is mad at the stupid bulletin on Army-Navy jim crow issued from the White House October 9. Negroes are loyal and patriotic and very tender on the subject of their men in the armed forces. They *HATE* the way they have been treated over the years by the arrogant, Cracker-ridden War and Navy Departments.

Sunday afternoon 5,000 Harlem citizens packed the Golden Gate Ballroom to make their protest. There were no half-way demands. They want the old system wiped out and a genuine New Deal in its stead.

To give President Roosevelt his just due, he has made heroic efforts since October 9 to make amends for the blunder of that "dark" day. The inside story from Washington is that personally he never saw the War Department statement before it was issued. Stephen Early, White House secretary, took the mimeographed statement from the War Department messenger and passed it out to newspapermen. It is hard to imagine as smart a politician as Mr. Roosevelt releasing such statement in the midst of a campaign.

Col. Davis' Promotion

Once the damage was done, the President moved swiftly. He told the War Department he was going to promote Colonel Davis. No less a person than General George Marshall, Chief of Staff of the whole U. S. Army, begged Mr. Roosevelt not to promote Davis. The big brass hats of the Army were furious at the thought of a Negro becoming a General. For five days they battled the President, but he would not back down and announced the Davis promotion October 25.

If the Army high hats were mad at the Davis business, they almost had apoplexy when the President said he wanted Judge William H. Hastie as civilian aide in the War Department. They got purple, not only at Mr. Roosevelt, but at Bill Hastie, who laid down certain stipulations which must be met if he took the job.

The Hastie appointment was "all set" October 19, but the army battled to the bitter end against it and it was not until midnight of October 25 that the office of the War Department was finally forced, by a treat from the White House, to release the Hastie appointment to the press.

Of course, the War Department did not want any Negro reviewing its business, but it was especially bitter at Hastie because the job created for him is much more important than that of an adviser.

Not finished, Mr. Roosevelt named a Negro Assistant to Dr. Dykstra, Director of the Draft, and then did what few Presidents of the United States have ever done—wrote a letter of regret to the Negro committee which conferred with him and cleared them of the charge of endorsing segregation.

Of all the actions, the biggest in spirit was the writing of the letter; but the most important to Negroes was the appointment of Hastie. Everyone is happy for Colonel Davis, but the fact that the War Department fought so hard against Hastie proves the importance of the President's action.

Through Hastie we can fight toward the objectives we all want. We have cracked the toughest department in the whole government. If anything should happen now to put Hastie out, we would have to begin the long, weary fight all over again—and we would not have the advantage of an election campaign in our favor.

The President came through and gave us a channel through which we can fight. Of course it was political. Of course it was hammered out under pressure. All concessions in government are the result of pressure. There are no free will offerings. Knowing this, it is now up to our good sense to do what we should do to keep our gains and go forward.

Organizes Negro Race Voters In Carolina

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Mar. 7—(Special)—First of a series of meetings through which plans will be worked out for the casting of a minimum of 4,000 Negro votes in the coming primaries, was held Sunday evening in the auditorium of the Barber college of which Woods Morgan, leader and head Tinsley both scrupulously avoided any discussion of the possible drive on Mayor Bright, other Negro leaders here freely admitted that the bulk of the estimated 2,500 Negro votes would be cast against the official.

PUBLICIZED CRITICISM BY COLORED MINISTER

Mayor Bright was re-elected in 1936 by a bare 500 votes. He obtained that majority, Negro leaders declare, by widely publicizing a criticism of his regime by a Negro minister and telling the prejudiced whites that he was the only bulwark against Negro domination of Richmond.

He distributed leaflets charging that the city would have Negro policemen, firemen and officials if he was defeated.

In order to avoid a repetition of this tactic, Negro civic, social and religious leaders have refused to make public statements which Bright might use against them with biased whites.

Although his refusal to let Negroes share in the municipal life of Richmond has driven most of the colored voters into an anti-Bright bloc, other factors figure in the drive against him.

FATHER'S INCOME CAME FROM NEGRO PATIENTS

Many residents are bitterly opposed to him because he allegedly turned against his early teachings and background. The mayor, the son of a doctor, was born on the present site of the St. Luke Building on St. James street, and his father's income (and his own when he practiced medicine) came from Negro patients.

Despite his early (and profitable) contact with members of the race, however, the medico reputedly became rabidly anti-Negro once he was elected to offic.

One evidence of this bias was seen in his vetoing of an appropriation for a Negro probation officer. The need for such an appointment had been so great that Judge J. Hoge Ricks, of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, had paid the salary of a Negro probation officer out of his own pocket for more than a year.

"NO NEGRO WILL EVER HAVE ANY POLICE POWER"

When an official appropriation was made for the job, however, Mayor Bright vetoed it on the ground that such an appointment would give a Negro "police power." The mayor was also a bitter opponent of Judge John Ingram's advocacy of Negro policemen as a means of combating the crime rate in the Negro sections.

"As long as I'm mayor," he was quoted as saying, "no Negro will ever have any police power in Richmond."

Bright's opponents also blame him for the startling decline during the past decade of the number of Negro janitors, garbage collectors, elevator boys in municipal buildings, and other minor city employees belonging to their group.

Although the campaign against the mayor has been conducted quietly, Dr. Bright is believed to be aware of it, and to be planning a last-minute effort to win over the Negro bloc. In a recent newspaper interview, he declared that he had done "more than well" by the Negro residents.

BOASTED OF AMOUNT PAID NEGRO TEACHERS

Lumping together the annual salaries of the city's more than four hundred teachers and cafeteria workers, he announced that these city employees received more than $451,000 a year, intimating that his administration was responsible.

Negro leaders immedaitely pointed out though that although the 849 Negro teachers reputedly received $363,400 last year, this sum was decidedly less than that paid an equal number of white teachers in the same public school system. For the white teachers averaged $1,856 a year, while the Negro instructors only averaged $1,099. The figures were made public in the annual report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Mayor Bright is also expected to make another last-minute appeal to the prejudiced white voters, but the large Negro vote this year is expected to offset any support he may get there.

Negro leaders charged subtle opposition to their drive last fall when the campaign for registration was on. According to them, City Registrar Woodson attempted to discourage Negro applicants by refusing to aid them in filling out their registration slips. They also charged discourteous treatment and minor intimidation of prospective Negro voters. Protests halted this alleged action, however, and Negroes were finally given the same consideration as whites.

Bright's opponent in the coming Democratic primary is Gordon B. Ambler.

Tarboro N. C. Southerner
March 30, 1940

RIGHT OF NEGROES TO VOTE UPHELD BY LUCAS

Negroes who meet all the qualifications for voting must be registered if they present themselves for registration, W. A. Lucas of Wilson, chairman of the State Board of Elections, unequivocally informed county election officials and chairmen of Democratic county executive committees assembled in Greenville yesterday for the fifth of a series of regional conferences on new election laws.

The Negro question, which was given by several legislators from Eastern counties as their reason for opposing a mandatory new registration law for the entire state, was raised for the first time in this series of conferences, which has now covered the entire state, with the exception of a group of 13 counties to be represented at the final conference in Edenton today. Chairman Lucas left no doubt as to the law or the attitude of the State Board of Elections in enforcing that law. However, the question of participation of Negries, who are already registered in large numbers in some counties of the state, particularly in Wake and Durham, appears to be a matter of minor concern with election officials.

Two matters that are of major concern to those officials are obtaining full registration in the 60 counties of the state which have ordered new registrations and in obtaining separation of Democratic and Republican voters into different registration books, both in those 60 counties which will have a relisting of the voters under the optional law passed in 1939.

The separate registration which will be in effect this year for the first time, has brought new importance to challenge day, on May 18, one week before the prmiary. It was revealed yesterday that the State Board of Elections will send special notices concerning challenge day to all candidates for state and local offices, with the suggestion that if any candidate has reason to believe that any person has been improperly registered the proper time to make complaint will be on challenge day, rather than after the primary.

For the first time since the series of conferences began at Asneville on Monday there was 100 per cent attendance yesterday. In fact, the attendance was more than 100 per cent. Nash county officials, who were scheduled to go to Chapel Hill on Wednesday, elected to go to Greenville instead. Of the 1[illegible] counties represented yesterday the following 10 will have new registration: Pitt, Jones, Onslow, Craven, Pamlico, Hyde, Wilson, Edgecombe, Halifax and Nash. The following four will have relistings: Beaufort, Carteret, Greene and Lenoir.

As on previous days, Chairman Lucas explained in detail the law for new registration or relisting and the law eliminating absentee voting in primaries and greatly curtailing its use in general elections. Most of the questions yesterday were on the marker law. Chairman Lucas was accompanied yesterday by the other two Democratic members of the State Board, L. B. Prince of Hendersonville and Walter H. Wooson of Salisbury. Lieutenant Governor W. P. Horton, who has attended all of the meetings except one, and W. Erskine Smith, a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, who has attended all of them, were also at the meeting yesterday.

Lumberton N. C. Robersonian
May 8, 1940

Negroes Making Effort To Get Names On Books

Apply To Register For Elections; Officials Urge All To Register.

For the first time since Reconstruction days, negroes of Robeson county are making a haif-hearted effort to register and vote in the 1940 primraies May 25, The Robesonian learned today.

According to this newspaper's reliable sources, negro citizens of the county on occasions described as "numerous" since books were opened for a new county-wide registration, have inquired about registering and asked for the names of various precinct registrars.

Few colored names appear on the registration books which will be discarded when the new books are set up.

There appeared to be no concerted effort on the part of a colored movement to demand that negroes be registered, the source said.

Urges Registration

Meanwhile, county Board of Elections officials and Democratic and Republican party leaders again urged registrars to "bend every effort" to register every eligible person in every precinct by the time the deadline arrives next Saturday night.

For the benefit of persons not familiar with the precincts, registrars and polling places, The Robesonian is publishing below a list, giving information to aid in being registered.

Precinct, registrar and polling places following in that order: In precincts where no poling place is named, election officials usually obtain a vacant building for the balloting:

Polling Places

Alfordsville — N. J. McRimmon. Britts — George E. Thompson, Long Branch school. Back Swamp — A. C. Prevatte, (polling place burned). Burnt Swamp — Russell Locklear, Union Chapel school. Gaddy — C. R. Miller, White Pond school. Fairmont No. 1 — M. B. McDaniel. Fairmont No. 2 — Alford Mitchell. Lumberton No. 3 — J. P. Coleman, clerk of court office. Lumberton No. 4 — Alex Kinlaw, town hall. Lumberton No. 2 — Mrs. Roy McKeithan, Lumberton school house. Lumberton No. 1 — Mrs. Johnnie McNeill, county manager's office.

West Howellsville — C. C. Hatchell, B-T school. East Howelsville — N. A. Kinlaw, Smiths school. Lumberbridge — Grady Marley, Marley's store. Maxton — H. C. McNair. Orrum — Dempsey Williams. Parkton — E. K. Campbell. Pembroke — Lambert Lewis. Philadelphus — Ira G. Prevatte, school house. Raft Swamp — C. M. Williams, Old Raft Swamp school. Red Springs — D. M. McMillan. Rennert — Charlie R. Tolar, Everett building. Rowland — D. W. Faircloth. Saddletree — Arch McDuffie, McDuffie farm. St. Pauls, North — Carlton Kinlaw, McDonald Motor Co. St. Pauls, South — J. A. Coley, town hall.

Shannon — B. B. Currie. Smiths — Dan McArthur, Wakulla, Sterlings — C. E. Herring, R. R. Barnes store. Smyrna — Brack C. Freeman, school house. Thompson — Wheeler Stone. Union — J. C. Stubbs, Purvis. Whitehouse — W. M. Oliver, Marietta. Wisharts — Ben Parnell, Stansel's store.

4-10-40

Ballot

Norfolk, Va

Registrars Must Place Negro Names On Lists

GREENVILLE, N. C. — (ANP) — Election officials who have in the past refused to register Negro voters must from now on place the names of colored citizens who meet all the qualifications on registration lists, W. A. Lucas of Wilson, chairman of the state board of elections, Friday told county election officials and chairmen of Democratic county executive committees assembled for a conference on new election laws.

The question of the Negro vote, which was given by several state legislators as their reason for opposing a mandatory new state registration law, was raised at the conference.

Lucas left no doubt as to the law or the attitude of the state toward its complete enforcement.

However, the matter of Negro registration is of concern mainly in the state's smaller communities. In Raleigh and Durham they are already registered in sizeable numbers.

County Void of Negro Voters

Bee

6/16/40

KINGSTON, N. C., June 13 (ANP)—Jones county officials disclosed last week the startling information that not one Negro in the county is qualified to vote. Holding that the biennial primaries held last month were "lily white" because no Negro appeared at the polls to vote, the Jones officials said they believe this to be the only county east of the mountains with an all white registration.

Many counties in the mountains are without a colored voter, however, it is believed. In reconstruction years Jones county had a heavy Negro vote.

Greensboro, N. C. News
June 26, 1940

Negroes Aver They Were Denied Right to Register

Letter Asking Investigation By State Board of Elections Written By Members of Negro Legion Post At Carthage.

Greensboro Daily News Bureau, 302 Wachovia Bank Bldg., Fayetteville St.

RALEIGH, June 25.—Henry Vester post No. 150, American legion, of Carthage, has addressed through five of its members, a protest to the state board of elections alleging that these ex-soldiers have been denied the right to register and vote in the Moore county elections.

Candidates who ran in the recent primaries have praised the officials who conducted them. There were no absentee voters in these primaries. Almost no charges of fraud or other irregularities have come to the state board. The Carthage negroes are the first of their race to make objection. The general impression throughout the state has been that negroes were voting pretty strongly and that in very few counties has there been any disposition to interfere with their voting.

There are, of course, counties in which all sorts of illegal devices are employed to prevent even the most intelligent negroes' voting. But when these instances are brought to the courts the rulings are all against the violators. In the current instance the Vester members do not make specific allegations. They do not give any bill of particulars. There isn't much for the board of elections to do, although it might recommend prosecution of the men who are alleged to have interfered with the Carthage men in their desire to vote.

The letter to the state board reads:

Text of Letter.

"The undersigned members of the Henry Vester post of the American legion have been denied the right to register and vote in the elections of this county, state and nation, although some of us have voted before and were duly qualified voters before this county required a new registration. The registrars have turned us down for no other reason than our color and race. Every signer of this letter went to war for the United States and risked our lives for our nation, but yet when it comes to registering and voting we are denied that privilege.

"We write this letter for the purpose of requesting the chairman of the North Carolina state board of elections to investigate the election chairman and board of elections for Moore county. The undersigned members of the American legion and a great number of school teachers in Moore county, N. C., have been denied the right to vote because we are colored and because the chairman of the Moore county board of elections and one or two of his special registrars are prejudiced against the colored people.

"Please give this matter your immediate attention, for we believe if we are asked to defend our country on the battlefield and probably our sons will soon be asked to do the same thing, we are entitled to have the privilege of casting a vote in the elections of our country.

"Thanking you to look into this matter at once, we are

"Yours very truly,
H. P. McLee
Henry Vester post, American legion. By
E. C. Goins
Lewis E. Holt
H. P. McLee
Adam G. Kelly
Joe Coddell

RALEIGH CITY PLAN BEATEN BY NEGROES

Baltimore News

RALEIGH, N. C. — Raleigh's Negro voters for the second time defeated the city manager-council plan of municipal government in the balloting held here Tuesday. They also defeated the plan in ballotting held in March, 1935.

OCT 12 1940

New York Daily

The plan lost Tuesday by a margin of 589 votes out of 7,695 cast. This plurality was lost in the 10th, 15th and 16th precincts, predominantly Negro, which returned 1,217 votes against the plan to 234 in favor.

RALEIGH VOTERS DEFEAT CITY-MANAGER PLAN

OCT 12 1940

RALEIGH, N.C. — (ANP) — Raleigh's colored voters for the second time defeated the city manager plan of municipal government in balloting here Tuesday. The plan lost by 589 votes. Colored voters returned 1,217 votes against the plan.

Afro American

Baltimore

POLITICAL SUFFRAGE *1940

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
October 18, 1940

NEGRO PRECINCTS WORRY OFFICIALS

No New Registrars Named; Negro Election Officials Are Suggested

Negro registrars and poll holders drew consideration as a possible solution for Raleigh's predominantly Negro precincts yesterday as it became increasingly apparent to the County Board of Elections that three registrars under indictment cannot be replaced by Saturday, which is a registration day.

Meeting to decide what to do about Precincts 10, 15, and 16, whose registrars are under indictment, the elections board failed to act pending advice from the Attorney General and Chairman of the State Board of Elections.

The board stood ready to reconvene today if word is received from the State officials, but county members expressed doubt that new registrars could be obtained within 24 hours now separating them from another registration day.

Registrars are appointed only upon recommendation of the county Democratic executive committee, which first must get recommendations from the precinct committee. Neither of these groups has met. To aggrevate the situation, said Secretary Lynn Wilder, Jr., nobody has offered to accept the work.

Scarcity of competent white persons willing to conduct registration in the precincts where Negro voters predominate gave rise to the suggestion that Negro election officials might solve the problem and at the same time have sufficient knowledge of their neighbors to prevent the registration of ex-convicts, illiterates and persons under age.

It was the disclosure of such allegedly illegal registrations that prompted Judge R. Hunt Parker to issue bench warrants for the three registrars last week. Following their indictment, a question arose as to whether they should continue to serve. Major T. Hugh Upton of the State Selective Service headquarters insisted that they not be removed during the draft registration Wednesday, and the County board of elections waited until yesterday for furthere consideration.

Dr. L. M. Massey, chairman of the county board, said yesterday that the three precincts in questions were the only ones under consideration. After indictments of the registrars, others in the city tendered their resignations in protest, but the chairman said yesterday that had been withdrawn.

You Had Better Vote For Will Rogers

Poor white people in Oklahoma as well as black should beware of this 1940 attempt of William H. Murray to return to the Congress of the United States. The former Governor in his utterances of recent years has posed as the champion of the poor man. But William H. Murray made some tracks in the sand when representing Oklahoma in the 64th Congress, 1917. Let us examine the Murray record of 1917.

Black Dispatch 7-6-40

In the second session of the 64th Congress Mr. Murray, who now seeks the seat held by Congressman Will Rogers, introduced a cumulative suffrage bill. The proposal, if it had passed, would in effect have disfranchised all poor people and the uneducated.

Oklahoma City Okla.

Under the Murray plan all citizens would be given a constitutional one vote, but other citizens would have in some instances as many as five votes. The plan also provided for certain basic disqualifications which would have affected the poor and indigent even though in other respects they required with the law.

People who were educated could dispose of the poor fellow with one vote for no other reason than that they were educated and then have four votes to spare in effecting their type of government.

Murray in his 1917 bill eliminated from voting persons living "at public expense." In 1940 such a program would immediately disfranchise all of those victims of national depression and who are now on direct relief. Think of a plan that would destroy opportunity to work and then penalize the helpless victims of such an economy.

Here is the bill that was introduced by Murray in 1917:

64th Congress, 2nd Session

H. J. RES. 363

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
February 1, 1917

Mr. Murray introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States defining suffrage and establishing a cumulative system or an equitable electorate.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed as a substitute for the "Susan B. Anthony amendment" to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of all the States, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—.

"SECTION 1. Every citizen of the United States over twenty-one years of age shall be a legal voter in all the elections in the several States of the United States and entitled to cast one vote as such legal voter; and every such legal voter who is lawfully married and who has lived continuously with his or her spouse for at least twelve months prior to any election in any State shall in addition be entitled to one extra vote; and every such legal voter who is head of a family and having at least two minor children dependent upon him or her for support and education shall be entitled to one extra vote; and every such legal voter who has been educated or who has mastered the curriculum (which curriculum shall be uniform throughout the United States) up to and including the eighth grade fixed or for schools, academies, and colleges shall be entitled to one extra vote; and every such legal voter who hereafter shall have served in the naval or military forces of the United States in any war against a foreign enemy and shall have been honorably discharged shall be entitled to one extra vote. The several States shall have power to provide, as a condition of voting, for registration of all legal voters, classifying them with reference to the number of votes to which each may be entitled; and may prescribe as a condition of such registration residence in the State, county, and precinct in which such legal voter desires to vote: Provided, That the several States shall have the power to limit suffrage or disfranchise idiots or insane persons and all persons supported in almshouses or other asylums at public expense; persons of, and persons convicted of crime: Provided, That no citizen of the United States shall be denied the right of suffrage on account of sex, nativity, religion, race, or previous condition of servitude.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

At the time that Murray proposed this bill few Negroes had been enlisted in the armed forces of the nation and such a constitutional provision would have given national guard units, and the thousands of white soldiers preference rights in voting.

The bill would have left to the discretion of the states the right to classify certain persons as "debauched, vicious and licenteous." We wonder how many Negroes would have been so classified by the States in the deep south where Negroes are victims of vagrancy statutes.

Certainly the cumulative suffrage bill exposes Murray as an enemy of the poor and the untutored. It exposes Murray as opposed to a spread of the Democratic process. His political philosophy would not give to all citizens influence in government.

POLITICAL- 1940
SUFFRAGE

OKLAHOMA

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Certainly the cumulative suffrage bill exposes Murray as an enemy of the poor and the untutored. It exposes Murray as opposed to a spread of the Democratic process. His political philosophy would not give to all citizens influence in government.

Negro and White Phila. Leaders Ask Fight on Poll Tax

Statements Unanimous in Support of Lewis' Stand Before Youth Congress; Demand Action by Department of Justice

By Maude White
(Special to the Daily Worker)

PHILADELPHIA, March 6.—Local leaders, Negro and white, have spoken out boldly against the poll tax system in statements here. They are unanimously in support of the recent speech made by John L. Lewis at the Citizenship Institute of the American Youth Congress in Washington calling for the abolition of the poll tax system in the eight Southern states.

"When John L. Lewis cracked down on the iniquitous poll tax system in the eight Southern States, he went to the very heart of political corruption in those states," said E. Washington Rhodes, Negro owner of the Philadelphia Tribune and Republican State legislator. "The poll tax is the brain child of those who seek to control government by denying the poor and unfortunate the right to exercise the right of franchise, the only thing which can protect Americans from the oppression of the greedy rich."

Daily Worker 3-7-40

URGES ACTION

In words as caustic as John L Lewis, Mr. Rhodes concludes: "And more important is the suggestion made by Lewis that the chief law enforcement officers of the United States bestir themselves to change the damnable outrage of denying a multitude of citizens the right to vote for no other reason than that they are poor."

Mr. Herbert T. Miller, executive secretary of the Negro Y. M. C. A., called upon the leaders of the North as well as of civic, fraternal and political organizations to send letters of appreciation to Mr. Lewis and request the United States Congress to authorize the Civil Liberties Bureau of the Department of Justice to take action to uphold the 15th Amendment which guarantees the right to vote.

The statement of Miss Mamie E Davis, general secretary of the Negro Y. W. C. A., reads:

"Having spent all save the last seven years of my life in the South and seen intelligent Negroes who wanted to vote refused the privilege of even paying their poll tax because of nonsensical questions asked them, I am in favor of John L. Lewis urging for a test of this poll tax menace.

"His concern is for the poor Negroes and whites who do not have the money to pay the tax; mine includes those who can pay as well. Too much pressure cannot be brought to bear on those eight Southern States."

The names of the leaders issuing statements and the organizations they represent are as follows: E. Washington Rhodes, Negro Republican state legislator and owner of the Philadelphia Tribune; Miss Mamie Davis, General Secretary of the Negro Y. M. C. A.; Mr Herbert Miller, Executive Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; Mr. Carl Bersing, President of the Industrial Union Council; Mr. Robert Weinstein, State, County and Municipal Workers; Mr. William Leader, President of Branch 1, American Federation of Hosiery Workers, and Mr. Harry Eloch, President of District 1, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

2,500 PAY TO VOTE IN RICHMOND ELECTION

By TED POSTON
(Staff Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va., Mar. 7.—Climaxing a drive in which more than 2,400 Negro residents registered and paid the restrictive poll tax, the colored voters of this city are expected to play a decisive role on April 2 in ousting Dr. J. Fulmer Bright, Negro-baiting Mayor, from office.

Seeking to defeat Dr. Bright in the Democratic primaries (which results are tantamount to election here), the Negro voters have been working quietly but effectively for months to end the twelve-year rule of the medico-mayor, whose whole political career has been regarded in colored circles as inimical to the welfare of the race.

DRIVE DIRECTED BY DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE

The registration drive was directed by the Democratic League, under Roscoe C. Jackson, and the Richmond Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., headed by Dr. J. M. Tinsley.

Under their direction, more than 500 new voters qualified this year by paying the three-year poll tax and interest, approximately $4.80 each, in order to be eligible to participate in the April Democratic primaries.

Poll Winning Votes In All Parts Of City

Inquirer

Colored Lose 7th Ward GOP Nomination First Time In 30 Years

DEMOCRAT VICTOR

4-23-40

Dr. Lewis Polls Personal Vote Of 2748 In Congress Fight

By EUSTACE GAY

For the first time in 30 years the Republican Party failed to nominate a colored man to represent the 6th legislative district (7th Ward) in the House of Representatives at Harrisburg on Tuesday.

Former Magistrate Joseph O'Brien won by the mere margin of 115 votes over Ernest H. Copeland. O'Brien received 1468 and Copeland 1353 votes.

Two hundred and twenty (220) votes cast for Thomas J. Burke, whose friends turned in for Copeland in the western end of the ward, were largely responsible for Copeland's failure to secure the nomination.

In the 2nd Congressional district (wards 7, 8, 9, 10, 24, 27, 30, 36, 44), Dr. Charles A. Lewis, prominent physician was defeated by former City Solicitor Augustus Trask Ashton, who was backed by the Republican organization.

Dr. Lewis, despite inadequate campaign funds with which to publicize his campaign, received a personal vote of 2748. This small vote, compared to Ashton's 17,175, must not be interpreted as indicative of the interest of colored voters in the district in a colored congressman.

NINE CANDIDATES

A total of nine colored candidates—eight men and one woman—will contest for seats in the State legislature in the November elections.

Seventh Ward Democrats nominated Edward C. Young, who was unopposed, by 719 votes. Young will oppose ex-Magistrate O'Brien.

In the 30th Ward (7th legislative district), Mrs. Willa T. Moss, prominent in fraternal and church circles, was nominated by the Republicans. Leslie Pinckney Hill, 3rd, attorney, who opposed William A. Allmond, (incumbent for the Democratic nomination, was swamped, receiving only 286 votes to Allmond's 1363.

In the 13th legislative district (Wards 16 and 20) Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, Democratic incumbent, ran ahead of his mate, Reuben H. Cohen. The vote was: Thompson, 3660; Cohen, 3622. They will be opposed in November by Russell A. Allen, former secretary of the State Athletic Commission in the Earle Administration, and William J. Beadman, who received 5862 votes to Allen's 5804.

SHEPARD WINNER

Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church and attache in the City Treasurer's office, was renominated for the post he vacated for Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset. Shepard was second in a three-man slate, receiving 7341 votes. His running mates on the Democratic ticket from the district (the 18th, comprising wards 24, 34 and 44) will be John J. Finnerty (8,065 votes) and a newcomer, Samuel Rose, who beat out a former member of the legislature, Joseph Ominsky, for the nomination.

In the 21st district (26th and 47th wards) the Democrats nominated Edward Duffy and Ralph T. Jefferson, colored, by votes of 3294 and 2694, respectively. Ex-member of the legislature, John H. Brigerman, ran third with 1162 votes. The Republicans nominated Paul F. Keene, undertaker, and Manuel Triol, by votes of 5857 and 5933 respectively.

Dr. S. Culin Parks made history when for the first time the 23rd legislative district (32nd Ward) nominated a colored man for the legislature. Dr. Parks, a dentist, swamped his opponent on the G.O.P. slate by 1900 votes, receiving 3059 votes to Vincent McGrath's 1159.

The $18,000,000 water loan referendum, which will guarantee better drinking water for Philadelphia citizens, was carried by a 6-1 vote.

While Pennsylvania Democrats went down the line for President Roosevelt, District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey of New York showed surprising strength in a "write-in" vote. Governor James, boosted nationally and in the State as a "favorite son" received only 251 votes of those who indicated their personal choice, while the youthful district attorney received 718. Senators Taft and Vanderberg ran a poor third and fourth, with 64 and 41 votes respectively.

POLITICAL 1940
SUFFRAGE

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson, S. C., Independent Trib
July 12, 1940

Negroes Of Richland County Are Registering Heavier Than Whites

COLUMBIA, July 11—Richland County Negro registration for the General Election in November has exceeded white registration during June and July three to one, it was learned yesterday. Since the beginning of the year Negro registration has been much heavier than white although not quite in the 3-1 ratio.

It was pointed out that the number of white persons registered still exceeds the number of Negroes, however.

Predominance of Negro registration obtains only for the current year. Persons who have registered since 1938 are eligible to vote in the general election this year and the carry-over gives the white registration predominance.

The "only chance" left for persons to register will be a ten-day period in August and a three-day period in September. 7

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 19, 1940

An Honest Declaration

It was entirely appropriate and consistent for Mr. Bankhead of Alabama to introduce Congressman Arthur Mitchell, negro Democrat of Chicago, to the Roosevelt convention. Mitchell is a native of Alabama and doubtless a good negro.

The fact of the introduction was a bold and honest declaration that the national Democratic party is now, no less than the Republican party, a national white-negro party.

The negro vote in the Northern cities may have the balance of power.

Why should Mr. Bankhead try to fool the white Southern Democrats about the facts? He didn't.

The News and Courier wishes the exclusive white man's primary preserved in South Carolina for the election of state and county offices. The way to preserve it is by organizing a white national party to nominate electors for whom Democrats not third termers can vote.

We can have an exclusive white party to choose state and county offices for South Carolina and an independent party of Democrats for the election of president and vice president in November. That, the repeal of the pledge in Rule 32 has made practicable.

It is the way to save the exclusive white Democratic primary.

Columbia, S. C. State
August 6, 1940

Scores Register in County To Vote in General Election

Almost 100 persons registered yesterday in Richland county to vote in the general election in November. Of this number, only six were Negroes.

Yesterday was the first day the books were opened for this month. They will remain open ten days until August 15. They will also be open on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next month. They will not be open in October, however, since the law forbids books to remain open within 30 days of the general election.

The books are located on the first floor of the county court house. Both Negroes and whites may register there.

Negro registration in the county for the last two months has been heavier than white, it was pointed out. However, for the entire year of 1940 white registration is considerably ahead of the Negro registration.

In order to vote in the general election a man must show his registration certificate dated 1938 or later and, if he is between 21 and 60, must present his poll tax recepit for 1939. A woman, to vote, has only to present her registration certificate dated 1938 or later.

T. C. Thornton is chairman of the board of registration. Serving with him are Mrs. Irene Lever and Forest C. Shealy. Mrs. Leon Hook is secretary to the board.

Registration For General Election Is Increasing

The number of citizens in Richland county registering to vote in the general election is increasing steadily each day, it was learned yesterday.

The board of registration has the county books open on the first floor of the courthouse. Both Negroes and whites may register there.

A total of 140 persons registered yesterday bringing the total since the books opened Monday to 415 for this month.

The books will remain open until Thursday, August 15. They will be open again on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of September. They will not be open in October because law forbids registration 30 days before the general election.

The general election will be held on the first Tuesday in November.

Persons who have their 21st birthdays between September 1 and the date of election will be allowed to register on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next month, it was announced by the board.

When a person registers he is given a certificate. That certificate is all he needs to vote in the general election, with one exception. If he is between 21 and 60 he must present a poll tax receipt for 1939.

If a person has a registration certificate dated 1938 or later there is no need for him to register again.

If a person has lost his registration certificate the board will be glad to furnish him with another one. Numerous such requests have already been received by the board.

To vote in the general election a woman needs only her registration certificate dated 1938 or later.

Columbia, S. C. State
August 9, 1940

NEGROES RUSH TO REGISTER

7-27-40

Already Exceed White Voters in County Three to One

New York

COLUMBIA, S. C., July .... (ANP) Reports received from the Richland County board of registration last week indicated that the Negro registration for the general election in November has exceeded the white registration three to one.

It was said, however, that the total number of registered whites exceeds that of Negroes, because persons who have registered since 1938 can vote in the November election, and this "carry over" boosts the white percentage. To vote in the general election a person must have his state and county registration certificates and a poll tax receipt dated 1938, or later. T. C. Thornton is chairman of the county board of registration.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 27, 1940

The Voting in Carthage

In the village of Carthage, N. C., an A. M. E. church is to hold an election. The congregation is to vote for Roosevelt or Willkie and the cost of voting is to be from 25 cents to $1 a vote, the proceeds to be for the benefit of the church. The News and Courier's guess is that these colored people will put up more money for the privilege of voting for Mr. Roosevelt at their church meeting than the people, exclusive of office-holders and receivers of subsidies from Washington, of many a Southern county will contribute to the Roosevelt, or Eddie Flynn, campaign fund.

Meantime those Northern Democrats deeply concerned and moving for abolition of the poll taxes in Southern states so that the colored people can vote, might turn their attention to the A. M. E. church in Carthage.

Northern Democrats might introduce a bill in congress to prohibit voting at church festivals for candidates for president unless the voting be free. These colored Methodists in North Carolina are behaving like enemies of democracy.

Negroes Barred From Voting In South Carolina

GAFFNEY, S. C.—A number of colored people of this city headed by Mrs. Lottie P. Gaffney were turned down flatly when they sought to register in order to vote for rPesident of the United States next November 5.

The registration board told Mrs. Gaffney and those with her: "Darkies ain't never voted in South Carolina and especially in Cherokee county. I will not register you."

This happened on August 6 about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. A statement of what took place was made by one of the party as follows:

SEP 28 1940

"We went immediately to the county attorney. He read the law and could see no reason why we should have any trouble. He called them on the phone and told them to read their law and be governed by it. He told them what section to read. They asked him to come over to the courthouse. He went and told them to ask him any questions concerning the colored people before them. They were very discourteous, slamming windows, locks, etc. The lawyer told them that we were as eligible to vote, as much as he or they. They still refused to register us.

"On August 7 at 2:15 p. m. we went again to the place designated for registration. As we approached the door one member of the board slammed the door and locked it before we could enter.

"We proceeded to the door and knocked but no one opened the door. White men registering kept slipping in and out quickly closing the door in order to keep us out. We stayed there until 4:45 p. m. About 4:30 a white woman came up to register and knocked on the door and it was then that one member of the board came to the door to say that it was time for them to close. He also said that there would be no more registering for this period. The door remained closed from 2:15 p. m. until at least 4:45 p. m.—the time at which we left."

Mrs. Gaffney then wrote the N. A. A. C. P. in New York which in turn sent the letter to Attorney General Robert H. Jackson asking that colored people be protected in their rights during the second registration period September 2-4. On September 2 Mrs. Gaffney and her party again returned to the registration office with the following results:

"The three members of the board questioned us as to the reasons for our wanting to vote. They said that we wanted to stir up trouble for them and ourselves. One member said that some Republican put us up to want to vote. If the board would register us it would be dangerous for us; that our houses would be burned, that our heads would be scalped, etc; that if they would register us their heads would be cut off before night. If we registered it would do no good. If we are seeking social equality and a right to vote we had better go North.

SEP 28 1940

"After refusing to register us we remained seated to wait to see if they would change their minds or feel differently toward us. Instead, two members of the board went out. In about thirty minutes someone came for the third member and he too left. There were several white people also waiting to register. The janitor came in with orders to close the room. He began pulling down the windows about 3 p. m. and ordering everybody out of the registration room. He locked the doors and left after the room was empty. We continued to wait until 4:20 p. m. At this time the janitor unlocked the door for one member of the board to enter and quickly closed it. About 4:30 p. m. the other two members of the board were let in by the janitor together with several white people. We tried to go in but the janitor got in front of us and locked the door. The white people went in to register in relays. The janitor said that the board had given him orders not to allow a Negro to enter as they were not going to register us."

The Black Dispatch Oklahoma City

Columbia, S. C. State
July 11, 1940

Richland Negroes Register 3-1 Over White Citizens

Richland county Negro registration for the general election in November has exceeded white registration during June and July three to one, it was learned yesterday. Since the beginning of the year Negro registration has been much havier than white although not quite in the 3-1 ratio.

It was pointed out that the number of white persons registered still exceeds the number of Negroes, however.

Predominance of Negro registration obtains only for the current year Persons who have registered since 1938 are eligible to vote in the general election this year and the carry-over gives the white registration predominance.

The "only chance" left for persons to register will be a ten-day period in August and a three-day period in September.

The registration books, located on the first floor of the Richland county courthouse, will be open from August 5 to 15. The books will also be open the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in September.

It was pointed out that the books would not be opened at all in October because the law requires that the books be closed 30 days before any election. The first Monday in October is on the seventh whereas the November election is on the fifth.

To vote in the general election a person must have his state and county registration certificates and a poll tax receipt dated 1938 or later

T. C. Thornton is chairman of the county board of registration, assisted by Forest C. Shealy of White Rock and Mrs. Irene Lever of Upper Richland. Mrs. Leon Hook is secretary to the board.

Colored Men and Women Register to Vote!

Palmetto Leader
7-13-40
Columbia, S. C.

LAST CHANCE!

TEN (10) DAYS AUGUST 5 TO 15 and THREE (3) DAYS IN SEPTEMBER

No qualifications necessary except Age Name and Address

Anderson, S. C., Mail
July 11, 1940

Negro Registration Tops White, 3 To 1

COLUMBIA, July 11— Richland County Negro registration for the general election in November has exceeded white registration during June and July three to one, it was learned yesterday. Since the beginning of the year Negro registration has been much heavier than white although not quite in the 3-1 ratio.

It was pointed out that the number of white persons registered still exceeds the number of Negroes however.

Predominance of Negro registration obtains only for the current year. Persons who have registered since 1938 are eligible to vote in the general election this year and the carryover gives the white registration predominance.

The "only chance" left for persons to register will be a ten-day period in August and a three-day period in September. 5

Negroes Register In Columbia, S. C.

Bee
8-10-40

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Reports received from the Richland County board of registration last week indicated that the Negro registration for the general election in November has exceeded the white registration three to one.

It was said, however, that the total number of registered whites exceeds that of Negroes, because persons who have registered since 1938 can vote in the November election, and this "carry over" boosts the white percentage. To vote in the general election a person must have his state and county registration certificates and a poll tax receipt dated 1938, or later. T. C. Thornton is chairman of the county board of registration.

South Carolinians Rush to Register

Call
Kansas City, Mo.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (ANP) — Reports received from the Richland County board of registration last week indicated that the Negro registration for the general election in November has exceeded the white registration three to one.

It was said, however, that the total number of registered whites exceeds that of Negroes, because persons who have registered since 1938 can vote in the November election, and this "carry-over" boosts the white percentage.

To vote in the general election a person must have his state and county registration certificates and a poll tax receipt dated 1938, or later. T. C. Thornton is chairman of the county board of registration.

Heavy Negro Registration In South Carolina

Journal & Guide
7-27-40
Norfolk, Va.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (ANP) —Reports received from the Richland County board of registration last week indicated that the Negro registration for the general election in November has exceeded the white registration three to one.

It was said, however, that the total number of registered whites exceeds that of Negroes, because persons who have registered since 1938 can vote in the November election, and this "carry over" boosts the white percentage.

VITAL QUESTIONS TO BE DECIDED IN S. CAROLINA

The Call
Kansas City, Mo.
SEP 27 1940

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP).—Two decisions of far-reaching importance to the Negroes of South Carolina are to be passed on by the authorities here this week. The litigants in both cases are all white but the questions involved are vital to the future participation of Negroes in elections in this state.

On Tuesday of this week, Federal Judge Alva M. Lumpkin will open the hearing on the complaint filed by a number of white Republicans and Democrats. The complaint charges that the ballots are in the general elections is not secret, since two separate ballots are used and not the true Australian ballot in which all the candidates for both parties are listed on one ballot.

The two-ballot system has been in use in South Carolina for years but this is the first time that its legality has been questioned to the point that some definite action has been taken.

The second issue involves the validity of a vote on a bond issue in Greenville to be heard by the state board of canvassers on Wednesday. A prominent white attorney has questioned the validity of the bond issue on several grounds, the most important of which is the fact that it was held in a Democratic party's polling place "from which Republicans and Negroes are excluded in violation of Section 5 and 9 of Article one, Section 15 of Article 11 of the Constitution of South Carolina and the 14th amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 21, 1940

Also, Also, Also

There is great rejoicing among the Third Term newspapers of South Carolina. There is great relief. They have suddenly discovered that the Republican party is ALSO a national negro party.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 7, 1940

Would Like to Know

There is no way of finding out, but The News and Courier wishes that it knew how the majority of the colored people who cast ballots in South Carolina voted last Tuesday.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
September 23, 1940

WHITE SUPREMACY ATTACKED

From the News and Courier.

The white civilization of the South is in danger. Both "great parties," the Third Termers and the Republicans, are courting and coddling the negro voters. The Third Termers, the Kelleys, Hagues, Wagners, "Eddie" Flynns, have the negro voters in the Big Towns and hope to reelect Candidate Roosevelt with their votes.

In the Roosevelt administration champions of the negro voters are influential. Secretary Ickes, a Chicago man, in a letter to former Senator Blease, committed himself to advocacy of the admission of negroes into the Democratic party everywhere.

Candidate Roosevelt's appointee for vice president, Mr. Henry Wallace, once came into the South speaking for and defending "racial equality."

The president's wife has been conspicuous in advocacy of negro measures. She was openly working with Walter White, colored, for the passage of the so-called "anti-lynching bill."

Unless the Southern white people shall organize and assert their position, it is only a question of time when negroes will be admitted to a "Democratic party" in South Carolina controlled by office-holders. It is nonsense to suppose that they can hold out against the powers in Washington now subservient to the negro voters.

Candidate Roosevelt is in favor of the "anti-lynching bill." He has never declared for it that has been left to Mrs. Roosevelt, but never has he said that he would veto it if passed. He could have killed it with a word. With a word he could kill it now. He won't speak it. It is not an anti-lynching bill. It is a Northern negro anti-Southern bill.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
October 17, 1940

About the Negro Vote

Some time ago Joseph W. Tolbert told a representative of The Index-Journal that the Republican party "had the negro vote in the bag this year" and predicted that Pennsylvania and other Northern States with a heavy colored vote would "come back into the fold" after having "strayed off" in 1936 "bag and baggage."

Mr. Tolbert's argument was that money had enticed the negroes away from the G. O. P. and that money would induce them to come back, basing his assertion on the belief that "Willkie could spend more money and spend it faster than Roosevelt." He also charged that the Democrats had promised negroes many fat jobs in the North, but had failed to deliver the goods.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
October 17, 1940

Still for Roosevelt

But Mr. Tolbert must be wrong if the following news story from Washington to the New York Times has sized up the situation correctly:

Eighty-five per cent of the 5,100,000 Negroes north of the Mason and Dixon Line will support President Roosevelt, said William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, today, basing his assertion on a survey just completed by his organization, the National Colored Democratic Association.

In this association, he said, there are 2,000,000 voters registered, all pledged for Mr. Roosevelt. He declared the Negro vote holds the balance of power in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, West Virginia, Michigan, Oklahoma and California.

Can't Be Taken Away

"All these States, the survey shows, will be carried by Roosevelt," Mr. Thompkins said. "And with the Negro vote solid for the President it is only reasonable to conclude that our voters will put over the elections in these pivotal States. In addition to being a decided factor in the Presidential election in these States the Negroes are a dominant power in eighty-nine Congressional districts."

Asserting that since 1936 this electorate had been with the Democratic party, Mr. Thompkins added:

"No influence can get it away, our people believe implicitly in the President and his policies and he has done much for us."

Illinois has the largest number of Negro voters, 475,000; New York is second with 340,000 and Pennsylvania third with 330,000.

Walterboro, S. C. Press & Standard
November 7, 1940

One Negro Voted Democratic—

At the Walterboro polling place there were four negro voters in Tuesday's election. The report is that of these, one voted the straight Democratic ticket, A. G. Best, two voted the Jeffersonian ticket, J. J. Lewis and W. M. Hamilton and one the Republican ticket, J. E. Williams.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
August 27, 1940

The "Red Shirt" Tradition

Of the gross ignorance of some of our honest and well-meaning people a glaring exposure is that they say that the Jeffersonian Democrats would bring the negroes into South Carolina politics.

Exactly the opposite is the case. The Jeffersonian Democrats are trying to preserve the exclusive white primary for the selection of state and county officers and to form in South Carolina a party that will protect the state from the Roosevelt party which has adopted the negroes.

This national, or Third Term, Democratic party is controlled by the negroes, and that we have on the authority of Senator Byrnes, the close friend of the president." He said it on the floor of the senate in 1938; he won't deny it. That 175,000 negroes voting in New York city, others in proportionate numbers in other Northern cities, are in close elections the deciding vote is admitted, and it is admitted that the Democrats have captured them, that the Hagues, Kelleys, Flynns and other bosses in great cities buy most of them, round them up and vote them.

One of the leaders of this Roosevelt party is, or was four years ago, Julian Rainey, Boston lawyer, (probably a respectable negro), son of a negro of Georgetown who served eight years in congress from South Carolina in "Radical times," and still we hear that grandsons of "Red Shirt Democrats" have got to vote the ticket that Julian Rainey speaks for!

In 1895 "Ben" Tillman's constitutional convention adopted a property qualification for voting, which the highest court sustained, to exclude the negro vote in South Carolina, and later the Democrats repealed it except the poll tax provision. Now Northern Democrats, Roosevelt Democrats, "liberals," obedient to the Northern negro leaders, are trying to have congress force South Carolina to abandon the poll tax as a requirement for voting! Their avowed purpose is to have Southern negroes vote.

In the last two national Democratic conventions, that nominated Mr. Roosevelt for a second and third term, negroes have been prominent. Some of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet officers are champions of the negro in politics (Secretary Ickes is one of them), and Mrs. Roosevelt has been repeatedly photographed at negro gatherings—that is her privilege and we merely state the fact—but the important fact is that never was a national administration so notoriously active in courting the favor of the negroes both socially and politically as this one of Mr. Roosevelt has been and is. If any Roosevelt Democrat in South Carolina has evidence to confute this assertion of The News and Courier we wish he would present it to the people.

If the Jeffersonian Democrats wished to appeal to negroes they would fuse with Republicans. Nothing would be easier. The Republicans want them, and the Democratic or Third Term machine in the state has left nothing undone to make them feel unwelcome in the state Democracy.

The Jeffersonian Democrats will stay in the white state party, to save the exclusive white primary, avert the danger of the negro's entrance, unless the Democratic politicians shall drive them out of it, expel them—as in Georgia they are attempting to do.

Nothing could be simplier and easier than to have all the white people vote in a primary election for state and county officers and then for Jeffersonian Democrats to offer a ticket of presidential electors. There are signs that the Roosevelt politicians rather would break up the white primaries than that Jeffersonian Democrats shall express a free choice at the polls. If they shall succeed in driving the Jeffersonian Democrats out of the primaries, theirs will be the victory and theirs will be thereby the responsibility for it and its results.

But let no one tell you that men true to the memory of the "Red Shirts", the "Hampton Democrats", the "Tillman Democrats" are voting for the national party of Walter White, "Eddie" Flynn, Julian Raniey, Arthur Mitchell, "Ed" Kelley, "Bob" Vann, "Bob" Wagner, "Joe" Guffey, Harold Ickes, and the colored people of Harlem and the Second Ward of Chicago. We offer no adverse criticism of persons who vote with that party, it is their right and privilege—but let no one mislead you that the Jeffersonian Democrats of South Carolina are mixing with that mixed crowd.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
August 26, 1940

"Red Shirt" Repudiated

One hears Democrats say that they do not like the New Deal and Third Termism but that they can't forget the "Red Shirts" that their forbears wore and can't vote for Willkie.

What did the "Red Shirt" mean? It meant the desperate resolve of white men to rescue the state from negro domination, and they relied on the party of Tilden and Hendrix as the national party befriending them.

What national party is now befriending them. Not the Republican party. It is not rebuffing the negro voters.

But the national Democratic party has got the negro voters. It had taken them into camp. It has got to do their bidding or it will lose their votes.

"The negroes have come into control of the Democratic party." Our Senator Byrnes has told us that, and his telling it makes The News and Courier glad that it helped to elect him to the senate in 1930. Mr. Byrnes is a South Carolinian when it comes to the pinch.

The anti-lynching bill, introduced and pressed by Northern Democrats, is the pinch.

The national Democratic party has repudiated the "Red Shirt". Byrnes knows it. Smith knows it too.

The News and Courier is for an independent Southern party of Southerners making the best terms it can with the "old parties". It can make better terms with Candidate Willkie than with Candidate Roosevelt.

Refuse to Register Carolina Negroes

The Iowa Bystander

Gaffney, S. C.—A number of colored of this city headed by Mrs. Lottie P. Gaffney were turned down flatly when they sought to register in order to vote for President of the United States next November 5.

The registration board told Mrs. Gaffney and those with her: Negroes ain't never voted in South Carolina especially Cherokee County. I will not register you."

OCT 10 1940

Mrs. Gaffney then wrote the NAACP in New York which in turn sent the letter to Atorney General R. H. Jackson, asking that colored people be protected in their rights during the second registration period, September 2-4.

Des Moines

On September 2 Mrs. Gaffney and her party again returned to the registration office and were refused again. The group waited but was ordered out of the office by a janitor who said he had orders to close up. In the meantime the board members left, but returned later. "The white people went into register in relays. The janitor said that the board had given him orders not to allow a Negro to enter as they were not going to register us," Mrs. Gaffney related.

BOARD OVERRIDES VOTE RULING OF COUNTY ATTORNEY

Applicants Warned of Dangers; Doors Are Slammed in Faces

SEP 21 1940

GAFFNEY, S.C.— A number of colored people of this city, headed by Mrs. Lottie P. Gaffney, were turned down flatly when they sought to register in order to vote for President of the United States next November 5.

The registration board told Mrs. Gaffney and those with her: "Darkies, don't you know you don't vote in South Carolina and especially Cherokee County. I will not register you."

This happened on August 6 about three o'clock in the afternoon. A statement of what took place was made by one of the party as follows:

"We went immediately to the county attorney. He read the law and coud see no reason why we should have any trouble. He called them on the phone and told them to read the law and be governed by it. He told them what section to read. They asked him to come over to the Court House. He went and told them to ask him any questions concerning the colored people before them. They were very discourteous, slamming windows, books, etc. The lawyer told them that we were as eligible to vote, as much as he or they. They still refused to register us.

Locks Door

"On August 7 at 2:15 p.m. we went again to the place designated for registration. As we approached the door one member of the board slammed the door and locked it before we could enter.

"We proceeded to the door and knocked but no one opened the door. White men registering kept slipping in and out quickly closing the door in order to keep us out. We stayed there until 4:45 p.m.

SEP 21 1940

"About 4:30, a white woman came up to register and knocked on the door and it was then that one member of the board came to the door to say that it was time for them to close. He also said that there would be no more registering for this period. The door remained closed from 2:15 p.m. until at least 4:45 p.m.—the time at which we left."

Mrs. Gaffney then wrote the NAACP in New York which in turn sent the letter to Attorney General Robert H. Jackson asking that colored people be protected in their rights during the second registration period September 2-4. On September 2 Mrs. Gaffney and her party again returned to the registration office with the following result:

Threaten Applicants

"The three members of the board questioned us as to the reasons for our wanting to vote. They said that we waanted to stir up trouble for them and ourselves. One member said that some Republican put us up to want to vote. If the board would register us it would be dangerous for us—that our houses would be burned; that our heads would be scalped, etc. That if they would register us their heads would be cut off before night. If we registered it would do no good. If we are seeking social equality and a right to vote we had better go North.

"After refusing to register us we remained seated to wait to see if they would change their minds or feel differently towards us. Instead two members of the board went out. In about 30 minutes someone came for the third member and he too left. There were several white people also waiting to register.

"The janitor came in with orders to close the room. He began pulling down the windows about 3 p.m. and ordering everybody out of the registration room. He locked the doors and left after the room was empty. We continued to wait until 4:20 p.m.

"At this time the janitor unlocked the door for one member of the board to enter and quickly closed it. About 4:30 p.m. the other two members of the board were let in by the janitor together with several white people. We tried to go in but the janitor got in front of us and locked the door. The white people went in to register in relays. The janitor said that the board had given him orders not to allow a Negro to enter as they were not going to register us."

S.C. Citizens Barred from Registering

SEP 21 1940

GAFFNEY, S.C.—Persistent efforts of colored citizens here to qualify for voting in the November election were met by repeated refusals of registration officials to enter their names on the books, despite the intercession of the county attorney.

A group led by Mrs. Lottie P. Gaffney was insulted and twice refused, once in the presence of the county attorney—on Aug. 7, when the door of the registration office was locked in their faces, and again on September 2, when they were also locked out.

Greenwood, S. C. Index Journal
September 6, 1940

ICKES TO BLEASE

From the News and Courier

Secretary Harold Ickes is the member of President Roosevelt's cabinet who three or four years ago, in correspondence with former Governor Blease of South Carolina, made plain his opinion that Southern negroes should vote and that Southern white men should not object to negro power in Southern politics—which same Secretary Harold Ickes will not deny. Secretary Ickes thinks that negroes should not be excluded from Southern white men's primaries.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
October 7, 1940

Shooting Into Its Own Crowd

These spokesmen for the South Carolina Third Termers are allowing their guns to go off half-cocked and may spread havoc in their party. Mark this from their most devoted, dexterous champion, The Orangeburg Times and Democrat, profoundest expositor of Third Term philosophy and valuable therefore to The News and Courier:

"The Republican leader should use his appeal upon Northern and Western Republicans who play politics with the race question, writing in the party platform a plank for 'universal suffrage' for the negro without regard to actual conditions in the South, which make such a plank absurd and compels the white people of this section to stick absolutely to the Democratic party."

The implication, it is unavoidable, is that The Times and Democrat would have the laws in the South different for white people and negroes. That, were it the Southern Democratic demand, would drive every Northern negro into the Republican party. It would upset all the plans of Eddie Flynn of the Bronx, Mayor LaGuardia and his friend former Mayor "Jimmie" Walker, to whom he has lately given a $20,000 a year job, not with White House disapproval. Walker was the mayor properly booted out of office by Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York. There has been reconcilement.

The election laws of South Carolina are the same for white persons and negroes. They now extend suffrage to all literate white and colored men and women who pay their poll taxes. Illiteracy is rapidly disappearing from the colored race. A few white people also are illiterate.

The Times and Democrat is probably uninformed that it is the exclusive white primary that eliminates the negro as a political factor in the South and that Secretary Ickes and the other leaders of the Northern negro party perceive it and are endeavoring to break it up. Democrats are more active in this movement than the Republicans are, for the simple reason that they are taking orders from colored leaders in the Big Cities. (Ask Senator Byrnes.)

The News and Courier holds that if citizens form political clubs and refuse to admit negroes into them, it is their right, as the right of free masons or members of Greek letter societies is to refuse them admission. The negroes' right to form their own political clubs is not denied and should not be.

When The Times and Democrat affirms that "there is more prejudice against the South among Northern and Western Republicans, on the race question, than there is among white people of the South toward the negro" it may be correct, but it should know, if it doesn't, that against the anti-lynching bill more Northern Republican than Northern Democratic votes were cast. When Mr. Barkley ("My Dear Alben"), Candidate Roosevelt's leader in the senate, was voting for this bill and Mrs. Roosevelt was in frequent conference with Walter White, colored, and lobbying for it, the late Senator Borah, Republican, was defending the South and voting against it, as was James Wadsworth, Jr., in the house. Six or seven Republican congressmen voted against the bill.

When a Third Termer opposes "universal suffrage" for whites and blacks everywhere he turns his back on his party. The latter-day "Democratic" party is the party for democracy (small "d"), and its third term leaders incessantly preach it.

The News and Courier is not a democrat (small "d"). It believes that the suffrage laws should be tightened, so that many whites as well as the vast majority of the negroes would be barred from voting. Some day South Carolina will tighten them—to save itself from destruction and chaos. It will and should make the laws apply without discrimination as to color of skins—as they apply now.

By the way, when The New Republic, New York, violent foe of Willkie and fervent backer of Candidate Roosevelt, printed an article by a negro the other day alleging mistreatment and oppression of negroes in Orangeburg (the article will be "lapped up" by the negro voters in Harlem and other Northern districts), did The Times and Democrat come to the defence of its people? If it did, we have not seen its expressions on the subject. The News and Courier has said that the negro's sayings about Orangeburg white people were not true.

The City Slicker, The Country Fool

IN WHICH site, the city or the country, is it better to live? This question is of long standing and perhaps settled one way or other by many persons. But this week we talked with a man who is reputed to be "in the know" with affairs of both the country and city of Charleston. He chooses the county for Negro citizens and we pass on to you a few of his reasons.

Daily World DEC 14 1940

In the city, Negroes are being gradually placed in residential ghettos, they are not allowed to vote for school commissioners, city officers and other public officials. In the county, the reverse is true. The county schools for Negroes, especially in District Four, have outstripped the city schools by a wide margin within the last five years. The Negro registered voters in the county are enjoying more privileges because they are of fair-sized importance.

Atlanta, Ga.

Their opinions are solicited and respected. Seldom does one hear of racial differences in Charleston County; seldom is the race issue mentioned. It seems that the two races, living farm to farm and next door to each other, have developed a mutual respect for their problems.

These views, of course, could be magnified, but they suffice in a general way to present an estimated relativity or difference in Charleston city and Charleston county. They indicate that the country 'fool" is getting the biggest laugh in the end. The city slicker is gradually becoming the "country fool" of years gone by. At least does this seem true in Charleston county.

—From Lighthouse and Informer (Charleston, S. C.)

POLITICAL- 1940
SUFFRAGE

SOUTH CAROLINA

Gaffney, S. C. Ledger
July 11, 1940

LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION.

There is nothing that can be done about the matter, since representation of the counties in the legislature is fixed in proportion to the total population instead of the voting population; but an examination of the 1930 census statistics shows seven South Carolina Counties with only approximately one-third the number of white people in each have the same number of representatives as Cherokee—two each. Three counties with fewer white people than Cherokee have three representatives each.

Cherokee county's 1930 population was 23,729 whites and 8,472 negroes.

The seven counties with one-third of Cherokee's white population and two representatives each are: Barnwell, 7,756 whites and 13,465 negroes; Beaufort, 6,243 whites and 15,572 negroes; Berkeley, 7,182 whites and 15,054 negroes; Clarendon, 8,473 whites and 21,563 negroes; Fairfield, 7,597 whites and 15,690 negroes; Georgetown, 7,733 whites and 14,005 negroes; and Lee, 7,849 whites and 16,247 negroes. In addition to these seven, Marion with only 12,301 whites and Marlboro with 13,379 whites have two representatives each.

Williamsburg, with only 11,572 whites, Sumter with 14,927 whites and Newberry with 18,527 whites, have three members each.

This situation gives some of the counties one representative for each 3,000 to 4,000 white people, while Cherokee county has only one representative for each 12,000 white people.

But, as remarked in the beginning, The Ledger knows of nothing that could be done to remedy the situation. Representation based on voting strength probably would not be constitutional, but if it were in all likelihood it would be a practical impossibility to effect such a change.

S. CAROLINA OFFICIALS IN DENIAL

N. A. A. C. P. Asks U. S. Attorney General to Make Investigation

NEW YORK.—The N. A. A. C. P. has asked United States Attorney General Robert Jackson to investigate the refusal of Gaffney, S. C., election officials to register eligible Negro voters for the 1940 presidential election.

According to a report in the hands of the N. A. A. C. P., a copy of which was sent to Jackson, election officials in Gaffney twice refused to allow Negroes to register on August 6 and 7, despite the fact that the county attorney advised them that the Negroes were as eligible to vote as he was.

According to the report, the election officials are said to have told the prospective Negro voters that "D—ies have never registered in South Carolina, and especially in Cherokee county. Unless the law is given, we will not register you."

The report stated that on a second attempt on the part of Negro voters to register, the election officials "slammed the door" in their faces.

Negro Citizens Denied Right to Register in S. C.

SEP 7 1940

Washington D.C.

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Negroes Barred By Election Board From Registering In S. C.; Told It Might Be Dangerous For Them

SEP 21 1940

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Threatened By Officials

"The three members of the board questioned us as to the reasons for our wanting to vote. They said that we wanted to stir up trouble for them and ourselves. One member said that some —— Republican put us up to want to vote. If the board would register us it would be dangerous for us —that our houses would be burned; that our heads would be scalped, etc. That if they would register us their heads would be cut off before night. If we registered it would do no good. If we are seeking social equality and a right to vote we had better go North.

"After refusing to register us we remained seated to wait to see if they would change their minds or feel differently toward us. Instead two members of the board went out. In about 30 minutes someone came for the third member and he too left. There were several white people also waiting to register. The janitor came in with orders to close the room. He began pulling down the windows about 3 p. m. and ordering everybody out of the registration room. He locked the doors and left after the room was empty. We continued to wait until 4:20 p. m. At this time the janitor unlocked the door for one member of the board to enter and quickly closed it. About 4:30 p. m., the other two members of the board were let in by the janitor together with several white people. We tried to go in but the janitor got in front of us and locked the door. The white people went in to register in relays. The janitor said that the board had given him orders not to allow a Negro to enter as they were not going to register us."

Fear Strength Of Negro Vote In Brownsville

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn. — Back of the move on the part of white residents to frighten and intimidate Negroes from registering to vote is a fear of the strength of the Negro vote in Haywood county.

Negroes have not voted in this county since 1884. Negroes constitute three-fourths of the 2,500 population of Haywood county.

Fear of the power of the Negro vote, said by reliable sources to be at the bottom of the "off-the-record" lynching of Everett Williams whose bruised and badly battered body was yielded by the Hatchie river June 23.

Vote Test Is Made In Tennessee

Brownsville Citizens Again Try Registration

SEP 11 1940

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn.—(SNS)—Despite the death of Elbert Williams, an NAACP member, active in the Brownsville right-to-vote drive, who was lynched last June, at least twelve members of the association living in this small Tennessee town appeared at the courthouse September 4 and 5 to test their right to pay their poll tax and register for the November Presidential elections.

The group made its decision in the face of an Anti-Negro hysteria which forced the Rev. Buster Walker, president of the branch, to flee the town in company with Elisha Davis, another member, shortly after the Williams lynching, and despite the fact that between thirty and forty Negro families have moved out of the town for safety.

ROGGE SENT WIRE

Daily Worker

Calling for federal protection of these citizens in the exercise of their constitutional right to vote the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peopel sent the following telegram to Assistant United States Attorney General O. John Rogge.

"We are informed Negro citizens of Brownsville, Tennessee, are presenting themselves tomorrow September 4 and Thursday, September 5, to pay poll tax and register to vote in Presidential election in November.

"Because of lynching of Elbert Williams for inquiring of Brownsville officials regarding procedure to register, and driving out of other Negro citizens from Brownsville for doing same thing, those who plan to register anticipate possible trouble unless Department of Justice and State of Tennessee restrain those who may possibly use mob violence to prevent that exercise of federal right to register for federal election.

"We ask you to instruct Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent violation of federal constitution. Am also wiring Governor Cooper.

"Signed:

"Walter White, Secretary"

SEP 11 1940

The association also sent a telegram to Governor Prentice Cooper, at Nashville, urging him to "instruct state agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent mob violence."

Daily Worker

COMMENDS SPIRIT

Atlanta, Ga.

Commenting on the courageous action of NAACP members in Brownsville, Walter White, executive secretary of the organization, said:

"We will back up to the limit the forthright action taken by the members of our organization in Brownsville. They demonstrate to the nation the fine spirit and the high courage of Negro citizens in the South, who are determined to win the right to vote a fundamental element which constitutes the backbone of our fight for democracy."

Mr. White recently returned from Nashville, where he addressed an NAACP-sponsored mass meeting held there August 29 for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the voting campaign throughout the state.

"Negroes Must Bestir Themselves"

SEP 1 3 1940

Speaking to Nashvillians (Tenn.) interested in the N. A. A. C. P. and the Brownsville tragedy in which Negroes were mobbed for showing interest in registering and getting, Walter White, Executive Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., used the words of our topic for this editorial and added that unless we Negroes do act in behalf of the preservation of Democracy in this country this "Last Stronghold" may go down in defeat under the onslaught of Adolph Hitler or other enemies of our way of political life. Quoting Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, Mr. White reminded his audience that "Adolph Hitler's plan and hope to conquer America as he has destroyed France and Belgium and the Scandinavian countries is through capitalizing racial prejudices and antagonisms here.

Savannah Journal

THERE IS NO GROUP OF NEGROES ANYWHERE IN AMERICA WHO NEEDS THIS ADVICE OF MR. WHITE MORE THAN THE NEGROES OF SAVANNAH AND CHATHAM COUNTY. WE HERE SUFFER FROM CHRONIC LETHARGY IN MATTERS OF VOTING AND OTHER ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT. It seems that we have almost developed the spirit of despair that the great leader expressed fear about.

Savannah

Not only Negroes here and elsewhere must bestir themselves but all Americans must do so, especially Americans who are also Southerners. If we do not, we agree with Mr. White that "Dark and perilous days lie ahead of America."

Negroes In Tennessee Prepare To Test Voting Rights Despite Lynching of N.A.A.C.P. Official

SEP 1 2 1940

New York.—Despite the death of Elbert Williams, an N.A.A.C.P. member active in the Brownsville right-to-vote drive, who was lynched last June, at least twelve members of the association living in this small Tennessee town prepared to appear at the courthouse September 4 and 5 to test their right to pay their poll tax and register for the November Presidential elections.

Star of Zion

The group made its decision in the face of an anti-Negro hysteria which forced the Rev. Buster Walker, president of the branch, to flee the town in company with Elisha Davis, another member, shortly after the Williams lynching, and despite the fact that between thirty and forty Negro families have moved out of the town for safety.

TENNESSEE VOTERS VICTORS DESPITE LYNCHING THREAT

Federal Attorney Offers Defense

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga SEP 20 1940

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn. —(SNS)— Because they were determined to exercise their constitutional right to vote in the November presidential elections, despite the lynching last June of one of their number, Elbert Williams, members of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People won a complete victory when they registered at the courthouse here last week under the protection of United States Attorney William McClanahan, who acted on order from the United States Department of Justice.

Announcement of the action taken by the Department of Justice was contained in a letter sent to the NAACP headquarters in New York September 11 by Assistant Attorney General O. John Rogge, in response to an Association telegram sent out September 3, which called upon the Justice Department to protect the registrants.

The letter said in part: "Following receipt of your telegram the Department communicated with United States Attorney William McClanahan. We have subsequently been informed that all of the Negroes who attempted to register were allowed to do so in a lawful and orderly manner, and there was no violence or interference of any kind."

APPEAL FOR FUNDS

In a new appeal to the public for funds to aid the Rev. Buster Walker and Elisha Davis, two NAACP leaders of the right-to-vote drive, organized several months ago in Brownsville, both of whom were run out of town, the national office of the association made public excerpts from letters received this week from these "American Refugees".

The Rev. Mr. Walker, president of the branch, who is seeking to recover personal property which he was forced to leave behind when he fled Brownsville, writes about the mob terror that faced him when he attempted to go back home recently. His letter said in part:

Daily World

"I went to Jackson (Tennessee) and there was a crew looking for me there. I had to leave. I went to Memphis and two car loads had been there looking for me, so I had to hide until they could get me out of town." Despite this set-backs the Rev. Mr. Walker, who is now living temporarily in a northern city, says he will continue the fight.

DAVIS WRITES NAACP

Writing from a mid-western city, where he is located temporarily, after he had fled the town leaving his wife and seven children (she is expecting an eighth child) and a prosperous filling-station business, Elisha Davis said:

"I arrived here September 5, tired and wore down to the bricks. I am staying with a friend, as God would have it, but I have no money so that I could send for my family."

Despite this pressing tragedy, Davis asked for NAACP membership blanks in order to work at the job of increasing the membership of the Association, while raising funds to bring his family north.

Tennessee Terror

Bee

THE terror which Negroes are undergoing in Brownsville, Tennessee as a result of local N. A. A. C. P. officials' effort to make it possible for colored people to vote, is almost unbelievable. 8-4-40

In June the officials inquired about Negroes voting in Tennessee. One Elbert Williams was lynched. Negroes have been driven from the town. All efforts to hold a meeting of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. have been prevented. No Negro newspapers are permitted to be sold in the town. No strange Negroes are permitted to enter the village. Elisha Davis of the N. A. A. C. P. was driven from his home there and is being hunted in the town where he has taken refuge.

Chicago, Ill

This situation brings to mind the activities of Nazi Germany in its wrath directed toward the Jews. It seems as though the Department of Justice of the United States government, which has increased its force to strike down un-American activities would be more than interested. The occasion of the terror was the result of citizens trying to exercise a right specifically given them by the Constitution of our government. Any overt act designed to prevent the exercise of that right certainly is un-American.

Besides, the prospective voters were desiring to vote in a national election to elect Representatives, Senators, a Vice-President and a President of the United States. It appears to us that our national government would be remiss in its duties, not only to the victims of this mob terror, not only to the Negroes in the country, but to the continuity of democracy itself, if it does not become actively interested in the case and prosecute every person who is terrorizing the Negroes as well as the peace officers of the city and state that permit such a condition to exist.

POLL TAX DRIVE SHORT AS FINAL WEEK BEGINS

Campaign So Far Has Netted 5123 Of 12,000 Goal

Far short of their goal, members and friends of the Shelby political administration are going into the final week of their poll tax campaign in which they hoped to qualify about 12,000 additional voters for the August voting.

Through yesterday 5123 poll taxes had been paid in the current drive, which brings the approximate total number of qualified voters to 67,123. This includes the 5132 as well as the 27,000 odd accounted for before the special congressional and city elections last Winter and the estimated 35,000 persons in Shelby do not have to pay because of age.

Administration leaders had hoped to have at least 75,000 qualified before June 1—the last day poll taxes may be paid to be eligible to participate in the Aug. 1 balloting. Most of the important county and state offices will be up for election then.

Monday is expected to see an intensification of the current tax campaign and the week is expected to bring about 5000 taxes. A definite report on the number sold during next week will not be available until after the receipt books are turned in to the county register.

Southerners to Spur Struggle On Poll Tax

(Special to the Daily Worker)

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. May 27 —A flood of letters and telegrams to Congressman Francis E. Walter and other members of the sub-committee which is now ready to report on the Geyer anti poll tax bill was called for in a statement issued here by Howard Lee, executive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee has announced that it is ready to report, stated Lee. "It is urgent that letters and telegrams be sent to the committee, Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, and other committee members, requesting a speedy and favorable report in order that the Geyer bill be passed this session of Congress," Lee said.

Other members of the committee are Hatton W. Summers, John Murdoch, Ben Gibbs, John Gwynne and Albert Vreeland.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
May 21, 1940

Negro Youths Inducted Into U. S. Citizenship

A group of Negro citizens ranging from college students to laborers, who will observe their 21st birthday this year, officially assumed their full status as Americans in "Citizenship Recognition" ceremonies Sunday afternoon at Knoxville College.

They were awarded certificates of citizenship after taking a solemn pledge of loyalty to state and national Constitutions.

"This is an historical occasion," declared City Schools Supt. Harry Clark, striking the keynote that was to be followed by succeeding speakers and in telegrams and letters which were read.

SIGNIFICANT DAY

"This is the first annual observance of what is to become one of the most significant days in the year. It is more than significant this year, because America has entered a period that is fraught with danger.

"We must be loyal citizens and guard against termites and fifth columns boring from within."

County Schools Supt. L. H. Brickey declared:

"Thank God I am an American. We all should thank Him more than ever now. This is seemingly the last of the great democracies."

He asserted the greatest enemy of this Republic is "indifference of our citizens," and charged the young men and women to "assume democracy's responsibilities so you can better enjoy the privileges."

OTHER SPEAKERS

Other speakers were the Rev. D. A. Jackson, Katherine Stacy, Joe Strickland, Mayor Fred Allen, who presented certificates; H. J. Betts, supervisor of adult education, and Prof. C. W. Cansler, who reminded the audience:

"America's Negroes have laid down their lives in every war the country has fought, and they will continue to fight whenever the country needs them."

He quoted a poll of Harlem residents in Amsterdam News, Negro newspaper, that said of Negroes interviewed, every one would fight if America should be in danger from a foreign foe.

Chancellor A. E. Mitchell administered the oath; Negro Boy Scouts presented a flag ceremony and the Beardsley Night School Chorus sang several selections.

Among messages from distinguished persons read at the ceremony were the folloking:

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, wife of the President:

"I am very much interested to hear of the Citizenship Recognition Ceremonies which are to be held in Knoxville . . . for young Negro men and women who are reaching their twenty-first birthday this year.

"I have always felt that there should be some recognition of this particular year in a young person's life, so that they can be urged to realize their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy.

"To be a good citizen in a democracy means a great deal more than just voting on election day, and I hope all of these young people will take a real interest in their own community life and help where they can to make their communities better places in which to live. If every individual does this, I think we will soon find that democracy works for all the people."

CORDELL HULL, Secretary of State:

"I am glad to extend my very best wishes to those who are participating in the Citizenship Recognition ceremonies in Knoxville. Free citizenship in a free democracy is a priceless privilege. Its preservation in this country is in the keeping of all our citizens. We must all gladly accept its great responsibilties for the sake of enjoying its incalculable benefits."

K. D. McKELLAR, U. S. Senior Senator for Tennessee:

"I am informed that 500 young Negro men and women in Knoxville will reach their twenty-first birthday this year. The United States government gives to them and all the young men and women of America benefits and opportunities of citizenship unsurpassed in any other part of the world. I am sure your young people will all make excellent American citizens. I sincerely congratulate them."

PRENTICE COOPER, Governor of Tennessee:

"I am glad to extend my very best wishes to those who are participating in the Citizenship Recognition ceremonies in Knoxville.

"Free citizenship in a free democracy is a priceless privilege. Its preservation in this country is in the keeping of all of our citizens. We must all gladly accept its great responsibilities for the sake of enjoying its incalculable benefits.

"I think this is a very worthy undertaking, and our youth should be taught more about the responsibilties of citizenship in a democracy . . .

"It is my wish that the youth who are reaching their twenty-first birthday this year may be greatly benefited by the service which you have planned."

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
May 19, 1940

All Reaching Voting Age Are Invited

Mrs. Roosevelt, Hull And Others Send Messages

Messages from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, Senator McKellar and Governor Prentice Cooper will be read at Knoxville College at 4 p. m. today when approximately 400 young Negroes attaining their twenty-first birthday this year will be inducted into citizenship.

The citizenship recognition ceremonies, arranged by a group of prominent Knoxville citizens, will impress upon the young people the privileges and obligations of their new status.

The day has been designated by President Roosevelt as "I Am An American Day."

ALL NEGROES INVITED

Dean H. Liston of Knoxville College said all Negroes whose twenty-first birthday occurs this year are urged to attend.

A citizenship recognition ceremony for white people will be held in the U-T Alumni Memorial Auditorium at 7:30 p. m. Wednesday when 2000 take the oath of allegiance.

At today's exercises the Rev. L. A. Alexander will give the invocation. Music will be by the Beardsley Night School chorus. Schools Supt. Harry Clark will speak on "The Origin of Citizenship Recognition Day," and two short talks will be made by Willie Carter and Katherine Staples.

H. J. Betts, supervisor of adult education, and County Schools Supt. L. H. Brickey will speak briefly. Short talks also will be made by the Rev. D. A. Jackson and by C. W. Cansler.

MAYOR TO ATTEND

The oath of allegiance will be administered by Chancellor A. E. Mitchel. Certificates will be presented by Mayor Fred Allen, and Boy Scouts of the Henry Morgan Green District will present a flag ceremony. The Rev. A. J. Simmons will pronounce the benediction.

The Planning Committee for the ceremony consists of Superintendent Clark, Supervisor Betts, Dean Liston, Monroe Senter, T. R. Davis and Ottis Hogue.

On programs prepared for today's meeting, the following are listed as responsibilities of a good citizen:

On programs prepared for today's meeting the following are listed as responsibilities of a good citizen:

To educate oneself in respect to the laws of the city, state and nation; to know the department's of government—how maintained and how operated; to educate oneself concerning major social problems; to qualify to vote, and to vote independently; to establish a Christian home.

Five opportunities of a good citizen are listed as follows

To attend forums and other interest groups; to obtain favorable legislation for better schools and government; to promote peace and goodwill among all groups; to support a community chest, care of the poor, etc.; to affiliate with active civic groups.

"FREE AMERICA FIRST" RALLY IS SET FOR SUNDAY

Non-Political Attack On Poll Tax Evil To Be Made At War Memorial Building

A "Free America First" rally, launching a non-political movement for the abolition of the poll tax in Tennessee, will be held in War Memorial Auditorium at 3 o'clock this Sunday, May 26th. The announcement was made by the Nashville Committee for Abolishing the Poll Tax, an outgrowth of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The committee, which has given wide publicity to the fact that from 10 to 33 percent of Tennesseans of voting age actually cast a vote, is calling the meeting to crystallize sentiment for abolishing the poll tax and realizing the fullest measure of democracy in Tennessee, according to Richard Hardy, chairman of the arrangements committee.

Speakers at the rally will be Mrs. Edmonia White Grant, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Claude Callicott, attorney for the American Federation of Labor; Malcolm Dobbs of the League of Young Southerners; Frank Hargrove, secretary of the Industial Council of the C. I. O.; Rabbi Julius Mark of the Vine Street Temple; and Mrs. Wilson L. Miser, former president of the Council of Parent Teachesr Association.

REPEAL ALL POLL TAXES

The stand taken by the Hon. Georg Dempster, Democratic candidate fo Governor, in favoring abolition of th poll tax for primaries, is as good as far as it goes. It at least is better than nothing and he is to be congratulated for lining up to some extent with the progressive forces of the South who have been waging a determined battle to get the government out of the hands of machine politicians and putting it in the hands of the people.

The fervor with which Mr. Dempster advocates repeal of the poll tax for primaries indicates that he would be an easy "pushover" for those who are against any citizen having to pay a poll tax to vote in any sort of an election in Tennessee. Even though the provision for a poll tax was put in the Tennessee Constitution by the slick old boys of the reactionary era, they at least were softhearted enough to provide that the legislature might make the amount of the tax just 50 cents per citizen.

Why, we wonder, doesn't Mr. Dempster come out in favor of having the legislature reduce the tax to just 50 cents for general elections while advocating that it be done away with entirely for primaries? We are sure that he realizes that Major General Crump is going to "blitzkrieg" him just as frightfully for daring to propose doing away with the tax for primaries as he would for proposing to get rid of the thing in its entirety.

The elimination of the poll tax for general elections, we would suggest, will make it possible to build up two strong political parties in Tennessee, with each being compelled to bid for the votes of the masses of both races. In that way Tennessee would come nearer having progressive and reputable government than is possible under the present one-party system, and that party dominated by a few "big boys" able to get the funds with which to control most of the few voters that are being used to carry elections.

Pay Poll Tax Despite Tenn. Mob Threat

Determined to Show Nation Spirit and Courage of the Negro In Southland

NEW YORK—Despite the death of Elbert Williams, an N. A. A. C. P. member active in the Brownsville right-to-vote drive, who was lynched last June, at least twelve members of the association living in this small Tennessee town prepared to appear at the courthouse this month to test their right to pay their poll tax and register for the November Presidential elections.

The group made its decision in the face of an Anti-Negro hysteria which forced the Rev. Buster Walker, president of the branch, to flee the town in company with Elisha Davis, another member, shortly after the Williams lynching, and, despite the fact that beween thirty and forty Negro families have moved out of the town for safety.

Calling for federal protection of these citizens in the exercise of their constitutional right to vote, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent the following telegram to Assistant United States Attorney General O. John Rogge:

Sends Warning

"We are informed Negro citizens of Brownsville, Tennessee, are presenting themselves to pay poll tax and register to vote in Presidential election in November. Because of lynching of Elbert Williams for inquiring of Brownsville officials regarding procedure to register, and driving out of other Negro citizens from Brownsville for doing same thing, those who plan to register anticipate possible trouble unless Department Justice and State of Tennessee restrain those who may possibly use mob violence to prevent that exercise of federal right to register for federal election. We ask you instruct Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent violation of federal constitution. Am also wiring Governor Cooper."

Signed "Walter White" Secretary.

The Association also sent a telegram to Governor Prentice Cooper, at Nashville, urging him to "instruct state agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent mob violence."

Commenting on the courageous action of N. A. A. C. P. members in Brownsville, Walter White, execuive secretary of the organization, said:

"We will back up to the limit the forthright action taken by the members of our organization in Brownsville. They demonstrate to the nation the fine spirit and the high courage of Negro citizens in the South, who are determined to win the right to vote, a fundamental element which constitutes the backbone of our fight for democracy.

Mr. White recently returned from Nashville, where he addressed an N. A. A. C. P.-sponsored mass meeting held there August 29 for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the voting campaign throughout the state.

REPEAL OF POLL TAX MAY AFFECT SCHOOLS

Tennessee Would Have To Raise $500,000 Elsewhere UP TO THE LEGISLATURE

Duggan Indicates Educational Forces Are Not Mapping Organized Drive Against Removing State Ballot Levy

By PAUL MORRIS

From the Commercial Appeal Nashville Bureau

NASHVILLE, Dec. 19.—Education Commissioner B. O. Duggan said Thursday the state will have to raise approximately $500,000 additional school funds if the poll tax is repealed, but indicated school forces are not mapping an organized drive against repeal.

The commissioner said he would present the figures covering poll tax collections for the past six years to Governor Cooper for his study. From 1935 through 1940, the education commissioner said poll tax payments applied to schools averaged $507,916 annually or a total collection over that period of $3,047,496.

Retained By Counties

The poll tax funds are retained by the counties to assist in financing their education programs, Commissioner Duggan pointed out.

He declared that if the tax was repealed it would be difficult for some schools to finance their educational programs on the present standard unless means of replacing the tax from some other source could be found.

The commissioner pointed out that the school system would need additional funds during the next biennium without repeal of the poll tax due to increased enrolment throughout the state. At present the appropriations for the schools total $7,000,000 for elementary schools and $950,000 for high schools and it is probable a request for an additional $500,000 will be presented to the forthcoming Legislature.

Asked if the school forces were planning an organized drive against poll tax repeal the commissioner said he had not been advised of any such plan, but was of the opinion the matter would be left entirely up to the Legislature, although school forces would naturally expect a replacement of funds lost if the tax is repealed.

Cooper Favors Repeal

Governor Cooper Thursday morning when asked if his program on "replacement taxes" would include provision for additional funds should the poll tax be repealed said his reference was to taxes lost by the state and county through acquisition of private power systems by the TVA and municipalities.

His declaration increased speculation that the administration will not include poll tax repeal on its legislative program even though the Governor has indorsed repeal and has publicly and privately declared he will sign a repeal bill if one is passed by the Legislature.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

TENNESSEE

Nashville, Tenn Banner
October 30, 1940

VOTE PROBLEMS FOR FDR

By Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner

Washington, Oct. 30—The last days of a campaign are always a time when the political profession looks pretty scaly. It must be admitted, however, that the boys recently have touched new highs in the ipecac, or slightly sick-making, line of political endeavor.

On the one hand, because the Army decides not to mix Negro and white troops, the President finds himself in a peck of trouble with the Negro vote. Traditionally Republican, but swung into the Democratic column in 1936 by James A. Farley's clever maneuvering, the Negro voters are returning to their original allegiance. The tremendous ruckus raised in the Negro press over the segregation issue greatly accelerates the rate of return.

So the President suddenly appoints a Negro General, at the precise moment when the appointment inevitably appears as a frank political gesture rather than a reward of merit. Actually, the officer the President chose to promote is said, in the Army, to be extremely able. There is not the slightest intention to raise, in this space, any question as to the abstract wisdom of the President's act. But the timing is indubitably exceedingly unpleasant.

PRESENTING MR. PRESSMAN

Then on the other hand, the Republicans are smugly grinning with triumph over the sudden conversion of John L. Lewis, who has indorsed Wendell L. Willkie on the not uncommon principle of: "I could not love thee, dear, so much, loathed I not Franklin more." And if anything, the satisfied delight of the Republicans over their new repentant sinner is even more disagreeable than the unashamed vote-scrabbling of their rivals.

Despite the majestic manner of his utterance, Lewis cannot be supposed to have been converted to Republicanism from any very high motives. Every informed person in Washington knows that he has been carrying on a rather petty personal row with the President for several years. Most informed persons also realize that Lewis was probably heavily influenced in his decision by Lee Pressman, general counsel of the CIO. Pressman is not a person the Republicans can feel cosy with. Although he is so described by a good many persons who know his record, he stoutly denies that he is a Communist fellow traveler. But whether he meets the technical definition, he is certainly one of the most powerful and extreme left-wingers in Washington.

Both he and Lewis may also deny that he had any part in Lewis' decision to turn against the President. But if he did not, then it may be supposed that Smith, the famous brides-in-the-bath murderer, whose three wives "just happened" to drown in tin baths after yielding up their savings to their spouse, was probably an innocent man.

For Pressman has been present at enough scenes of dissension, during the New Deal years, to earn the title of the fifth horseman of the Apocalypse. He was in the AAA, when Jerome Frank followed such extreme policies that he, Pressman and four others had to be expelled. Pressman was at the WPA, working with former Administrator Harry L. Hopkins, when Hopkins became involved in a completely idiotic quarrel with Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. Pressman was close to Rex Tugwell when the Resettlement Administrator began making the foolish speeches that not altogether unfortunately earned his eventual dismissal.

When Pressman moved to the CIO, Lewis' difficulties with the President soon began to be serious. And it is particularly interesting that Lewis should have broken finally, and forever, with his former political ally when the Communist Party line has turned strongly anti-Roosevelt, and that Lewis should have made so much in his speech of the so-called "peace issue" which the Communists are also drumming on.

These circumstances alone suggest that the Republican joy over John Lewis does not indicate strong attachment to great principle. The picture created by the background of Lewis' decision grows all the more unpleasant, moreover, when the possible effects of the decision are also considered. The rank and file of organized labor is not likely to be influenced by Lewis. That was proved at the convention of the New York CIO, when all but a small minority of extreme left-wing unions defied Lewis' commands and indorsed the President. Even among Lewis' own mine workers, most of the really influential lesser leaders have already announced for Roosevelt. Thus the probable effect of Lewis' speech boils down to swinging the same extreme left-wingers who stuck with him in the New York fight.

If the New York election is close, these votes may perhaps swing it, and if the election in the country is close, carrying New York will give Willkie the victory. Considering what a tremendous rumpus Republicans made over Communist support of Roosevelt in 1936, this cannot be considered a really glorious prospect of victory. Yet as the other side is behaving, in its own way, just about as badly, there is nothing for the unfortunate average man to do but proclaim, "a plague on both your houses," and wait grimly until political passions subside and the country returns to its senses.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Free Press
November 12, 1940

Cooper Thanks Negroes Here For Support

Appreciation for the support of the Negroes of Hamilton County is expressed in a letter from Gov. Prentice Cooper which Sid Byers, Negro Democratic chairman of Hamilton County, is proudly displaying today. The letter from the governor to Byers reads:

"The splendid majority that I received in Hamilton County is deeply appreciated and I want to thank you for all you did to make it possible. I am very grateful to you and to the Hamilton County Negro Democratic organization for the fine support you gave to the Democratic ticket and to me. It is most pleasing to note that the Democratic ticket carried every colored ward in your city but one and only lost it by 26 votes.

"I hope that my administration will continue to justify the confidence shown by the voters of Tennessee."

Chattanooga, Tenn., Evening-Times. Nov. 8, 1940-

Judge Fleming Thanks The Colored Voters

Colored voters of Hamilton county were especially thanked for their cooperation in the democratic campaign here in a statement given out by City Judge Martin A. Fleming. He says, in part:

"In all sincerity, I want to thank the colored voters for their share of unselfish loyalty in staying with the principles they sincerely believe. It has proven to the entire community that they are not corruptible and have a high sense of gratitude."

Tennessee Race Voters Win Victory Despite Lynching

Register at Brownsville Courthouse in Two-Day Drive Under Protection of U.S. Department of Justice—N.A.A.C.P. Calls for Funds to Aid Davis and Rev. Walker.

Pittsburgh Courier

SEP 21 1940

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Pitt. Pa.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE GOES INTO ACTION

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The letter said in part: "Following receipt of your telegram the Department communicated with United States Attorney William McClanahan. We have subsequently been informed that all of the Negroes who attempted to register were allowed to do so in a lawful and orderly manner, and there was no violence or interference of any kind."

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"I arrived here Sept. 5, tired and wore down to the bricks. I am staying with a friend, as God would have it, but I have no money so that I could send for my family."

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Globe Independent Nashville

Liberal Groups Also Press For Passage Of Geyer Bill In U. S. Congress

DEC 13 1940

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These organizations contend that the right to vote in federal elections is guaranteed by the Constitution and that the poll tax requirement is a violation of the 14th Amendment. This Amendment states, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

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Geyer's bill is being held up in the House Judiciary Committee, dominated by poll tax Congressmen. All friends of democracy are therefore urged to wire their Congressmen demanding that they sign Geyer's petition to force his anti-poll tax bill out of Committee to the floor of Congress.

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Negro Voters In Tennessee Win Right To Vote Despite Lynching Of Brownsville NAACP Leader

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Fund To Aid Two

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Despite this pressing tragedy, Davis asked for N.A.A.C.P. membership blanks in order to work at the job of increasing the membership of the Association, while raising funds to bring his family north.

Lynching Fails to Block Tenn. Vote Campaign

SEP 21 1940

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn. — The lynching last June of Elbert Williams, one of a group of NAACP members leading a drive for registration of colored voters here, failed in its purpose of intimidation.

Remaining members of the group, with other citizens, qualified for participation in the November election, on September 4 and, under the protection of U.S. Attorney William McClanahan, acting on orders from the Department of Justice.

National Office Interceded

National headquarters of the association has requested such protection in a telegram sent from New York on September 3.

In reply following the registration, Assistant Attorney General O. John Rogge advised that "all the citizens who attempted to register were allowed to do so, in a lawful and orderly manner, and there was no violence or interference of any kind."

Meanwhile, association officials are continuing a drive for funds to aid Brownsville citizens who were driven from town in the campaign of terror instituted by whites to frustrate the registration move.

Two Still Refugees

The Rev. Buster Walker has written NAACP headquarters from a Northern city in which he has taken temporary refuge, telling of mob terror which he encountered on two attempts to return to Brownsville for personal belongings left behind when he fled.

Elisha Davis, prosperous filling station operator who was forced to abandon his business and his family of eight, is working in the interest of the association in a mid-western city while attempting to raise funds with which to bring his family north.

NEGROES GAIN VOTE VICTORY IN TENNESSEE

Citizens Allowed to Register Under Eyes Of Federal Dept.

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POLL TAX FIGHT GOES TO COURT

Southern News Almanac

Birmingham Ala.

Henry Pirtle Case Opens Before U. S. Circuit Court Of Appeals

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UNCONSTITUTIONAL

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Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
December 6, 1940

WPA OFFICE MUM ON FIRING CHARGE

Connection With Poll Tax Probe Seen in Dismissal of Colored Employe

WPA officials refused yesterday either to confirm or deny reports that Ben Dulin, a Negro WPA worker at the John A. Patten school, was dismissed at the behest of Principal Dan Massey after Dulin appeared before the grand jury as a witness against Massey in the counterfeit poll tax investigation.

Dulin testified before the grand jury Monday, and, according to persistent reports, Massey notified WPA headquarters that afternoon that his work was unsatisfactory and requested that he be removed. A WPA inspector is said to have visited the school the following day and Dulin was then reportedly taken off the job. Dulin appeared before the grand jury again Wednesday morning and shortly thereafter he was reinstated.

Massey said that as far as he knew Dulin had not missed any time this week. The school principal denied making any recommendations to the WPA that Dulin be removed, and added that Dulin was still working at the school.

Principal Indicted

Massey was named in two indictments growing out of the counterfeit poll tax investigation. One indictment charged him with issuing a counterfeit poll tax receipt to Dulin.

D. W. Moulton, district director of the WPA, was reported "out of town" on Wednesday, and again yesterday was not available for comment. Mrs. Florence C. Horton, district supervisor for the WPA, was also reported "out of town" both Wednesday and Thursday. Two other supervisors for the WPA, Mrs. Julia C. Sullivan and Mrs. Roxie Dietzen, who have direct supervision over janitorial help furnished some of the schools by the WPA, declined to answer questions regarding Dulin and referred questioners to Mrs. Horton. Mrs. Dietzen stated that she had direct charge over Dulin, but said she did not know if Dulin was back at work and asserted she had received no report and did not know if Dulin worked every day this week.

Massey was one of fifteen defendants named in twelve original indictments returned Wednesday by the grand jury in connection with the counterfeit poll tax investigation. Fourteen of the defendants made bond at the county jail Wednesday afternoon and night. Yesterday the fifteenth defendant, Ernest Henderson, of Summitt, made a bond at the county jail for his appearance in court when the cases are tried. Henderson is charged with "conspiracy to issue and issuing counterfeit poll tax receipts."

Memphis (Tenn.)
Commercial Appeal

POLL TAX EVILS, GOOD FOUND BY CONFERENCE

Question Is Discussed In Light Of South's Democracy

SEP 15 1940

REFORM NEEDS ARE SEEN

Marked Tree Attorney Cites Voting Prerequisite, Tenancy And Invasion Of Isms—Conclusions Summarized

By WARD ARCHER

The MidSouth Citizenship Conference of the National Policy Committee discovered yesterday that the poll tax question has more sides than two.

After C. T. Carpenter, attorney of Marked Tree, Ark., had opened the afternoon discussion by declaring that the preservation of the democratic heritage in the South depends upon the faith of the people in democracy and their government, he named the poll tax, tenancy and the invasion of foreign "isms" as three evils most sorely in need of reform.

SEP 15 1940

Humphrey Takes Issue

Dr. G. D. Humphrey, president of Mississippi State College, immediately took issue with the proposal of forthright repeal of the poll tax. "Democracy," said Dr. Humphrey, "rests on an enlightened electorate. Therefore, every time you extend the ballot to an ignorant person, you defeat democracy by that much."

The poll tax further provides a measure of stability to the electorate, the Mississippian continued, by insuring that the voter has a property interest in society. There needs to be some qualification for voters, he said.

Dr. T. Lynn Smith of Louisiana State University, former North Carolinian, declared that the experience of North Carolina since repeal of the poll tax in 1920 had shown that repeal is no "cure-all" for political and economic ills.

Would Alter Power

He said it undoubtedly changes the balance of voting power from one economic group to another, however. In Arkansas, Dr. Smith speculated, the Ozark counties would have more power in state affairs, the Delta lowlands less, if the poll tax were repealed.

Brooks Hays of Little Rock, regional attorney for the Farm Security Administration, said the poll tax question must be settled by local groups, not by national legislation, and he said the moral and intellectual qualification of non-voters to cast ballots must be established as well as the legal right.

Others thought the simple experience in voting which many citizens would gain by repeal of the tax would go far toward educating them as an electorate.

Tenancy Undesirable

Mr. Carpenter quoted figures to show the low percentage of persons voting in poll tax states, as well as the high proportion of tenancy. Tenancy, he found universally undesirable, but there were others who spoke for large farming units with tenant as the only way toward efficient productivity.

Dr. Charles E. Diehl, president of Southwestern, spoke briefly, asserting the three end-points of American effort today ought to be democracy, education and Christianity.

He outlined work being done by the American Association of Colleges, of which he is a director, to colleges and universities, for a war emergency.

C. G. Siefkin, assistant to Dr. Diehl, told of a course in citizenship being prepared by the American Association of Political Scientists for teaching of the democratic heritage in schools and colleges throughout the Nation.

Ahlgren Presides

Frank Ahlgren, editor of The Commercial Appeal, presided at this concluding session yesterday afternoon at the Peabody.

Edward J. Meehan, editor of the Press-Scimitar, who presided at the opening meeting Friday night, read a report on conclusions reached by the conference, as drafted by a committee. The conference was conducted as a phase of the National Policy Committee's work in attempting to articulate public opinion in various regions of the Nation. Its reports will be published in pamphlet form.

Five Points Summarized

A summary of the five points of the report follows:

1. The MidSouth has a surplus population engaged in cotton farming and untrained for other occupations.
2. The region should and will remain mainly agricultural. Therefore, the population must be trained for successful living on the farm. This means secure ownership or stable tenancy to replace one-year farming, diversification. Stability is being encouraged by Arkansas Land Policy Law, which gives worthy tenants a chance to homestead on tax-forfeited lands and by family rehabilitation work of the Farm Security Administration. Cotton must be more aggressively merchandised.
3. A growing industrial development in this region, to be accelerated by national defense plants built here, will give opportunity to the growing population and have desirable social effects.
4. Educational and welfare agencies must meet these problems. The families must together participate in agricultural education. Training for industrial jobs also must be increased. Employment in private enterprise should be recognized as the goal. The person to whom a jobless man applies should realize his stake in regional welfare by giving all employment he can.
5. Citizens must express themselves through democratic groups so that public policies will be representative of all walks of life and secure the common welfare. Such groups should be organized in every neighborhood.

SEP 15 1940

TENNESSEE NEGROES TO VOTE IN NOVEMBER

New York Sun

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn. — Due to the action taken by the Department of Justice as a result of the lynching of Elbert Williams, last June, with the protection of United States attorney William McClanahan determined members of the local chapter of the NAACP registered to vote in the coming presidential elections. last week.

SEP 23 1940

TENNESSEE NEGROES TEST VOTE RIGHTS DESPITE MOB THREAT

SEP 22 1940

NEW YORK, Sept. 19—Despite the death of Elbert Williams, an NAACP member active in the Brownsville right-to-vote drive, who was lynched last June, at least twelve members of the association living in this small Tennessee town appeared at the courthouse September 4 and 5 to test their right to pay their poll tax and register for the November Presidential elections.

Chicago Bee

The group made its decision in the face of an anti-Negro hysteria which forced the Rev. Buster Walker, president of the branch, to flee the town in company with Elisha Davis, another member, shortly after the Williams lynching, and despite the fact that between thirty and forty Negro families have moved out of the town for safety.

Chicago Ill.

Calling for federal protection of these citizens in the exercise of their constitutional right to vote, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent the following telegram to Assistant United States Attorney General O. John Rogge:

"We are informed Negro citizens of Brownsville, Tenn., are presenting themselves tomorrow, Sept. 4, and Thursday, Sept. 5, to pay poll tax and register to vote in the Presidential election in November. Because of lynching of Elbert Williams for inquiry Brownsville officials regarding procedure to register, and driving out of other Negro citizens from Brownsville for doing same thing, those who plan to register anticipate possible trouble unless Department of Justice and state of Tennessee restrain those who may possibly use mob violence to prevent that exercise of federal right to register for federal election. We ask you instruct Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent violation of federal constitution. Am also wiring Governor Cooper."

Chicago Bee

Signed "Walter White", secretary.

SEP 22 1940

The association also sent a telegram to Governor Prentice Cooper, at Nashville, urging him to "instruct state agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent mob violence."

Commenting on the courageous action of N. A. A. C. P. members in Brownsville, Walter White, executive secretary of the organization said:

Chicago

"We will back up to the limit the forthright action taken by the members of our organization in Brownsville. They demonstrate to the nation the fine spirit and the high courage of Negro citizens in the South, who are determined to win the right to vote, a fundamental element which constitutes the backbone of our fight for democracy."

Ill.

Mr. White recently returned from Nashville, where he addressed an N. A. A. C. P.-sponsored mass meeting held there August 29 for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the voting campaign throughout the state.

The Seed of Progress

The Call SEP 20 1940

Kansas City Kan

For the twelve who will try to pay poll tax and register for the November election in Tennessee where opposition to Negroes voting has already caused one death, there can be only admiration. They are the stuff out of which progress is made.

Just as there are eddies and backwater in a flowing stream, so in a government of the people there are reactionaries who want democracy for themselves, but are high-handed and dictatorial toward others. For such people the humble are made to order. They get sadistic satisfaction out of others' misery.

SEP 20 1940

Instead of being downcast, we see in the Brownsville situation the unquenchable power of love for liberty. These Brownsville Negroes, descendants of slaves, arrive at the same conclusion as immortalized Patrick Henry—they want liberty or death!

The law being what it is, Negroes will vote in Brownsville. All that the Goliath of race prejudice needs is some David to challenge him. But we cannot help wondering what the others, the men and women of both races in Tennessee who knew all along that Negroes have the right to vote, have been doing. In Memphis Boss Crump has found Negroes useful in maintaining his grip on power. Why has he not used his influence to get the ballot for them all over his state?

Turning to the other party, where has the Hon. Robert Church, of the Republican party, been while this disfranchisement was being maintained by force? Out of Tennessee he has come to take a high place each national campaign in the Negro set-up of the Republican party. How comes it that he has gone afar off to tell others how they can bring about victory without first having done at home the very thing he counsels?

Why look back and wonder why pie hunters who called themselves leaders of Negroes did not encourage voting long ago? They did not. It was too necessary for them to have southern officials sanction the make-believe party organizations which gave them their claim to recognition.

The Call

After all the average man or woman is the hope of the race. Church and the others like him are satisfied to make the most of conditions as they exist. It is the urge within the less selfish that breaks custom into bits and remakes it.

Kansas City

Happily the day of shadow boxing is over. Negroes from Tampa to Texas are demanding their right to vote. A new leadership is being born. Out of the fury of the fight men emerge, marked for resolution and energy and thought. The America which gave the Negro freedom, will in time be repaid in full by his children becoming stalwart defenders of its principles.

Kan

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 16, 1940

A NOTABLE MEETING

It must have occurred to everyone who attended the political meeting in the Memorial Auditorium Monday night that entirely apart from the purpose for which the meeting was held, it was one of the most notable gatherings ever held in this city. It was natural that upwards of 3,000 Negroes should turn out to see and hear the only Negro ever elected a member of Congress as a Democrat. It was interesting that Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, a native of Alabama who for many years has been a resident of Chicago, was making his first public address in Tennessee. And in the minds of the Negroes who heard him ask for the reelection of President Roosevelt was doubtless a recollection of the events of only a few hours previously, when a motorcade honoring Representative Mitchell traveled along Ninth Street, and the Negroes, in the words of Dr. W. A. Thompson, a prominent Negro physician, happily "strutted their stuff."

Only superficially are those aspects of the day's events important. Whether the Democratic campaign managers who arranged for Representative Mitchell's visit here understood it or not, the real meaning of the day and of the welcome Representative Mitchell received lies in the fact that the Negro has come of age. Exploited still, and even now deprived of many of the privileges of citizenship, the Negro asks first of all for a chance to prove the quality of his citizenship. If the meeting in the Memorial Auditorium Monday evening means anything, it means that when the Negro is appealed to as a human being and is treated as a person capable of discharging the responsibilities of citizenship, the response is precisely the response made by any other person who lives under law and has respect for orderly living.

More than many other cities in this country, certainly more than any other city in the South, Chattanooga has demonstrated that its people realize the importance of dealing sympathetically and intelligently with the problems of the Negro minority. Many of those problems are common problems. Sanitation, education, employment possibilities, equal treatment under the laws—those are matters which have a vital bearing on the prosperity of any community regardless of race. To solve them requires the cooperation of all groups in the community, and the degree to which many of those problems have been solved in this city is a tribute to everyone who has made them his concern.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Free Press
November 4, 1940

SHELBY'S VOTE TO BE SURPRISE

Machine Barred Willkie Rallies, Claim; Physician Bulldozed

Shelby County's vote tomorrow may bring a surprise for the Rooseveltians, even though the Crump machine is ruling with a high hand and barring Willkie meetings, according to Walter C. Robinson, Negro Republican leader just returned from a campaign tour.

"Bob" Church, former Negro leader in Memphis and ally of the Crump machine, is now in Pennsylvania, and his place has been taken by a Negro physician of Memphis. The new leader had been very active early in the campaign, but when the national picture began to warm up, he was ordered by Memphis officials, Robinson said, to discontinue Willkie meetings among the Negroes.

He refused to do so, continued to work for Willkie and in a few days found a group of policemen standing about his office and searching every patient who came out, presumably for "dope." The effect of such an espionage oppression could not but be bad on the doctor's practice, Robinson said.

Instances like these have been frequent over America in the past month. A Birmingham manufacturer wrote a letter to a newspaper critical of the New Deal and the following week, without warning, was the victim of a crusade by a group of wage and hour division employes.

"Gestapo" methods in New York were charged the other day out of incidents following the President's denunciation of Mussolini some months ago. Steve Early's kicking of a New York Negro policeman was one of the recent high-handed acts of the campaign.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
November 3, 1940

GOP's Warned By Memphis

Ray H. Jenkins, Republican state campaign manager, has been warned by the Memphis police commissioned to "keep your hands out of Memphis," it was learned here yesterday.

The warning came in a telegram from Commissioner Joe Boyle of the Shelby County city, who objected to Jenkins' inquiring into the search by Memphis police of customers entering the drug store of Dr. J. B. Martin, Memphis Negro Republican leader.

Police began searching customers of the drug store after Dr. Martin made a political speech on behalf of the Republican ticket, it was reported. Martin has been in business in Memphis for many years.

Following Commissioner Boyle's warning to "keep your hands out of Memphis," Jenkins fired a caustic reply by telegram.

"I must confess your telegram has me completely mystified," Jenkins replied. "I have not undertaken the defense of J. B. Martin professionally or otherwise.

"Furthermore, you state, 'advise you to keep your hands out of Memphis.' This is the most amazing statement coming from a public official, of which I have ever known.

"In the first place, Mr. Boyle, I have never asked you for any advice, and the advice you gave me in this telegram is entirely gratuitous. In the next place, do I not have a right to come to Memphis, at any time, or on any matter, whether personal, professional or political?

Tenn. Progressives In Move To Kill Poll Tax

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—Adopting a program calling for abolition of the poll tax and enactment of a state wage-hour law, the Tennessee League for Progressive Democracy was organized last week.

William Turnblazer, president of District 19, United Mine Workers (CIO), was elected chairman. Other officers include Edward F. Callaghan of Chattanooga, second vice president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (CIO), vice president; and Paul D. Ragon, president of the CIO Industrial Union Council, secretary.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal
April 15, 1940

POLL TAX ABOLITION REQUESTED IN SOUTH

Warning Is Sounded At Young Southerners' Meeting

WELFARE SESSIONS OPEN

Dr. Frank Graham Leads Discussion On Needs For The 'Freedom Of Human Beings At Chattanooga Conference

By PAUL MORRIS
Staff Correspondent

CHATTANOOGA, April 14. — Abolition of the poll tax as a voting requirement is the major problem facing the South, the Council of Young Southerners was told Sunday at the opening session of the Second Annual Southern Conference for Human Welfare meeting in Memorial Auditorium here.

Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, executive secretary of the Young Southerners, told the gathering of approximately 300 whites and negroes that abolition of the poll tax could be obtained through the passage of the Guyer AntiPoll Tax Bill now before Congress and urged the group to "make it known that we can no longer tolerate a condition which permits a minority to govern a majority of Southerners."

Conference Opens

The meeting of the Young Southerners preceded the formal opening of the Second Conference on Human Welfare, which got under way tonight for a three-day meeting to carry on studies and discussions instituted at the organization of the conference two years ago in Birmingham.

Leading the night discussion was Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and chairman of the organization.

Dr. Graham declared that the Southern Conference "takes its stand for equalization of educational opportunity in all the states, for the elimination of discriminatory freight rates, and for the abolition of poll taxes as prerequisites for voting," as the organization took up its first general meeting.

Discussing "religion in a democracy," the conference chairman told the group "we realize that without the basic religious conception of the spiritual dignity and democratic worth of every human being, they labor in vain who build the house."

Oklahoman Speaks

Dr. John B. Thompson of the University of Oklahoma told the conference "there are those who would like to see us quibbling over minor issues," but added "they are the ones who are the real enemies of Democracy in the South."

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, a Tennessee negro who is now president of Howard University, and whose father was a slave, told the conference that "the South tried discounting of human personalities and it cost us degradation of 4,500,000 negro people; degradation of over 3,000,000 poor white people and cost us cleavage between the South and the North because we traveled down the wrong road."

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, presided over tonight's meeting.

Mr. Dobbs, a native of Houston, Texas, declared that approximately two-thirds of the residents of the South are unable to vote.

"The poll tax system works to disfranchise the poor and to corrupt elections in eight Southern states, to impair representative government and to infringe upon the Democratic rights of a free people to express their desires through the ballot," he declared.

Needs 'Being Sacrificed'

Mr. Dobbs declared that the needs of young people in the Nation were "being sacrificed to the great and ever-growing interest in the European conflict and all things military," adding that the "high principles and human welfare measures for which the Democratic Party once declared 'it had just begun to fight' have been discarded."

Ragni Patel of the Indian National Congress, Bombay, told the council that the fight for Democracy in the South was akin to the effort his country was making to overthrow "the imperial domination of Great Britain."

Prominent Speakers

The conference Monday morning will conduct a discussion of rural life in the South. over which A. D. Stewart, Mississippi FSA director, will preside. In the afternoon Mark F. Etheridge, general manager of the Louisville Courier-Journal, will preside at a session on industrial life in the South, at which time James P. Pope, director of the TVA, will be the principal speaker.

Monday night's discussion will be devoted to children in the South with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as the principal speaker.

Tuesday, "Citizenship in the South" will be the morning subject with Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio as the speaker, and that afternoon officers of the conference will be elected.

The concluding session Tuesday night will see the presentation of the Thomas Jefferson award to the Southerner making the greatest contribution to the territory's progress since the last meeting of the conference.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
July 3, 1940

Mrs. Notgrass To Aid In Hudson Campaign

Mrs. Harry B. Notgrass, Nashville Democratic woman leader, will be in charge of the women's division for the campaign of W. D. Hudson, candidate for the nomination for Congress in the Fifth District, Campaign Manager John R. Mott said today.

Mott also said that main headquarters for Hudson had been officially opened in Suite 440, Andrew Jackson Hotel, and that a meeting of friends and supporters of Hudson would be held in the hotel headquarters Friday night at 8 o'clock.

Hudson, whose campaign is being supported by Johnny W. Little, beer-dealer-politician, has already opened headquarters for Nashville Negroes in the American Legion hall on Fourth Avenue, near Cedar Street.

12 TO TRY TO PAY POLL TAX AND REGISTER

Citizens Who Want to Vote in November Have Backing of N.A.A.C.P.

SEP 13 1940

NEW YORK, — Despite the death of Elbert Williams, an N.A.A.C.P. member active in the Brownsville right-to-vote drive, who was lynched last June, at least twelve members of the association living in this small Tennessee town prepared to appear at the courthouse to attempt to pay their poll tax and register for the November Presidential elections. The Call

The group made its decision in the face of an anti-Negro hysteria which forced the Rev. Buster Walker, president of the branch, to flee the town in company with Elisha Davis, another member, shortly after the Williams lynching, and despite the fact that between 30 and 40 Negro families have moved out of the town for safety. Kansas

Calling for federal protection of these citizens in the exercise of their constitutional right to vote, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent the following telegram to Assistant United States Attorney General O John Rogge:

"We are informed Negro citizens of Brownsville, Tenn., are presenting themselves to pay poll tax and register to vote in the Presidential election in November. Because of lynching of Elbert Williams for inquiring of Brownsville officials regarding procedure to register, and driving out of other Negro citizens from Brownsville for doing the same thing, those who plan to register anticipate possible trouble unless Department of Justice and State of Tennessee restrain those who may possibly use mob violence to prevent that exercise of federal right to register for federal election. We ask you to instruct Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent violation of the federal constitution. Am also wiring Governor Cooper."

Signed,

WALTER WHITE,
Secretary.

The association also sent a telegram to Governor Prentice Cooper, at Nashville, urging him to "instruct state agents to be present as observers and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent mob violence."

Commenting on the courageous action of N.A.A.C.P. members in Brownsville, Walter White, executive secretary of the organization, said:

SEP 13 1940

"We will back up to the limit the forthright action taken by the members of our organization in Brownsville. They demonstrate to the nation the fine spirit and the high courage of Negro citizens in the South who are determined to win the right to vote, a fundamental element which constitutes the backbone of our fight for democracy.

Mr. White recently returned from Nashville, where he addressed an N.A.A.C.P.-sponsored mass meeting held there August 29 for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the voting campaign throughout the state.

Attorney Run Out of Brownsville, Tenn., By Whites Who Fear Campaign for Ballot

Emmett Ballard Prevented From Arguing Case; Escorted to City Limits by Sheriff-Mob at Heels

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn.—What is regarded as one of the most flagrant violations of civil rights visited upon Negro citizens in this town in recent years was revealed by J. L. LeFlore, regional director of the N.A.A.C.P., in the case of J. Emmett Ballard, a Negro attorney, who was prevented from arguing a case in the local courthouse June 3, and run out of town.

According to Mr. Ballard, he had come to Brownsvilel, the county seat of Haywood county, June 3, to argue a case for his client, Soloman Bailey, who had been charged with felonious assault upon a white man.

Without any warning or previous notice to the public, a mob of whites came into the courtroom where the attorney was, threatened him, attempted to exercise bodily harm on him, being restrained only by the judge hearing the case, and finally drove him out of the courtroom and out of the city. Mr. Balalrd, said he was escorted to the city limits by the sheriff, with the mob at his heels.

It is understood that the whites objected to seeing a Negro attorney defend one of his own race, this being the first time a Negro attorney has ever appeared in the local courthouse.

It is also believed that, the fact that the Negro population, which outnumbers the whites three to one, has decided to make a strong fight for the ballot, has made the whites fearful of this new influence in politics. According to Mr. LeFlore, the N.A.A.C.P. will make a thorough investigation of the case.

CANDIDATE OPPOSES POLL TAX RELEASES

Action Brought Challenging Benton County Election

Special to The Commercial Appeal

HUNTINGDON, Tenn., Aug. 26.—Legality of a County Quarterly Court to release citizens from payment of poll taxes within 60 days of an election is being questioned in a suit instituted in the Benton County Circuit Court at Camden by Dwayne D. Maddox, Huntingdon lawyer on behalf of a Benton County citizen.

The suite, addressed to Robert A. Elkins, presiding circuit judge of Benton County, was filed for P. B. Greer against Edgar Brewer, both residents of Big Sandy.

Both the petitioner and the defendant in the suit were candidates for School Commissioner from the Eighth Civil District of Benton County in the August election. Mr. Brewer was the winner of the race by 13 votes, according to the official count, but the petitioner's suit states that a large number of votes cast were illegal.

The question of the legality of the right of the Quarterly Court to release citizens from payment of poll taxes in less than 60 days before an election heads the charges of the suit.

The suit avers that the Benton Quarterly Court at the July term this year, released 126 citizens from the payment of poll taxes, with 61 of them being residents of the Eighth District. It further avers that this action on the part of the court is in violation of the sttae law providing for the payment of poll taxes.

Hearing on the suit will come before the Benton County Circuit Court on the fourth Monday in September.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
October 17, 1940

DEMOCRACY'S ENEMIES

While millions of Americans have been and are properly concerned about the mounting threats to democracy from without, there have been recorded within the country attacks against the democratic process which are more imminently destructive. High on that list are the shocking revelations of corruption in Louisiana. Still to be disclosed is the corruption which has long characterized the political "protectorate" Mayor Frank ("I am the law") Hague maintains in Hudson County, New Jersey. The United States Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures is inquiring into the Hague machine's political methods.

Not only because the voters in Hudson County, New Jersey, vote for members of Congress who make laws for all of us, but also because the democratic way of managing public affairs is itself at stake, the situation in New Jersey is the business of every American. It has been charged that notwithstanding the fact that Jersey City lost 15,703 residents between 1930 and 1940, it gained almost that many voters between 1936 and 1940. For several weeks, the Hague machine successfully resisted efforts to require that it produce poll books for the elections in the four years ending in 1939. When the machine was finally ordered to produce the books, it was revealed that the books for 1936 and 1937—the years when padding on a wholesale scale was suspected—had been burned. No one familiar with the activities of political machines will doubt that the Senate Committee will find it easy to disprove Mayor Hague's assertion that "there are no scandals, no corruption, no vice" in Jersey City.

Unfortunately characteristic of machine methods in many Southern cities is the result of a recent municipal election in Raleigh, North Carolina. For the second time within five years, the voters rejected the City Manager-Council plan of municipal government. But a detailed report of the balloting showed that advocates of the present Commission form of government were outvoted in ten of eighteen voting precincts, and that in the three predominately Negro precincts—commonly regarded as "controlled" by the City Administration—the vote for the present system was 1,217, with only 234 favoring a change. The sole election day disturbance involved Mr. Lawrence Gatling, described in news stories in the Raleigh *News and Observer* as "the highest paid night watchman in the city's employ and a man with a long court record with charges ranging up to murder." Mr. Gatling "has been retained by a succession of City Commissioners after demonstrating his political prowess in No. 10 precinct." In the city manager election, Mr. Gatling's 'prowess" consisted of delivering to the machine in "No. 10" 445 votes against 65 for the reform program.

Commenting on those results, the *News and Observer* asserts:

> . . . the two big Negro precincts alone decided the election. Without them, it would have gone the other way. That is the same story as in the election five years ago, but this time voters in other precincts knew precisely what to expect. When a majority knowingly permits a minority to hold a balance of power, the majority willingly forfeited its right to control.

In the circumstances, that comment seems to do a disservice to the minority in the largely populated Negro precincts. The relations of the two races in Raleigh are excellent and it is hard to believe that if the Negroes voted their own preferences their views would differ materially from the majority opinion in other voting precincts. When Negro wards are "controlled," the threat to democratic government is not from the minority they form, but is from the spirit of arrogance and intimidation which originate among the powerful and are used to control the votes of the defenseless.

Whether it is in New Jersey or in Raleigh—or in Hamilton County, Tennessee where poll tax receipts were forged in the August primary and election—these evidences of abuse of the voting privilege strike at the very heart of the democratic process. They tend more and more to undermine that faith in public officials and democratic government which the people must have if they are to retain their liberties. Those abuses are the proper concern of every American regardless of Party and they ought to be guarded against vigilantly and stamped out whenever disclosed.

POLITICAL - 1940 TEXAS
SUFFRAGE

Democratic Principle at Stake

SEP 13 1940

From now on there will be a persistent attack on the Democratic party in Texas for its refusal to let Negroes vote in its primary, which has been the real election. First El Paso, then Houston and now Dallas barred Negroes. Said the Dallas primary official to the Negro citizen:

The Call

"This is a white man's private runoff election in which the contesting candidates are paying for out of their own pockets and you cannot vote."

Negroes pay taxes, they share the sacrifices of the community, they obey the laws, but according to the Democratic party in Texas, they are not to be represented. Thank Heaven! Negroes are fighting back! 1776 lives again!

Kansas City

The exclusion of Negroes from voting used to be defended on the ground that women were not allowed to vote. The 19th amendment to the Constitution destroyed that defense.

Refusal to let any citizen vote in party primaries is a public declaration that the party refuses to represent that citizen. It follows that the Democratic party as a whole has its devotion to representative government lowered by the degree to which these southern Democrats control it. That is not mere theory. Witness the way the southerners commanded help in defeating the anti-lynch bill, though Negroes in two national elections, 1932 and 1936, voted for Jack Garner, a Texas Democrat.

In the Houston case, the Democratic party defended its exclusion of Negroes on the ground that it was a voluntary association of persons like a lodge and had the right to make its own rules. If so, then how comes Texas to give official standing to lodge nominees by putting them on the official ballot at the general election? Let the Negro Masons, Pythians, Pilgrims, Baptists, and whatnot show Texas how ridiculous that interpretation of the election law is. One group is as good as another by nominating full state tickets to be placed on the official ballot.

A primary is an integral part of the general election. A United States law exists which gives supervision over it whenever national officials are among those voted for in it. Yet Texas and the other states which keep Negroes from voting in their Democratic party primaries assume that they are out from under the action of that law. They talk democratic principles which they refuse to practice.

By all means push this Texas all-white primary case, until like the Scottsboro case which established the right of jury service, the right of every citizen to vote regardless of his race or color, is won.

ALAIN LOCKE PRESENTS ART AWARDS AT TEA

Chicago Bee Chicago Ill.

The art awards were presented at the American Negro Exposition on Friday at a tea. Dr. Alain Locke, international authority on Negro art, was the speaker. His talk was on "The Negro Artist Today." Alonzo J. Aden, curator of the Tanner Hall Galleries, was the host. The affair was held in the Tanner Hall Galleries. T. K. Gibson, Jr., delivered the welcome; Claude Barnett, chairman of the exhibition art committee, was another speaker. The other members of the committee were T. K. Gibson and A. W. Williams.

The hostesses for the tea were Mesdames Elsie Duckworth, art chairman for the Chicago and Northern District Association; Julia J. Ferguson of the Art Center; Oscar Brown, Margaret Lawrence of Virginia; Carolyn Carruthers, William Y. Browne, Frances Moseley, Truman K. Gibson, Sr., and Virginia Banks. The assistants who acted as guides were Misses and Mesdames Rosalie Dorsey Etta Barnett, Sue Barnett, Sara Merchant, Margaret Goss, Ruth Jackson and the assistant curator, Frederic Aden.

The table was a work of art. There were 10 candles of varying lengths entwined with lovely flowers and ferns in the center of the table and on either end were the huge punch bowls, resting in a bed of ferns. Palms and ferns were used to decorate the gallery.

The prizes ware awarded to the various artists whose works were exhibited there this summer. In water colors, first prize to William Carter for "A Study in Gray"; second to Jacob Lawrence of New York for "Scenes in the life of Toussaint L'Ouverture"; third to Hale Woodruff of Georgia for "Fog and Rain in the Rockies." Honorable mention to Charles White, "Fellow Worker Won't You Walk With Us" and E. Simms Campbell of N. Y. for "Creole Woman Started It", a cartoon.

In black and white, first prize to Charles White, "No Crops This Year" second, Hale Woodruff, "Sunday Promenade"; third, Robert Blackburn New York, "Upper N. Y., No. 1" and honorable mention to Wilmer Jennings, Rhode Island, "Providence Houses"; and Donald Reid N. Y.. "Mr. J. Long."

In oils, first to Frederick Flemister, Ga., "Man With Brush." Mr. Flemister is a pupil of Hale Woodruff; second to Eldzier Cortor, "Sense of Loneliness"; third Marvin Smith, New York, "Greenwood Lake", and honorable mention to William Carter, "Peonies and Old Porcelain"; Edward L. Loper, Delaware, "Behind the Tracks" and Lois Mailu Jones, Washington D. C., "Still Life with Green Apples."

In sculpture first prize went to Alice Elizabeth Catlett, Washington, D. C., for "Negro Mother and Child"; second, Richmond Barthe of New York, "Shoe Shine Boy"; and third to Sergeant Johnson of California "Head of Girl"; honorable mention to Joseph Kersey for "Anna" and Leslie Bowling of Virginia for "Iceman."

The award jury was made up of Dan Catton Rich, director of Howard University, Charles C Dawson of the N. Y. A., and noted artist; Peter Pollack, Supt. of Govt. work, Illinois Art Project George Thorpe, director Illinois Art Project.

The Chicago National Committee on Art for the Exposition is made up of Dan Catton Rich, Edwin Embree, William Edouard Scott, Charles C. Dawson, Archibald J. Motley, Jr. Eric Lindgren, George Thorpe Peter Pollack, Mrs. Rudyard Bolton, Mrs. Frances Moseley, the New York group, Mary B. Brady, Richmond Barthe, Morse Cartwright, Jackson Davis, Hubert Delaney, E. Simms Campbell M. J. Leyda. Washington, D. C., Prof. James V. Herring, of the Art Dept., Howard University; Rosa Nixon Hampton, James A. Porter, in Atlanta, R. E. Clement and Hale Woodruff; in Nashville, Charles O. Johnson; in Cincinnati, Wendell Phillips Dabney.

To Take Case to Federal Court

8-30-40

HOUSTON, Texas.—For the fourth time since 1927, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will file suit in the federal court here within a few days challenging the constitutionality of Texas' white primary law which excludes Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary in this state.

"This will be our answer to the Bilbos, Cotton Ed Smiths, and Tom Connallys," said Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. "With this fight, we will renew our efforts to secure the right of Negroes to vote in the primaries in southern states and pave the way for removing from office these men who would deny us the elementary rights of citizens."

Final details in preparation of the case were completed August 24, when a Negro citizen made application for the right to vote in the Democratic run-off primary here on that date. Before that George Allen, a Negro auditor, had been denied the right to cast an absentee ballot for this primary. Allen made application in Dallas before County Clerk Ed Steger on July 7.

At that time the county clerk is said to have told Allen that the courts have upheld a resolution of the Democratic party of Texas, which excludes Negroes from participating in their primaries.

He was referring to a test case carried to the U. S. supreme court in 1935 by a group of Texas Negro citizens (a case in which the N. A.A.C.P. did not participate), which resulted in a unanimous decision saying that: "Texas Democrats have a legal right to limit their white primary vote to white citizens."

Cases carried to the high court by the N.A.A.C.P. in 1927, 1932, and 1934 were all won by the association.

The case will be conducted under the leadership of the national office of the N.A.A.C.P., Thurgood Marshall said, with W. J. Durham of Sherman, Texas; and Carter Wesley of Houston, acting as local counsel.

Financed by the Texas State conference of N.A.A.C.P. branches together with cooperating organizations and individuals in the state, the action has been in preparation for the past 12 months. A defense fund of $8,000 is being raised through the establishment of quotas from each N.A.A.C.P. branch.

The director of the defense fund drive is Dr. C. A. Whittier, of San Antonio. Others who have been active in organizing the fight include: the Rev. A. A. Lucas, Houston; Luther Wiley, San Antonio; Dr. Everett Givens, Austin; and Maceo Smith, Charlie Brackins, the Rev. Maynard Jackson, and Prof. George Porter, all of Dallas.

Alain Locke Praises Art Center Here

Defender 8-24-40

Dr. Alain Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard university, noted critic of Negro art and belles-lettres and writer, last week praised the work of the South Side Community Art Center committee toward the establishment of a South Side Art Center. Chicago

His comments are of particular interest because he is in touch with innumerable Negro artists, art movements and groups throughout the country and is in a position to evaluate the work being done here with objectivity and in relation to similar movements elsewhere.

Dr. Locke attended a recent meeting of the Art Center committee held at site of the building which is to house the center. He expressed his pleasure and surprise at the high enthusiasm for this project which prevails among the art center membership and throughout the local community.

HIGH SCHOOL GIRL HOLDS ART SHOW

Chicago Bee

No exhibit in a long time has created as much interest as the pictures by Frances L. Hunt which are on display at Hall Branch Library. Miss Hunt, who is seventeen years old, is a student at Morgan Park high school and attends the Art Institute on Saturdays.

9-1-40

Dr. Alain Locke, who visited Hall Branch recently and saw the exhibit, expressed much enthusiasm for the work of this young artist. Many of the pictures being shown have received honorable mention in the class at the Art Institute.

The work in water color, crayon and charcoal show a wealth of talent in the fresh, clean color and the vivid action. Much can be expected of this young woman as her work matures and developes.

The pictures will be on display for another week in the Library at 4801 So. Michigan avenue, and then several of them will go to the University of Illinois for an exhibit there.

Richard Wright Sponsors Youth Photo Contest

Richard Wright, prominent Negro author of "Native Son," is one of the sponsors of Youth in Focus, the national photography contest which offers camera fans under 26 years of age the opportunity to win $1550.00 in cash prizes for pictures about young people in America today. In his statement to Joseph Cadden, Executive Secretary of the American Youth Congress, accepting the invitation to sponsor YOUTH IN

FOCUS, Mr. Wright stated, "I realize the deep importance of the work you are doing through the contest and wish you all the success possible."

The sponsors of YOUTH IN FOCUS are particularly interested in having Negro young people from all parts of the country participate in this contest. What they do for a living, what schools they attend, the houses they live in, the recreation they enjoy, the discrimination they face, and the contribution which they make to our American culture, are a very important part of the photographic document YOUTH IN FOCUS will produce. Through the seven subject classes, work, play, marriage, school, home, religion, and citizenship, YOUTH IN FOCUS offers them an unusual opportunity to bring local conditions to national attention.

In addition to the 281 cash prizes YOUTH IN FOCUS will reward contestants by publishing a weekly page of pictures in Friday magazine, by publishing a book of prize-winning pictures, and by arranging a travelling exhibit which will tour the entire country.

YOUTH IN FOCUS is sponsored jointly by the American Youth Congress and FRIDAY magazine. In its initial announcement, it stated that pictures will be judged by "The skill with which you put Youth in focus. On how well you capture young people doing interesting things in an interesting way. The subject, the story, and the skill will determine the winner. Technical ability will be entirely incidental."

The board of judges includes Margaret Bourke-White, head photographer of PM, Daniel S. Gilmore, publisher of Friday magazine, Joris Ivens, president of the Association of Documentary Film Producers; Garson, Kanin, director-producer for RKO pictures; Rockwell Kent, noted artist, and Roy E. Stryker, chief of the Historical Section of the Farm Security Administration.

In addition to Mr. Wright, the sponsors are: Sheldon Dick, William O. Field, Jr., Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Dr. Frank P. Graham, Jay Leyda, Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Hon. James E. Murray, Alfred K. Stern, Dr. Mary E. Woolley.

The Negro Bar In The City Primary

NOV 9 1940

We wish it had been possible last Tuesday for the white citizens who were voting for city officials along with state and national officers, to have changed their positions as voters with Negroes when they would have been given only one ballot carrying the names of state and national candidates. They will no doubt never know how honest, hard-working, God-fearing and patriotic persons feel to be denied on account of color, the privilege of casting their vote for those they think should conduct the affairs of the city where they pay all kinds of taxes and make contributions as other citizens. Negro Labor News

Thousands of Negro citizens waded water and bogged in mud from their homes to the polls from almost dawn til dust to cast their ballot chiefly for the next president of the United States, who they were told, would save democracy in this country.

One of our daily papers carried a front page editorial on the morning of the election stressing the fact that the election of city officers was more important than the presidental election and urged the citizens to go to the polls and vote. But, the editorial appeal did not apply to Negro citizens. After reading the editorial. several Negroes, it is learned, went to the polls and asked for the city ballot. When they were refused, they wanted to know why. The answer was: "You ~~are a~~ nigger. This election is for whites only." Houston, Texas

We believe in crucial times like these, when the last vestige of democracy is hanging in the balance,, when this country is practically the only one left free of attack, we, as a nation, should set our own house in order. Houston, the largest city in the largest state in the union, should take the lead in giving to all of its citizens equal rights and privileges guaranteed under our national constitution.

The old excuse for not permitting the Negro to vote because he will sell his vote in a bloc and be a menace to good government, is no longer justified. A check will show that Negroes North and South vote just about the way all other citizens do. And in nearly every instance where they are given an opportunity, they are found to vote for honest and clean government.

We hope that before another city election rolls around that the patriotic and liberty loving white citizens of Houston will realize that Negroes are citizens and entitled to every right that any other citizen is entitled.

Stage Set for New Decision

In spite of Editor Carter Wesley's vehement opinion that the Negro is properly an issue in the 1940 national campaign, we are of the opinion that it be better for the race if he is not. Very probably our hopes and the Houston Informer editor's are the same. We differ on the methods for attaining them.

To our general statement that Negroes "vote in Texas," Editor Wesley points out that the Democratic primary is the real election in Texas and that from it they are barred. Very true, they are barred from the Democratic primary. But this paper does not believe that the supreme court decision permitting the present conditions is in keeping with the law, or with recent decisions of that court. In other words, our view is that disfranchisement in Texas is not a matter for political discussion but for the court, and that with Garner, a Texan, running for an office to which he can be elected only if he get Negro votes, the stage is set for that appeal to the courts now.

The editor of the Informer is a hard-working race man. His motives are above criticism and suspicion. But we believe we have the better plan for getting the Negro his vote in states where now he is barred by race and color. For a generation under leadership of as slick leaders as ever got a national appointment or looted a party war chest, we have stood on the corners pointing to our sores. We have gotten plenty of sympathy, but no substantial relief. Such improvement as has come to us is the result of our own efforts, applied at our own expense through our own men and our friends. It is beyond our comprehension how in the light of that experience, any practical man would continue the old system.

Maybe we do not know what we are talking about. But of this we are certain, Negroes have gone back time and again begging and gotten nothing. Let's get the American people's attention off of us. Let's have the line-up on other issues, and take advantage of the present liberal attitude shown by the supreme court in the Gaines case, to see if it will not say that Texas Democrats can be as exclusive as they please about conditions for membership, but to have a part in the state's elections, they must be like the state itself in that they raise no barrier based on race or color.

Texas Raising $8,000 For Court Fight

NEW YORK.—(SNS)—The right-to-register-and-vote program now getting underway throughout the South, under the direction of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is gaining momentum, and bids fair to become the most important drive sponsored by the organization outside the equalization of teachers' salaries, and the anti-lynching bill.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, is making a tour of the South, setting up the mechanism for carrying forward the program. Texas, with every association branch lined up behind the program, is raising $8,000 to carry the fight through the courts, should Negroes be denied the right to vote in the coming July primaries in that state.

New Orleans, Louisiana, Birmingham, and Mobile, Alabama, and Atlanta, Georgia, are other important southern centers where programs are now getting underway to push the register-and-vote campaign.

In a statement issued this week Marshall said:

"The Negro citizen in the South is tired of being denied the right to participate in the election to officials who will have the say as to how he is to be governed. And he is not scared, if indeed he ever was. That is why he has made up his mind to fight all the way for the right to vote, a right long denied him despite the fact that this right is guaranteed to all the citizens by the Constitution of the United States."

Mayor Hits At Restriction In Article

Possible To Steal Election, Says Ex-Congressman

NEW YORK CITY — Recently cleared of charges that he had paid poll taxes for prospective voters, Maury Maverick, fiery Mayor of San Antonio, Texas, writes in an article in The Nation of May 11 that he has been opposed to the poll tax "ever since as tax collector ten years ago I found out how rotten they were." Giving what he calls "an elementary lesson to uncultured Yankees," Mr. Maverick describes how the poll tax has made it possible to steal an election:

"In the South only from 10 to 20-odd per cent of the qualified voters vote, whereas in registration states, without a poll tax, from 60 to 70 odd per cent of the qualified voters vote. And so, by means of the middle-class vote, aided by contributions from Northern interests, with hill-billies and poor people generally excluded, the machine stays in power."

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Analyzing the reasons for the small registration in poll-tax states, Maverick lays bare the economic conditions underlying the disenfranchisement of millions of Southerners:

"The National Resources Committee recently made a study of consumer incomes in the United States. The study showed that one-third of the nation receives less than $780 a year and is unable to save anything. . . We also know from the Report to the President on Economic Conditions in the South that the South has more than its share of poor people.

"According to this report, even in the so-called prosperous year of 1929 Southern farm people received an average annual gross income of only $186. Earnings of sharecroppers ranged from $38 to $87 per persons . . . If you must pay a poll-tax of from $1.50 to $1.75, as we do in Texas, you have to work from fifteen to seventeen days to pay it."

The former United States Congressman vigorously urges the abolition of the poll tax as an undemocratic weapon which makes possible minority control through corrupt means. Affirming that "people must have the right to vote if they are ever to get their right to a decent living," he concludes with a word of advice to all sections of the country:

"Let everybody, North, South, East and West join in the fight to abolish the poll-tax in federal elections; let all of us Southern Americans fight to abolish it in our own states. Let us take our place in the United States as an equal among equals, with all the people partaking of democracy."

Launch New Fight on Jim Crow Primary in Texas

New York Amsterdam News
Aug 31, 1940

HOUSTON, Texas—For the fourth time since 1927, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will file suit in the federal court here within a few days challenging the constitutionality of Texas's white primary law which excludes Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary in this state.

"This will be our answer to the Bilbos, Cotton Ed Smiths, and Tom Connallys," said Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. "With this fight, we will renew our efforts to secure the right of Negroes to vote in the primaries in southern states and pave the way for removing from office these men who would deny us the elementary rights of citizens."

Final details in preparation of the case will be completed August 24, when a Negro citizen makes application for the right to vote in the Democratic run-off primary here on that date. Already George Allen, a Negro auditor, has been denied the right to cast an absentee ballot for this primary. Allen made application in Dallas before County Clerk Ed Steger July 7.

At that time, the county clerk is said to have told Allen that the courts have upheld a resolution of the Democratic party of Texas, which excludes Negroes from participating in their primaries.

N.A.A.C.P. IN MOVE TO OUST RACE BAITERS

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Rap Office-Holders Who Disfranchise Negro Residents

8-31-40

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He was referring to a test case carried to the United States Supreme court in 1935 by a group of Texas Negro citizens, **a case in which the NAACP did not participate,** which resulted in a unanimous decision saying that:

"Texas Democrats have a legal right to limit their white primary vote to white citizens." Cases carried to the high court by the NAACP in 1927, 1932, and 1934 were all won by the association.

The case will be conducted under the leadership of the national office of the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall said, with W. J. Durham of Sherman, Texas, and Carter Wesley of Houston, acting as local counsel.

Financed by the Texas state conference of NAACP branches together with cooperating organizations and individuals in the state, the action has been in preparation for the past 12 months.

A defense fund of $8,000 is being raised through the establishment of quotas from each NAACP branch. The director of the defense fund drive is Dr. C. A. Whittier, of San Antonio.

Others who have been active in organizing the right include Rev. A. A. Lucas, Houston; Luther Wiley, San Antonio; Dr. Everett Givens, Austin; and Maceo Smith, Charlie Brackins, Rev. Maynard Jackson, and Prof. George Porter, all of Dallas.

Dallas Needs A 'Political Pill': Race Voters Eager To Register

Pittsburgh Courier

Progressive Voters' League Plans Open Meeting This Thursday Evening—To Stress Payment of Poll Tax.

OCT 26 1940

DALLAS, Tex., Oct. 24—Registration of Negro voters in Dallas is the chief enterprise of community organizations through the machinery of the Progressive Voters' League during the Fall season and through the whole month of January. The thesis which has been developed in this Texas city holds that most of the so-called race problems require a political pill. Payment of the poll tax is held to be the first step toward applying this medication and every citizen of color who can qualify is being urged to pay this tax which gives the right to vote. Even the aged join in this enterprise and a large number has secured exemptions which are permanent, and will be joined by others who have reached the 61-year-old mark during this year.

In Dallas the council-city manager plan of municipal government exists and councilmen are chosen through the activities of civic groups formed for that one purpose, and not by regular party organizations. This, of course, does away with the primaries and does not present the problem of the closed Democratic primaries.

Voting is believed to be so important that the Dallas Negro political organization has an everyday program throughout the year, with the stated purpose of registering large numbers of colored voters, setting up the machinery to get them to the polls and following up the political program to secure rewards for the whole community, rather than one or two people.

Invaluable aid has been rendered this movement through such newspapers as The Pittsburgh Courier and the people of Dallas feel a definite obligation toward Negro journals which have made such an important contribution.

An open meeting of the Progressive Voters' League will be held Thursday evening, October 24, at 8 o'clock at the headquarters, 814½ Good street. In this meeting reports will be made on general community conditions and what the ballot can do about them. Any citizen interested in the welfare of his people in Dallas is invited to attend and to take part in the iscussions.

Poll Tax Fosters Corruption, Virginian Tells Committee

Post 4-11-40

By the Asso

George A. Pruner, of Lebanon, Va., Republican member of the Virginia House of Delegates, said yesterday "thousands of dollars were spent annually in Virginia by politicians and political organizations for the sole purpose of qualifying the electorate" to vote.

Testifying before a House judiciary sub-committee in support of a bill prohibiting payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections, Pruner said "the two chief obstacles to honest elections in Virginia" were the poll tax and the absentee voters' tax.

It was "generally conceded," he said, that the poll tax requirement was written into the State constitution in the 1902 constitutional convention for the purpose of disfranchising the Negro, but that it had instead become a means of political corruption.

An act of the 1930 General Assembly seeking to place restriction on the block payment of poll taxes, he said, was a "futile effort" and as finally passed would have no practical benefit.

He said he was "firm in the belief" that no matter what the legislature did to remedy corruption "there will always be loopholes and the only way to correct the situation is to abolish the poll tax entirely as a prerequisite to voting."

He argued the poll tax requirement for voting was "fundamentally wrong in principle" and that it "discouraged and prevented many capable citizens from seeking public office."

He said political parties, in "some if not all," of the eight Southern States having the poll tax prerequisite, "select their candidates on the theory that the man who can and will command the most money with which to pay the electorate's poll taxes deserves the party nomination."

In southwest Virginia, he said, "the woods are full of prospective candidates of the Abe Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson type in ability, but they haven't the money to qualify the voters."

Poll Tax Bill Is Backed

Journal & Guide 4-6-40

Norfolk, Va

NAACP Student Conference At Richmond

RICHMOND, Va. — With the adoption of resolutions urging support of the Geyer federal bill to abolish the poll tax; encouraging the organization of workers in the South into labor unions; and calling for passage of the Wagner-Capper-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill, the first annual Student Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People drew to a close here Sunday.

The initial student gathering of the NAACP was held last weekend at Virginia Union University and was attended by 118 registered delegates.

Greetings from the First Lady of the land, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, were read at the conference. Mrs. Roosevelt's telegram stated:

"My good wishes to all those attending the Student Conference. I hope much good will result."

Greetings to the conference were also received from Mrs. Mary McCleod Bethune, NYA administrator; Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP; Edward Strong, secretary of the All-Southern Negro Youth Congress; John P. Davis, president of the National Negro Congress, the University of Cincinnati, Iota Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, of Pittsburgh, and others.

The conference opened Friday evening with addresses by Walter White, executive secretary of the Association; and the Rev. James H. Robinson, acting NAACP youth secretary.

MEETING HIGHLIGHTS

Four commission groups met in morning and afternoon sessions Saturday, followed by addresses by Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Virginia State Branch of the NAACP; and James H. Farmer, vice-chairman of the Youth Committee against War.

William Anderson, star in the Greenville, S. C. case, and Judge William H. Hastie of the Howard University School of Law were the principal speakers Sunday.

The 118 registered delegates came from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and the District of Columbia

Sixty-five of the delegates represented campus organizations at Virginia Union University.

Miss Bathrus Bailey, president of the Virginia Union chapter of the NAACP opened the Friday evening session, and sounded the keynote of the conference in her remarks that: "the conference, meeting at a propitious moment, is faced with grave social, economic, education, and political problems."

HASTIE SPEAKS

The four commission groups held Saturday dealt with these problems. Judge Hastie led the discussion group on "Democracy and Education"; Jack McMichaels, president of the American Youth Congress, was leader of the commission on "Politics and Government"; the commission on "Security and Opportunity" was led by Miss Dorothy Height of the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, Washington, D. C.; and Miss Marjorie Penny of the Philadelphia Interracial Fellowship led the discusion group on "The Relationship of Minority Struggles."

The resolutions were presented to the conference following the Sunday morning session. Other resolutions dealt with opposing the increase of military expenditures at the expense of other social services; urging a veto of the Heller Bill now in the hands of the governor of Virginia; urging the instigation of a case to test white primaries in some states; and unanimously urging the passage of the American Youth Act.

OFFICERS ELECTED

Anderson Davis of Morristown, Tenn., was elected president of the conference at the closing session.

Two vice-presidents, Gloster Current and William Richardson, were elected. Current of Detroit, is a student at West Virginia State College; and Richardson of Richmond is a student at Virginia Union. Three members-at-large were elected to the committee of 10. These were: Porter Stamps of Fort Valley, Ga., James Wright of Howard; and Burl Alves of City College, N. Y. Three faculty persons were elected to the committee, and these were: Dean William H. Hastie of Howard; Prof. Reed Jackson of West Virginia State; and Dr. Frederick Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute. Thomas B. Jones of Virginia Union was elected secretary.

SCHOOLS REPRESENTED

Sixteen schools were represented at the conference.

They were: New York University, Brooklyn College, Hunter College, Union Theological Seminary, New York; State Teachers College, Cheyney; Lincoln, Rutgers, Howard, Virginia State, Virginia Union, West Virginia State, Virginia Union's Norfolk Unit, Paine College, Augusta, Ga., Fort Valley Normal and Industrial College Fort Valley, Ga., Morristown College and Tuskegee Institute.

Fraternal delegates attended the conference representing the Youth Committee Against War and the Young People's Socialist League There were also a large number of visiting students.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
December 24, 1940

Poll Taxes and Juries—II

FURTHER exploration of the ODELL WALLER case in Pittsylvania—wherein WALLER, a Negro sharecropper, was sentenced to die for the murder of OSCAR DAVIS, a white farmer—has evoked hitherto unrevealed facts. The case is being made a focal point for efforts by out-of-State organizations to attack the poll tax and sharecropping systems prevailing in Virginia and other Southern States.

In the first place, it develops that whereas there is no law making payment of poll taxes a prerequisite for service on a petit jury in Virginia, there is a law requiring that to serve on a Grand Jury, the citizen must be "entitled to vote and to hold office under the Constitution of this State." Apparently this means that the prospective grand juror must have paid his poll tax, unless the section is construed to mean "entitled to vote if he pays his poll tax," which seems a far-fetched rendering of the law.

In other words, if "entitled to vote" means what it seems to mean, the grand jurors who indicted ODELL WALLER were necessarily men who had paid their poll taxes. Incidentally, there were two Negroes among them.

What of the petit jury which sentenced WALLER to the chair? Inquiry of Pittsylvania officials yesterday brought the statement that the jury list, from which petit jurors are taken, is chosen at the first of each year by the three jury commissioners (appointed by the court), but that the list is not compiled exclusively from the list of voters, but also from persons known to the commissioners whose names do not appear thereon. This same method is used in Hustings Court, Richmond, where the Richmond City Directory also is employed regularly as a source of jurors' names, and where persons who have sought exemption from petit jury service, on the ground of nonpayment of poll taxes, have been made to serve. They have been told that there is no relationship between service on petit juries and payment of poll taxes.

The case is somewhat different with respect to Grand Jury service in this and other Virginia courts. Prospective grand jurors are made to swear, in accordance with the law, that they are "entitled to vote and to hold office under the Constitution of this State," but no question as to whether this involves poll-tax payments or not, seems to have arisen. The section remains to be construed.

If the foregoing seems to indicate a water haul, in so far as the establishment of any relationship between poll-tax payments and service on petit juries in Virginia is concerned, we learn that for an indefinite period in Henrico County, all lists of petit jurors have been taken by the jury commissioners exclusively from the county voting list. This means that in Henrico, at least, all petit jurors have been poll-tax payers, since everybody on the voting list must necessarily have paid his poll tax.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the practice prevails in other Virginia counties also. If so, as we said Saturday, it should be discontinued. And while we are pointing out newly discovered facts concerning the WALLER case, we should like to direct attention to the revelation by JONATHAN DANIELS in the December 21 issue of the *Nation*, that DAVIS, the slain man, was a tenant—not a "landlord," the term regularly employed to describe him in the highly colored literature issued by those who are seeking to set him free.

The cause of justice is not furthered by the distortion or suppression of pertinent facts. In addition to the foregoing, none of the printed literature concerning the case points out that DAVIS was shot twice in the back, or that he was unarmed at the time he was killed, according to two uncontradicted witnesses.

POLITICAL - 1940
SUFFRAGE

VIRGINIA

Glad to Oblige

Perhaps *The Tuscaloosa News* was being a bit sly the other day when it invited *The Birmingham News* to find out what kind of poll tax is collected in Virginia. The Tuscaloosa paper claimed ignorance and said it had inferior resources from which the information might be obtained. But we find it hard to believe that *The Tuscaloosa News* is so badly ignorant of any matter about which it has such pronounced convictions as it has on the poll tax, and we raise all kinds of questions about the library facilities of Tuscaloosa and the University of Alabama.

Perhaps *The Tuscaloosa News* thought *The Birmingham News* was in error when we included Virginia among the eight states that collect a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, but implied that there was no cumulative feature of the Virginia poll tax.

It all depends upon how you define cumulative. Virginia requires payment of three years' poll tax before a delinquent voter can qualify. If that is a cumulative poll tax, in the ordinary meaning of the word, then Virginia also has a cumulative poll tax.

But certainly Virginia's poll tax is not cumulative in the sense, or at least the degree, that Alabama's poll tax is cumulative. The most that any Virginia voter has to pay before he can vote is three years' tax plus a small collection fee and interest on the two delinquent payments. The maximum for an Alabama voter who has been a resident of the state since he became of age but reaches the age of 44 before qualifying to vote is $36, or the tax for 24 years.

Jan 11, 1940

If *The Tuscaloosa News* desires further information on the poll tax and voting, we suggest it read the article by George C. Stoney on "Suffrage in the South" in the January issue of *Survey Graphic*. We recommend especially the reference to Alabama as having the most burdensome and restrictive poll tax of all.

To Vote in Virginia

ROCKINGHAM, Va. — (ANP)— This year, for the first time since 1900, with an occasional exception, Negroes will vote in this county. Not one colored person has voted in the past 12 years. A total of 68 Negroes registered was recorded. 54 Democrats, 13 Republicans, and one Independent.

Vote In County First Time In 12 Years

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Political Status of Negroes In Virginia — A Review

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article on the political status of Negroes in Virginia, is the text of an address delivered by P. B. Young, editor of the Journal and Guide, before the Richmond Negro Forum Council, under the auspices of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

NOV 23 1940

We occupy a relatively low political status. In examining the factors of cause and effect in relation thereto we are led to two major conclusions. Number one: We were unfortunate in the choice of a political course in the years immediately following emancipation. Number two: We have not been politically alert or sagacious in consolidating the gains we have made in recent years.

The conclusion that we were unfortunate in the choice of a political course in that turbulent period following the Civil War is made with due reservations. The choice was perhaps the only one that could have been made. The political atmosphere at the time was not congenial to a political alliance between native white people and native colored people. There were the bitter experiences and disastrous effects of the war on one hand, and the bitter memories of slavery on the other.

Presidential reconstruction was in progress, with the state fairly free to adopt legal measures which in effect nullified the economic implications of emancipation. There was the influx of northerners who were bent upon political reprisals against the native whites. In this crisis the natives wanted the colored people to support them in return for employment, but the were not willing to go all the way in granting unrestricted suffrage and public benefits.

The freedmen were not willing to enter into such an alliance. The memory of the Black Code haunted them, and until congressional reconstruction began, the Black Code was implemented from time to time with new acts intended to deny to the freedmen the full purpose and intent of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

"CARPET-BAGGERS"

The new citizens from the north who took over political leadership of the freedmen and who have been dramatized in history as "Carpet-Baggers," took advantage of this conflict of human emotions. In the midst of this bitter conflict there were efforts upon the part of conservative white people and conservative colored people to effect reconciliation between the two native groups and to establish an evolutionary political democracy based upon an understanding between the natives, white and colored.

Richmond played an important part in this movement. On April 15, 1867, seventy-three years ago this month, a colored group of which Solon Johnson was chairman, arranged a mass meeting, at which three prominent white citizens were invited to speak. The purpose of the meeting, according to one historian, was to "instruct Negroes concerning their duties and responsibilities as citizens." In introducing the speakers Solon Johnson said that "Negroes should hear the side of the native whites before chosing a political course." One of the white speakers, Marmaduke Johnson, uttered the warning that "white employers might proscribe Negroes who voted against native whites."

Following the Richmond meeting, another was held in Petersburg attended by members of the race, and some white people from eight or ten counties, at which time the effort to bring about a poltical understanding between the two native groups was continued. But the adventure failed. The chasm was too wide to bridge. The newly acquired political power of the freedom was too precious a possession to risk, in the light of their political inexperience, in any kind of barter with native whites. The same power was too great an asset in the hands of the alien white political opponents of the native white Virginians to be surrendered, so they stirred the colored people to new heights of hostility to their former masters.

As a result the races chose separate courses. When we think of the statutes which have come to be known as the "Black Code" on the one hand and the alluring promises of power and state control on the other hand, made by northern born political leaders of the race, it is not surprising that native white and native Negroes chose to travel separate political courses.

YEARS OF TRAGEDY

The years that followed were full of tragedy. It was not long before the warning uttered by Marmaduke Johnson, at the Richmond meeting, that employers might proscribe Negroes who voted against them, was felt in full force. When the fall election was held in 1867 the colored people voted against the native whites.

The Richmond Enquirer made the following editorial comment on this action: "The course of the Negroes if this state in the late election—arrayed as they were in a solid phalanx against the interests, and the property and even the lives of the people, presents most irrefragable proof that their hostility to to us is instinctive and eradicable. Nothing, therefore, remains for us to do but to meet the issue they have thus thrust upon us and defend ourselves like men." The defense recommended was the wholesale discharge of colored workmen who had voted the opposite ticket. The Lynchburg Virginian urged the importation of white laborers from the north and

from Europe.

From that point began the truculent struggle for political advantage between the colored people and their northern allies on the one side and the native white people on the other side, culminating in the constitutional convention of 1902, which accomplished disfranchisement, pegged our political status at zero, made possible the discriminatory laws under which our separate school system now operates, and definitely checked our social and economic advancement.

The choice of a political course which Virginia Negroes made between 1865 and 1867 turned out to be one of two evils, for it was not long before their northern allies and leaders betrayed them, or were themselves outgeneraled by the native whites. The colored people had been led to believe that the constitutional convention of 1867-8, whose members they had voted to select would establish a system of single-standard free schools, open to both races. Among the members of this convention were 25 Negroes, two of whom were Richmond men — Lewis Lindsey and Joseph Cox.

SECOND DISILLUSIONMENT

One of the very first acts of the convention was to throw out the plan for a single standard system of free schools open to all children regardless of race and substitute a plan which called for the separate discriminatory double standard system which this generation inherited. ted.

Colored people had their second disillusionment in 1869, in the first election held in Virginia under congressional reconstruction. Their party nominated Dr. J. D. Harris, a Richmond Negro, for lieutenant governor, to run on the ticket with Wells, the radical party candidate for governor, and although Dr. Harris polled 99,600 votes, he was defeated because just enough of the white radicals went over to the native conservative party candidate to accomplish his defeat. The next ten years were fruitless years for Viginia Negroes. The native white conservative party was in control of all important offices and state departments; it controlled the General Assembly.

It was not until a strong segment of the ruling party tired of the state's bonded debt and split between what were known as Re-adjusters and Debt-Funders that Negroes became an important factor in Virginia politics. Up to that time there was no school of secondary or higher grade for Negroes, and the Negro insane were confined in jails permanently. It was when the division came among the ruling whites that Negroes showed sufficient political astuteness to negotiate an agreement with General William Mahone, that in return for supporting his Re-adjuster party they were to receive certain public benefits.

General Mahone's party triumphed over the Dept-payers and as a result the General Assembly appropriated $100,000 from the public treasury to establish Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, and other funds to establish the state hospital for the insane at Petersburg. It was during this period of political recovery under the Mahone regime that John Mercer Langston was nominated and elected to congress from the Petersburg district.

NOV 23 1940

POLITICAL REVOLUTION

But the Mahone regime, after a decade of power succumbed to a new coalition under the banner of "white supremacy," a political revolution which swept the south during the 1890's. The final act in this drama was the Virginia constitutional convention which wrote a new state constitution in 1902. That was the beginning of the new era in government in Virginia which gave us the jim crow car, residential segregation laws, the grandfather clause and other restrictive election laws which removed the race completely as a political factor.

Whether a different choice of a political course by Virginia Negroes than that which they followed after emancipation would have prevented the tragic events of the first sixty years of freedom is a question which will probably remain unanswered. There is food for thought in what has been transpiring in Virginia during the past decades or so under a policy of conciliation based upon a gesture of support of the dominant Virginia party in local and national elections.

That suggestion brings me to the second conclusion reached in an examination of the factors of cause and effect: That we have not been politiclaly alert and sagacious in consolidating and capitalizing the gains we have made in recent years.

Virginia's constitutional convention of 1902 provided for certain disfranchising machinery, including property and educational prerequisites, but opened wide the door to all whites through the device of the so-called "grandfather clause." This arrangement permitted a person who was not able to satisfy either the educational or property test to register and continue a voter for life if he was a voter in 1865, or the lineal descendent of such a voter. This barred all Negroes, and of course, the property and educational tests were so rigidly enforced that they could not hurdle them.

"GRANDFATHER CLAUSE" RULED OUT

Finally the "grandfather clause" was declared unconstituional by the United States Supreme Court in 1915, but not before it had adequately served its purpose. That left the poll tax, a provisional property requirement, the educational test and the primary as the statutory suffrage qualifications in Virginia.

The constitution provides that the General Assembly may prescribe property qualifications for county, city or town elections. *This is a dead letter.*

By 1920 the only effective statutory disfranchising devices had simmered down to the educational test, or understanding clause, and the party primary.

The former set forth that applicant for registration, unless disabled, must make application to register in his own handwriting, without aid, suggestion of memorandum, in the presence of the registration officer, stating his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time, and for the next preceding year, and whether he has previously voted, and if so, the state, county, and precinct in which he voted last.

The understanding clause, which was the catch in the whole thing, provided that applicant must answer any and all questions affecting his qualifications, on "oath."

The statutes provided that only those who were party members could vote in a primary, and that parties might make additional rules. (Democrats ruled that a Negro could not be a Democrat. Republicans ruled that it was lily-white" therefore a Negro could not be a Republican.)

TWO COURT ACTIONS

There have occurred two definite and conclusive court actions which have practically nullified the understanding clause and the party primary prohibition.

In 1928 the late James O. West, of Richmond, petitioned Judge Crump of the Richmond court of law and equity for a writ of mandamus requiring election judges to permit him to vote in the democratic primary. Judge Crump denied the writ, upholding the state primary law. Mr. West then carried his case to the Federal Court for the eastren district of Virginia, where in 1929, Judge D. Lawrence Groner reversed the state court and ruled unconstitutional the Virginia primary law. Neither the state nor the Democratic party appealed this ruling to the higher court.

That left the understanding clause as the sole disfranchising device. In 1931 this device received a death blow in the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. The court ruled that in the application of the "understanding clause" registrars must confine themselves to questions affecting applicant's qualifications as an elector. These questions as set forth in the statute are those which relate to the applicant's name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation, if he has previously voted, and if so, the state, county and precinct in which he voted last.

What is needed now to improve our political status is a consolidation of the definite gains made in removing legal obstacles to the exercise of the ballot. A curious aspect of our present day efforts to overcome social and economic disabilities is our failure to place the proper emphasis upon the efficacy of the ballot. Although the ballot is not a panacea for all of our ills it is a powerful aid in remedying them.

18,000 QUALIFIED VOTERS

We have lost much of the gains we have made even since the turn of the present century in building and maintaining a qualified elecorate. In 1921 John Mitchell ran for Governor on what was known as the "Lily Black" Republican Party ticket — a protest against "lily whitism"—and polled approximately 5,000 votes. At the same time Joseph R. Pollard polled 18,000 in his race on the same ticket for United States Senator. Paul Lewinson in his volume, "Race, Class and Party," stated that in 1930 approximately 18,000 Negroes were registered in Virgiia—5.2 per cent of the literate adults—yet in the elections of 1936 it is estimated by competent authorities that we cast less than 7,000 votes.

In his "Negro Americans, What Now?" the late James Weldon Johnson says, "However great or small the power of the ballot may be, we need it." It is true that wherever we vote we have better schools, better paid teachers, better sanitary facilities and more consideration generally from governmental authorities. We are wise in understanding that we are not equipped to defend, or hold any citizenship rights unless we possess also the right to exercise the franchise on a common basis with other citizens.

Virginia Teachers Give NAACP $1,000

Norfolk Va.

NOV 30 1940

RICHMOND, Va.—In appreciation of the work done by legal representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the fight to win equality of salaries paid to Negro and white teachers, members of the Virginia State Teachers Association meeting here November 21, voted to contribute $1,000 to the Association to carry on its work.

By its victory in the Norfolk teachers salary case alone, the NAACP brought an increase of $129,000 to Norfolk Negro teachers.

Equal Salary Fight Pushed By Virginians

Philadelphia Tribune

Seeks To Equalize Pay In Every County Of Virginia

Pa.

NOV 28 1940

RICHMOND, Va.—Plans for carrying forward the fight to equalize the salaries of Negro and white public school teachers in every one of the counties in Virginia will be worked out at a conference called for attorneys of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it was announced by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the association.

"Teacher representatives from each county will attend the conference," Mr. Marshall said, and plan the next steps they and the NAACP attorneys will take to enforce the United States Circuit Court of Appeals Decision in the Melvin O. Alston case.

In November, 1939, NAACP attorneys brought an action against the Norfolk, Virginia, school board in behalf of Mr. Alston, a school principal, and the Negro teachers of that city, to enforce the board to pay the principal a salary equal to that of a white teacher doing the same type of work. Last June the United States Circuit Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling, and established the principle that discrimination in the payment of teachers' salaries based solely on the ground of race or color, is unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court allowed this decision to stand, when it refused to review the case in a ruling handed down October 28.

Last week the teachers agreed to accept a plan put forward by the City attorney of Norfolk, which equalizes their salaries with those of white teachers by September, 1942, provided conditions outlined by NAACP attorneys are agreed upon. The school-board's offer includes the payment of $129,000 between now and the 1942 date.

POLITICS - 1940 DELAWARE
WOMEN IN

Women Take Major Role in Political Life

SEP 28 1940

WILMINGTON, Del. — With the 1940 Presidential election fast approaching, an acute interest, equaled only by the unsettled condition of twenty years ago, has arisen among the women voters of Wilmington.

Women began their active participation with a victorious "suffrage" movement and cast their first vote in 1920 when the Republicans elected Harding. They immediately realized their need of political organizations.

All Wards Represented

A Republican committee, including Mrs. Carrie Pipes, Mrs. Blanch Stubbs, and Mrs. Meta Boddy, sought out the chairman of the First District committee who helped them build a stronger group.

The First District committee includes representatives of all the local wards., A. Roland Milburn is chairman of the Sixth Ward, Pipes, vice-chairman.

Mrs. Pipes is committeewoman of the district, a member of the Newcastle County executive board, has been on the Delaware State Committee, for over fifteen years, and has twice been a delegate to the national convention. This year she was sent to Philadelphia as an alternate with Mrs. Julia Talmann.

Encouraged by Husband

Mrs. Pipes's husband, Dr. W. Henri Pipes, has encouraged her political activity and plays a major part in government affairs himself. By profession he is a chiropodist; has worked in the recorder of deeds' office, and has been a notary public for twelve years.

Other wards have also seen fit to elect colored representatives. In the Second, led by a white chairman, Mrs. Rachel Givens acts as vice-chairman, and Mrs. A. Miller is vice-chairman of the Eighth Ward.

In the opposing ranks, holding her own with firm determination, is Mrs. Irma Lawson, Democratic committeewoman of the Sixth Ward.

POLITICS- 1940
WOMEN IN

GENERAL

TWO WOMEN POLITICAL CHIEFS

The Guardian
SEP 28 1940

MRS. CRYSTAL BIRD FAUSET of Philadelphia, director of the Colored Women's Division of the Democratic Campaign, held a similar position in the campaign for the re-election of President Roosevelt four years ago.

She is a native of Maryland but following the death of parents she and her several sisters, all in their teen-age, found homes with Boston relatives. She received most of her early education in the Boston public schools and later was graduated from Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Before entering politics she was a prominent social worker, is president of the Philadelphia League of Colored Women and a member of the Board of Trustees of Cheyney State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania. A former member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature, Mrs. Fauset holds the unique distinction of being the first and only colored woman ever to serve in a legislative body in the United States. The director of the Colored Republican Women's Division, MRS. SARA PELHAM SPEAKS rose from school teacher to newspaper correspondent and government worker; then decided to become a lawyer after a distinguished member of the New York bar watched with admiration her handling of disputes arising from a bitter political contest in Harlem district back in 1933, then told her: "You would make a good lawyer."

In the University of Michigan she had majored in chemistry, but after graduation sensed that market for colored chemists was limited. After graduation Mrs. Speaks taught school in the South then took a government position in the Department of Commerce in Washington, and later was married to Dr. Forest Douglas Speaks of New York.

In New York in 1933 she found herself engaged in a primary fight in which the leadership of her district was won by the Square Deal Republican Club. Then she entered the first campaign of Mayor La Guardia that year.

She is a graduate of New York University Law School, passed the New York bar in 1936 and has defended successfully first degree murder cases as well as lesser ones. She is the second woman lawyer in Manhattan to defend a first degree murder case.

In 1932 she was assistant to the Eastern Regional Director of the Colored division and worked in a similar capacity in 1936. In 1937 she became candidate for the New York Assembly from the 21st district of Manhattan.

MRS. FAUSET HEADS DRIVE AMONG WOMEN

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
SEP 28 1940

NEW YORK, Sept. 26. — The Democratic National Committee for the re-election of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, has announced the appointment of Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, of Philadelphia, as the director of the Colored Women's division.

Mrs. Fauset, a native of Maryland, has spent much of her life in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. She headed the Colored Women's division of the Democratic campaign for the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt four years ago.

A former member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature, Mrs. Fauset holds the unique distinction of being the first and only colored woman ever to serve in a legislative body in the United States. Before entering politics she was a prominent social worker, is president of the Philadelphia League of Negro Women and a member of the board of trustees of Cheyney State Teachers' college, Cheyney, Pa., and a graduate of Teachers' college, Columbia university, New York.

Directs Demo Women

Washington Bulletin

MRS. CRYSTAL BYRD FAUSET,
of Philadelphia, who was named by Julian D. Rainey, chairman of the colored division of the Democratic National Committee, as director of the colored women's division, last week. A former member of the Pennsylvania legislature, Mrs. Fauset headed the colored women's division of the Democratic campaign for the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt four years ago.

OPINION

After the Election

NOV 9 1940

Nothing is so dead as this week's election.

One of the wonders of American life is the intense bitterness of our political campaigns and the speed with which we forget about them as soon as the result is announced.

Afro American

For the next few weeks there will be explanations of how it happened. Political prophets and seers will stand up and point out how correctly their polls foretold the results. Winners pride themselves on their good judgment.

Baltimore Md.

Losers swallow their disappointment and comfort themselves in the fact that they have another chance in 1944.

All of us admit now that it is over, that no matter who is President, the rent is due Saturday, Hitler is still bombing London, Junior needs a new pair of shoes and, if we are careful, the coal in the cellar will last until the end of the month.

We know, too, that the country isn't going to the dogs, and with that we get back to normal again, glad that we can get our favorite program over the radio tonight and that our next door neighbor, who hasn't spoken to us for weeks, will undoubtedly be friends again.

Women Form Democratic Advisory Committee

Journal and Guide

OCT 1 9 1940

INTERESTED IN THE formation of a National Advisory Committee of Negro Democratic women, the group pictured above launched recently with Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset, national director of work among Negro women for the 1940 Presidential campaign at the Y. W. C. A., in New York. Attorney Julian D. Rainey, national director of the Negro division of the Democratic national campaign was the guest speaker. A second meeting was held October 12 at the same place.

In the front row (left to right) are Mrs. T. Arnold Hill, Mrs. Bertha Green and Mrs. Ruth Brown Prince, co-leaders of the Nineteenth and Twenty-first Assembly Districts respectively; Mr. Rainey and Mrs. Fauset; Mrs. Lester A. Walton, wife of the U. S. Minister to Liberia; Mrs. Bessye J. Bearden, Mrs. James S. Watson. In the middle row, (left to right) are Mrs. Mae Irwin, Mrs. Estelle Meade, Mrs. Mary Louise Brown, Mrs. Frances Dougherty, Mrs. Harry Bragg, Mrs. Eddie Johnson, Mrs. Margaret V. Brown, Mrs. Beatrice Elmore, Mrs. Phillip J. Jones. In the top row (left to right) are Miss Ruth Aiken, Mrs. William T. Andrews, Mrs. Leonora Brinkerhoff, Mrs. Lillian Waters, Mrs. Henrietta De Mendez, Mrs. Sadye Carter Wiliams, Mrs. Thelma Berlack Boozer, Mrs. Rose Cooper Smith and Attorney Lucille Edwards Chance.

Race Women On Advisory Board To Aid Roosevelt

Defender - Chicago, Ill

OCT 2 6 1940

NEW YORK.—Key women in the Democratic party throughout Greater New York were guest of Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, director of the Women's Division of the Roosevelt campaign committee at a luncheon meeting Saturday at the 137th Street Y.M.C.A. for the second time in two weeks.

In setting up the committee a week before, Mrs. Fauset pointed out that "men do the Planning, but women do the work in politics." After outlining the plans for the committee she announced that similar groups will be set up in the principal cities throughout the country.

While the groups will function in conjunction with the regular National Negro Committee, their work will be along very definite lines and will be designated to awaken greater interest among women in political affairs.

OCT 2 6 1940

The first Negro woman ever to be elected to a state legislature in America, Mrs. Fauset is national director of work among Race women in the interest of the candidacy of President Roosevelt for re-election. A Presidential campaign has a two-fold purpose," said Julian D. Rainey, national director of the Negro division, who also attended the meeting. It serves to stiffen the backbone of the supporters and to stimulate enthusiasm so that the crowd will vote." Getting together on the Roosevelt level and at a time when such a group can play an important part in F.D.R.'s re-election, the women are now recognized as the nucleus of a National Advisory committee. Similar luncheon-meetings are being held in other principal cities throughout the country.

The third session of the local group was held Saturday, Oct. 19, at one o'clock at the 137th street address. Present and speaking at last Saturday's luncheon-meeting, in addition to Mrs. Fauset were the following: Miss Ruth Aiken, Mrs. Bessye J. Bearden; Mrs. Leonora Brinkerhoff of Jamaica; Mrs. Emily Brown of Far Rockaway; Mrs. Margaret V. Brown of Brooklyn; Mrs. Louise Muriel Brown of Jamaica; Mrs. Thelma Berlack Boozer, Atty. Lucille Edwards Chance, Mrs. Henriette DeMendez, Mrs. Corrine Dazey; Mrs. Bertha Green, co-leader of the 19th assembly district; Miss Willor Guildord of Brooklyn; Mrs. Goldie C. Graves, Mrs. Mae IrWin, Mrs. T. Arnold Hill; Mrs. Nettie Haley and daughter, Louise, of the Bronx; Mrs. Lola Harris, Mrs. Sadie Harper Jefferson and Mrs. Buela Jones, all of Jamaica.

Also Mrs. Caroline B. Overton; Mrs. Maude Matthews and Mrs. Estelle Meade, of Corona; Mrs. Corelia Miller of Flushing; Mrs. Madester Newton of Brooklyn; Mrs. Lena Smith of Far Rockaway; Mrs. Ruth Brown Price, co-leader of the 21st assembly district; Miss Maxine Stackhouse, Mrs. Nora M. Sanders; Mrs. Mildred E. Scott, of Jamaica, Mrs. Sadye Carter Williams.

STATE DIRECTORS OF DEMOCRATIC NEGRO WOMEN

NOV 2 1940

Lending her capable services to the Democratic National Campaign in her home state is Mrs. Ahwaneda P. Hairston of Williamson, West Virginia (above) who is actively associated with the Negro Women's Activities of the strong movement to send President Roosevelt back to the White House for a third term.

Irma Lawson of Wilmington, Delaware whose capable work in helping direct the Democratic Presidential Campaign in her home state of Delaware has already given definite indications that FDR and the New Deal should sweep the state's Negro vote.

Margaret H. Holland, who recently attained the distinction of being the first Negro woman to be elected to a state Democratic Committeewoman's post, and is also active in the directing of the campaign for President Roosevelt's reelection in her native state of Rhode Island.

Bertha Young, of Boston, Massachusetts, energetic director of women's activities in conjunction with the Democratic campaign in her state of Massachusetts, who enthusiastically predicts the reelection of President Roosevelt.

Georgiana Jackson of South Norwalk, Connecticut, whose activities in her state division of the Democratic National Campaign are considered among the most effective factors which party leaders predict, will result in a sweeping Roosevelt victory on November 5.

POLITICS - 1940
WOMEN IN GEORGIA

The Women Are Waking Up

Atlanta's women are to be congratulated in the recently launched campaign to add members of their sex to the inadequate roll of colored voters. A quiet campaign is being carried on to register by May 4 and forever afterwards that large number of women eligibles who have sat by in the past while their men practically loafed on the job. The women are inspired with the old adage that they will do what the men can't.

Under the law that women registering for the first time are not subject to the cumulative tax penalty provision, as is the case with men, the women have a greater opportunity than the men in immediately increasing the colored voting bloc. It is simply the task of going to the Court House and registering for the first time and continuing the payment of the yearly dollar fee thereafterwards. There are thousands of colored women in Atlanta who have never attempted to register even though suffrage was granted them in a Constitutional amendment years ago. These potential voters could secure a respect for the group's balloting power that would practically cleanse Atlanta and Georgia of their one-sided governments.

Encouragement of women's registration and voting does not in any way excuse the lethargy of the men-folk. Their duty is one of common knowledge. The thousands of colored youths reaching the age of twenty-one this year can do their duty by qualifying without cost and doing the duty of citizens of a democracy. The others ought to reach down in their pockets to enjoy the privileges and the freedom granted men and women whose votes decide the political [illegible] under which they must live.

Speaker Oswald Hecht of Assembly To Address G.O.P. Women of Harlem At 137th St. Y.W.C.A. February 17

By BAXTER LEACH

Speaker Oswald Hecht of the New York State Assembly will address the Republican Women of Harlem at a mass meeting at the Young Women's Christian Association on West 137th street, Saturday evening, February 17th at 8:30 o'clock. In addition to Speaker Hecht, there will be other speakers on the program of national and local importance, including Miss Jane Todd, vice-chairman of the New York State Republican Committee and member of the Assembly from Westchester County, and Miss Bertha Diggs, vice-president of the Colored Women's Republican Club of Buffalo, N. Y., and Mrs. William Henry Hays, president of the Women's National Republican Club.

This meeting, arrangements for which have been underway for sometime, is regarded in political circles by those in a position to know, the beginning of a series of meetings that will be held throughout the State to create a new interest in Republican politics.

The Harlem program will be in charge of the women of the 11th, 13th, 19th, 17th, 21st and 22nd Assembly Districts with Mrs. Anna Hookey Hughes, Co-Leader of the 19th Assembly District among the chief sponsors. There will be women delegates from every District, taking part in an all-day program of panel discussions, music, etc. The evening meeting will be open to the public, and will begin promptly at 8:30 o'clock with Speaker Hecht leading the list of important speakers.

According to Mrs. Anna Hookey Hughes, chairman of the meeting, the chief interest will be centered in the economic needs of the people of Harlem to the end that appropriate legislation can be sponsored to imrove conditions. Housing takes first place on the agenda it is reported.

Honorary Guests

The list of honorary guests, several of whom are listed to speak, are: Bishop David H. Sims of the A. M. E. Church; Bishop L. W. Kyles of the A. M .E. Zion Church; Bishop J. W. Brown of the A. M. E. Zion Church; Dr. Lorenzo King, delegate to the Republican National Convention; Dr. L. L. Berry, secretary of Missions, A. M. E. Church; Hon. W. F. Walker, Liberian Consul General; Francis E. Rivers, Assistant District Attorney; Dr. J .A. Portlock, pastor of Bethel A. M. E. Church; Editor Fred R. Moore, Mrs. Eunice H. Carter, Assistant District Attorney; Sara Speaks, attorney at law; Mrs. Marie C. Lawton, Dr. Julia Coleman Robinson, Commissioner David B. Costuma, Baxter R. Leach, Public Relations A. M. E. Church; Leaders Sidney Davis of the 19th, Harold Burton of the 21st, Robert P. Levis of the 11th, Chester A. Nethercott of the 13th, Irving Levy of the 17th, Joseph G. Mandl of the 22nd.

Members of the local committee: Mrs. Anna Hookey Hughes, chairman; Miss Helen M. Noonan, Mrs. Belle Spaulding, Miss Lillie I. Pooey, Miss Henrietta C. Sciacca, Dr. Julia Coleman Robinson, Mamie Crawford, Christine A. Maura, Bell Spaulding, Louise Perkins, Audrey Ross, Carmine M. Blassine, Contello Madison, Beatrice Blanks, Emma E. Baltimore, Emma Lee Finger, Emma C. Satterwhite, Hattie Brown.

Mrs. Charlotte Farrar, director of the Women's Division of New York County and Mrs. Anita Leon, vice county chairman, are cooperating with the local committee.

Mrs. Eunice H. Carter Busy Speaking For Thos. Dewey

BALTIMORE, Md.—Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter of New York, aide to Republican Presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey, warned Negroes in a speech last Wednesday night here to avoid regarding the actions and speeches of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as symbolic of the Democratic Party's real attitude.

"Mrs. Roosevelt is a great lady, perhaps one of the greatest," Mrs. Carter said. "But she is not to be confused with the President himself nor with the present administration. Do not be misled into believing that the actions and attitudes of a very great lady and great American are indicative of the attitude of the Democratic Party".

Not content with being one of New York's busiest women in her work as chief of the indictment bureau of the Court of Special Sessions, Mrs. Carter crowded seven speaking engagements into her brief spare time the past week. She spoke twice in Maryland, once in New Jersey, three times in New York, and once in Washington.

Senate Nomination Of Cong. Bruce Barton Is Seconded By Negro

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y. — Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, director of Colored Women's Activities in the Eastern Colored Division, Republican National Committee, seconded the nomination of Bruce Barton of New York for United States Senator Friday afternoon at the New York State Republican Convention at the County Center here.

Mrs. Speaks, Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, aide to District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, and William Lawrence occupied platform seats. Prominent delegates and alternates present from all parts of New York state included the following: George E. Wibecan of Brooklyn; Mrs. Bertha Diggs of Buffalo; Harold C. Burton, leader of the 21st Assembly District; Miss Annie Hookey Hughes, 19th Assembly candidate; Mrs. Pearl Hamilton of Greenburg; A. Q. Martin of Brooklyn; James B. Bolyar, Sherman L. Walker, Dr. M. S. McGuire, Editor Merriweather, all of Buffalo; Mrs. Julia Nichols, Nathan Pollard of Yonkers; Miss Sara Oliver Jones, Mrs. Carrie Starks, Mrs. Emma Edwards, Samuel F. Holman, William Watson, Alexander Newell, Samuel J. Stanley, all of New York City; Rev. J. C. Adams of Brooklyn.

CRYSTAL BYRD FAUSET EXPLAINS WOMEN'S POLITICAL IMPORTANCE

Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK, Oct. 10—In her press conference Monday, Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, director of the Colored Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee for the re-election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt had this to say:

OCT 13 1940

"In the last eight years the most important development among Negro women has been in increasing political-mindedness. This has come about chiefly through the affect of the national unemployment situation upon the Negro home. The great majority of Negro women are wage earners, many of them being the economic heads of their families.

"Widespread unemployment, the relief rolls, and WPA employment have turned the attention of Negro women to the connection that exists between opportunities for employment and government, and with the provision of work given through WPA and other relief agencies, starting in 1935, Negro women became sharply aware of their need to understand government and its relation to the welfare of the mass of the American people. They began to see the necessity of putting into local, state and national office only those persons who had some feeling of concern for the problems of the underprivileged.

"In 1936, thousands of Negro women became interested in forming local Democratic clubs and many decided to run for elective office. In the last four years they have been successful in developing strong Democratic women's clubs all over the country and in being elected to office from that of Division Committee-woman and District Co-Leader to State Committee-woman, and in one instance, in Pennsylvania, to the state legislature.

"Even in those communities where Negro women do not belong to political clubs or organizations they are interested in voting and unusually large numbers of Negro women are expressing themselves through the ballot.

"It is interesting to note that Negro women are sensing the difference between appointive positions and elective positions. They realize that the political strength of a minority group lies in the number of votes it can command and that a bloc of Negro votes can represent the difference between success and defeat in a local, state, or national election.

"Negro Democratic women," she continued, "are working enthusiastically for the re-election of President Roosevelt because they believe in his desire to bring more happiness and security into the lives of all the American people, whereas they know the Republican party is a party of special interests, because they realize President Roosevelt is experienced in the administration of government, whereas Mr. Willkie knows nothing of government and was not, in fact, a very successful president of an electric light company. And too, because they know that this is the hour in which we need our ablest leader—a man of bold courage, foresight, determination and resourcefulness, and that that man is none other than Franklin D. Roosevelt; and finally in re-electing Mr. Roosevelt they are also sending Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt back to the White House."

POLITICS- 1940
WOMEN IN

PENNSYLVANIA

Women Active at Democratic Convention

Amsterdam News 7-20-40 New York, N.Y.

Out in Chicago at the convention of the National Colored Democratic Association, the feminine delegation from Pennsylvania included, left to right, Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset, Mrs. Frances Ramey, Miss Alyce Anderson, (Mrs. Lorenzo Harris of New Jersey who posed with the group is next), Mrs. Gertrude Skidmore, Mrs. Maizie Litman and Mrs. Nellie Hazel.

POLITICS- 1940
WOEMN IN

TENNESSEE

Nashville, Tenn Tennessean
September 11, 1940

COMMITTEEWOMAN ADDRESSES NEGROES

Mrs. Hill, in Speech to Club, Urges Support for Roosevelt

Mrs. Albert E. Hill, national Democratic committeewoman for Tennessee, last night told the Davidson County Young Democratic Club for Negroes that benefits earned by Negro voters during the past few years would continue with the reelection of President Roosevelt.

Mrs. Hill, introduced by Miss Mary Lois Young, director of activities of the state Democratic headquarters, pointed out that Negroes have benefited by such agencies as the NYA, FHA and CCC, and urged that Negro voters "keep in their hearts the principles that are the core of the Democratic platform."

Preceding Mrs. Hill's address, Dr. W. S. Walker, local Negro attorney, outlined the standards of the club and asked that Negroes of the county use their right to vote.

Ira T. Bryant, Negro editor of the Nashville Defender, declared that the Negro citizen will progress in proportion to his use of the ballot and that "a swerving of political courses is better than economic death by clinging to musty traditions."

He called the policies of President Roosevelt "the most helpful since the time of Lincoln."